

WORLD  
POLICY

CONFERENCE

10<sup>th</sup> Edition, Nov. 3-5, 2017 - Marrakech

10<sup>th</sup>  
WPC



# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

TENTH EDITION  
NOVEMBER 3-5 2017  
MARRAKECH, MOROCCO



WORLD  
POLICY  
CONFERENCE

## Foreword



The *World Policy Conference (WPC)* was founded with the profound conviction that when the ideology of liberal globalisation triumphed, in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse and the splintering of the Russian Empire, it did not usher in the end of History or the advent of universal peace and prosperity. According to that ideology, the Western-style democracy would expand across the entire planet, with borders and States fading as the oligopoly of global corporations, evidently convinced they were the chosen ones to exercise their social responsibility in service of the common good. International

terrorism, which remains highly intertwined with the date "9/11", was seen as an aberration in a course that could be corrected with a few neatly-chosen military interventions. In 2003, the US neo-conservative leaders decided that overthrowing Saddam Hussein's regime would settle the problem in the Middle East. His regime was incidentally not their only target.

The WPC's standpoint has always been different. In our view, States remain essential units in the international system and nations cannot be dissolved in some form of broader whole, because every culture is unique. Religions continue to play a prominent part, for fundamental anthropological reasons, but also as major ethnological, sociological and political markers, even when the players manipulating them, using the most barbaric methods, are eradicated. Our world's governance institutions can and must be improved and supplemented; however, we do not believe in peace by law alone, for the most elaborate institutions reflect ever-shifting balances of power. Moreover, the very parties that identify global governance and international law have no qualms about transgressing them on occasion. On a human scale, in the medium term, good global governance should be aimed at maintaining a reasonably-open world, which implies relations between nations that are both more equitable and more respectable of their diversity. It must, in particular, take into serious consideration the interests of the Southern nations and become proficient in co-managing issues as complex as climate change and the environment, or migration. All of this will require a great deal of time, for technical, cultural and political reasons.

The organisers of the WPC have no interest in pompous showiness. They are aware of the importance of what might be called the technology of governance, but they primarily put emphasis on constructive dialogue about geopolitical, geo-economic, cultural as well as technological issues. Indeed, the institutional frameworks that are most appealing on paper are doomed to fail if they are not based on a vision shared by all players. It is the search for that vision we are interested in above all.

The world's history between 2008 and 2017 – which coincides with the WPC's first decade – has greatly demonstrated this theory, long-known to advocates of the European integration.

More recently, global governance has been put to a harsh test with the arrival of President Trump, the misdeeds of international terrorism, the successive waves of refugees, the challenge of illiberal democracy, the move of some nations to assert narrowly-imagined national interests – at the risk of triggering conflict –, the nuclear crisis in the Korean peninsula, a resumption of the arms race, the general problem of inequalities across the world and the responses they stir, the war in Syria which stretches on, the confrontations in multiple forms between Iran and Saudi Arabia, not to mention potential economic and financial instabilities, despite a relatively satisfactory global economic outlook for the immediate future, and the list goes on. The world technology ideologists promised us may be bright, or in any case beneficial in many ways. However, for the time being, it is on a crash course with the world we inherited from the 20th century.

Fortunately, the worst is never guaranteed to come. While we must, in musing on the future, always keep in mind the possibility of negative "black swans", we must also never forget that black swans can also be positive. In early 2017, many observers, including the most believable, thought the European Union to be on its deathbed. Today, after a series of unlikely turns of events, the landscape looks much more reassuring. Likewise, a certain easing of tension has settled in over the Korean peninsula, when the worst was to be feared at one point. The most important factor is that, unlike in 1914, for instance, none of the world's major powers wishes to head into war. At its own level, the WPC aspires to create the most amenable conditions for the positive black swans.

In its first decade of existence, the WPC came together three times in Marrakesh, and it is in Morocco that it celebrated its 10th edition. This is a country that belongs to the African continent and plays an active role here, all the while clearly asserting itself in all four directions, north-south and east-west. The WPC's presence in Morocco serves as a reminder that the geopolitics of peace should no longer be shaped within frameworks resulting directly from the Cold War, of which so many remain. The setting remains important: of this, I have long been convinced, as I have attended all the main international clubs and fora. And the generally recognised success of the WPC in its first years is also owed to Morocco, which understood our intent and, in hosting us, embraced it as its own.

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
29 January 2018

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**Friday, November 3**09:00 – 10:00: **Opening session**

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman, WPC  
**Message of His Majesty the King Mohammed VI**, King of Morocco  
**Message of Emmanuel Macron**, President of France  
**Bartholomew 1<sup>st</sup>**, Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

10:00 – 10:45:

**Plenary session 1: The future of South-East Europe**

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Ana Brnabic**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia  
**Edi Rama**, Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania

10:45 – 12:00:

**Plenary session 2: Investing in Africa**

Moderator:

**Jean-Michel Severino**, President of Investisseurs & Partenaires

Speakers:

**Miriam Bensalah-Chaqroun**, President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Companies (CGEM)  
**Christoph Beier**, Vice Chair of the management board, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)  
**Mostafa Terrab**, Chairman and CEO, OCP Group  
**Rémy Rioux**, CEO of the Agence française de développement (AFD), Chairperson of the International Development Finance Club (IDFC)  
**Shinichi Kitaoka**, President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

12:00 – 12:30:

**Plenary session 3**

with **Peter Maurer**, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

12:45 – 14:30:

**Lunch debate**

with **Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al-Thani**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar

14:45 – 16:15:

**Plenary session 4: Trends in the Middle East**

Moderator:

**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain

Speakers:

**Youssef Amrani**, Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco  
**Jihad Azour**, Director of the Middle East and Central Asia Department, IMF  
**Stuart Eizenstat**, Partner, Covington and Burling LLP  
**Renaud Girard**, Senior reporter and international columnist at Le Figaro  
**Odeh Aburdene**, President of OAI Advisors, member of the Council on Foreign Relations  
**Itamar Rabinovich**, President of the Israel Institute, former Ambassador to the United States, Israel

16:15 – 17:30:

**Plenary session 5: Trust and truth in the digital age**

Moderator:

**Steven Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, New York Times

Speakers:

**Haïm Korsia**, Chief Rabbi of France

**Susan Liataud**, Founder and Managing Director, Susan Liataud & Associates Limited

**Oliver Bussmann**, Founder & Managing Partner at Bussmann Advisory, Zug/Switzerland, former UBS and SAP Global CIO

**Anne-Thida Norodom**, Professor of public law at the University of Rouen, France; Member of the Strategic Advisory Board of Ifri

**Stefan Heumann**, Member of the management board of Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (SNV)

17:30 – 18:45:

**Plenary session 6: The world economy**

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Uri Dadush**, Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center, Non-Resident Scholar, Bruegel

**Kemal Dervis**, Vice President and Director of Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution, former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey

**Jung Sung-Chun**, Vice President, Department of International Macroeconomics & Finance, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)

**Itoh Motoshige**, Emeritus Professor of University of Tokyo and Professor of Gakushuin University, former Advisor to the Prime Minister

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

18:45 – 19:45:

**Plenary session 7: The future of transportation: connectivity and governance**

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**François Barrault**, Chairman of Idate/DigiWorld Institute; former CEO of BT Global Services and a BT Group PLC board member  
**Patrick de Castelbajac**, Head of Airbus Strategy and International  
**Jean-Yves Le Gall**, Chair of the ESA Council and President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES), France

20:30:

**Dinner debate**with **Patrick Pouyanné**, Chairman of the Board and CEO, Total**Saturday, November 4**

09:00 – 10:30:

**Plenary session 8: America and the world one year after Trump's election**

Moderator:

**Richard Burt**, Managing Director, McLarty Associates, former US Ambassador to Germany

Speakers:

**Juan Gallardo**, Chairman, Organización Cultiva SAB de CV, Mexico  
**Yukio Okamoto**, President, Okamoto Associates, Inc., former Special Advisor to two Prime Ministers of Japan

**Ryu Jin Roy**, Chairman and CEO, Poongsan Group, Republic of Korea  
**Alexander Panov**, Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Professor and Head of the department of diplomacy of MGIMO

**Hubert Védrine**, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

**John Sawers**, former head of the Secret Intelligence Service, United Kingdom

10:30 – 11:00:

**Coffee break**

11:00 – 12:00:

**Plenary session 9: Artificial intelligence and the future of human labor**

Moderator:

**Ali Aslan**, TV host and journalist, Deutsche Welle TV

Speakers:

**Masood Ahmed**, President, Center for global Development, former Director, Middle East and Central Asia Department, IMF

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

**Holger Mey**, Vice President, Advanced Concepts, Airbus

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

12:00 – 13:15:

**Plenary session 10: The future of trade and international investments**

Moderator:

**Nicolas Barré**, Managing Director, Les Echos

Speakers:

**Marcus Noland**, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Peterson Institute for International Economics

**Bark Taeho**, President, Lee & Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

**Francis Gurry**, Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

**Stefan Mair**, Member of the Executive Board, Federation of German Industries (BDI)

**Yi Xiaozhun**, Deputy Director-General, WTO

13:30 – 15:00:

**Lunch debate**with **Ahmet Davutoglu**, former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey15:15 – 18:15: **Parallel workshops****Workshop 1: Finance and economy**

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Akinari Horii**, Special Advisor and a member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

**Bertrand Badré**, Founder and CEO, Blue Orange Capital; former Managing Director, World Bank

**André Levy-Lang**, former Chairman & CEO of Banque Paribas, Affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University

**Jeffry Frieden**, Professor of government at Harvard University

**Raed Charafeddine**, First Vice-Governor of the Central Bank of Lebanon

**Daniel Daianu**, Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania; former Finance Minister of Romania

**Workshop 2: Energy and climate**

Chair:

**Nobuo Tanaka**, former Executive Director of the International Energy Agency, Chairman of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation

Speakers:

**Olivier Appert**, Chairman of the Conseil Français de l'Energie  
**André Caillé**, Director of Junex Inc., former Chairman of the World Energy Council and Deputy Minister of the Environment of Quebec  
**Lee Hye-Min**, G20 Sherpa, Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea

**Tatsuo Masuda**, Visiting Professor, Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Graduate School, Japan

**Ladislav Paszkiewicz**, Senior Vice President Strategy and Climate, Total  
**Friedbert Pflüger**, Director, European Centre for Energy and Resource Security, King's College London

**Workshop 3: China**

Chair:

**Park In-kook**, President, Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS)

Speakers:

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

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

**Douglas Paal**, Vice President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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

**Bark Taeho**, President, Lee & Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University

**Jean-François Copé**, Mayor of Meaux, former delegate Minister of the Budget, France

**Workshop 4: Russia in twenty years**

Chair:

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

Speakers:

**Alexander Dynkin**, President, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russia

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

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

**Yaroslav Lissovolik**, Chief Economist, Eurasian Development Bank

**Artem Malgin**, Vice-rector for general affairs and corporate relations, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)

**Alexander Panov**, Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Professor and Head of the department of diplomacy of MGIMO

20:00 – 20:30:

**Cocktail**

20:30:

**Gala dinner**with **Nasser Bourita**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco**Sunday, November 5**

08:30 – 09:30:

**Reports from parallel workshops**

09:30 – 11:00:

**Plenary session 11: The European Union and the world**

Moderator:

**Ali Aslan**, TV host and journalist, Deutsche Welle TV

Speakers:

**Richard Burt**, Managing Director, McLarty Associates, former US Ambassador to Germany

**Steven Erlanger**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, Europe, New York Times

**Elisabeth Guigou**, President of The Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures, former Member of Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs at the Assemblée nationale, France

**Bogdan Klich**, Senator, Minority Leader of the Senat, former minister of Defense, Poland

**Michael Lothian**, former Member of Parliament, United Kingdom

**Yukio Okamoto**, President, Okamoto Associates, Inc., former Special Advisor to two Prime Ministers of Japan

11:00 – 11:30:

**Plenary session 12**with **Tsakhagiin Elbegdorj**, former President of Mongolia

11:30 – 12:30:

**Plenary session 13: The development of Africa**

Moderator:

**Sean Cleary**, Founder and Executive Vice-Chairman of the FutureWorld Foundation and Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd, South Africa

Speakers:

**Nizar Baraka**, Chairman, Economic, Social and Environmental Council (CESE)

**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**, President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies (IPS), former Foreign Minister of Senegal

**Aminata Touré**, former Prime Minister of Senegal

**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-President of the Fondation AfricaFrance, former Prime Minister of Benin, former President, PAI Partners

13:00 – 14:30:

**Lunch debate**

with **Aziz Mekouar**, Ambassador of Morocco, in charge of the negotiations on climate

15:00 – 16:30:

**Plenary session 14: Security in Asia**

Moderator:

**Marcus Noland**, Executive Vice President and Director of Studies, Peterson Institute for International Economics

Speakers:

**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

**Yuichi Hosoya**, Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University

**Jia Qingguo**, Professor and Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University

**Michael Yeoh**, Founder & CEO of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI)

**Jusuf Wanandi**, Co-founder, Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Senior Fellow of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Foundation, Indonesia

**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**, former Governor of West Bengal, The Raj Bhavan, India

16:30 – 17:45:

**Plenary session 15: Young Leaders session**

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Natalie Cartwright**, Co-founder of Finn.ai

**Edouard Nattée**, Founder and CEO of Fox Intelligence

**Allen Ali Mohammadi**, Co-founder, Hippogriff AB

**Arthur Stril**, Co-founder, Zinc VC

**Aurélien Billot**, Head of the Commercial and development policies Unit at the General Secretariat for European Affairs, France

17:45 – 19:45:

**Plenary session 16: The state of the world**

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Assia Bensalah Alaoui**, Ambassador-at-large of HM the King of Morocco  
**Kriengsak Chareonwongsak**, former Prime Ministerial Advisor of Thailand, Senior Fellow Harvard University and Chairman, Nation-Building Institute

**Ju Chul Ki**, President of the Overseas Koreans Foundation, former Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Office of the President of the Republic of Korea

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

**Mona Makram Ebeid**, Egyptian Senator, Distinguished Lecturer, Political Science Department, American University in Cairo

**Fathallah Oualalou**, former Minister of Economy and Finance, Morocco  
**Meir Sheerit**, Member of Parliament, Israel

**Yukari Niwa Yamashita**, Board Member, Director, The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ)

19:45: **Envoi**



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GOUVERNANCE MONDIALE  
1-5 novembre 2010 - Marrakech

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GLOBAL GOVERNANCE  
November 1-5, 2010 - Marrakech





# His Majesty the King Mohammed VI

Speech delivered by Yassir Znagui, Counsellor of His Majesty, Kingdom of Morocco



[...] The undeniable progress that Africa has made has not gone unnoticed. In fact, it has been followed with growing interest by the international community. Needless to say, the path to prosperity is a lengthy, complex process. We can say, however, that citizens' main aspirations - especially Africans' - can be fulfilled only through inclusive human and economic development programs that are based on a regional or continental vision. As a convinced son of Africa, I plead, once again, for the need to support the Continent, which has managed to shape its own destiny thanks to the bold medium and long-term structural reforms undertaken in various sectors. It is our responsibility to foster innovative strategies and ambitious policies which should not only be based on the accomplishments that have already been made, but which should also draw inspiration from successful initiatives at global level. These strategies and policies should be adapted to our diverse social, economic and cultural realities. In this regard, it will be necessary to streamline our institutions, promote good governance and significantly improve the way public funds are used. Today, Africa's tremendous assets in terms of human capital offer an exceptional opportunity to achieve progress. Being part and parcel of a constructive drive to transform the Continent's economy, young Africans, far from being a handicap, are a major asset in this regard. Through the development and implementation of sound educational, vocational training and health policies, we should be able to ensure better integration of these young people into the socio-economic fabric of our countries. This would result in stronger, inclusive and sustained growth that would create jobs and boost productivity. [...]

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# Emmanuel Macron

President of France

Speech delivered by H.E.M. Jean-François Girault, Ambassador of France to the Kingdom of Morocco



[...] I could easily take on the WPC's goal as my own – thinking about ways to maintain reasonably open global governance, capable of absorbing shocks while also facilitating desirable changes – as my own, for it is indeed in that direction that I wanted to take action during the first months of my term. I focused, of course, on the urgent matters, calling together the protagonists of the crisis in Libya, for example, or hosting, on 28 August, the African and European leaders most directly concerned by migratory flows on the road to the Central Mediterranean. However, these innumerable short-term challenges will only multiply if we do not deal with the underlying problems, if we do not tackle long-term challenges. I will list three of them:

- Development, to which, in line with the target I have set, we will dedicate 0.55% of our national revenue within five years' time, paying particular attention to the effectiveness of our aid: more innovation, intelligence, local partnerships and greater responsibility on the ground. I would like Alliance for the Sahel, which we launched with the European Union, the World Bank and UNDP, to be an example of this heightened ambition.
- The challenge of education and health, which it is important that we do not lose sight of, despite the acute crises we are currently experiencing. I call on the international community to meet in February 2018 in Dakar to rebuild the partnership for education that France co-chairs with Senegal. I also call on it to double up its efforts in favour of health, at a time when, in the Indian Ocean region, we are seeing the return of diseases that we thought were forgotten like the plague.
- The third challenge is that of climate, for which France and Morocco have mobilised successively, with the success of COP21 in Paris in 2015 and COP22 in Marrakesh last year. Let there be no mistake about it: the battle is not won despite our efforts, and I will try to mobilise the international community next month in Paris around concrete solutions by putting public and private funding to work. [...]

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# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman, WPC

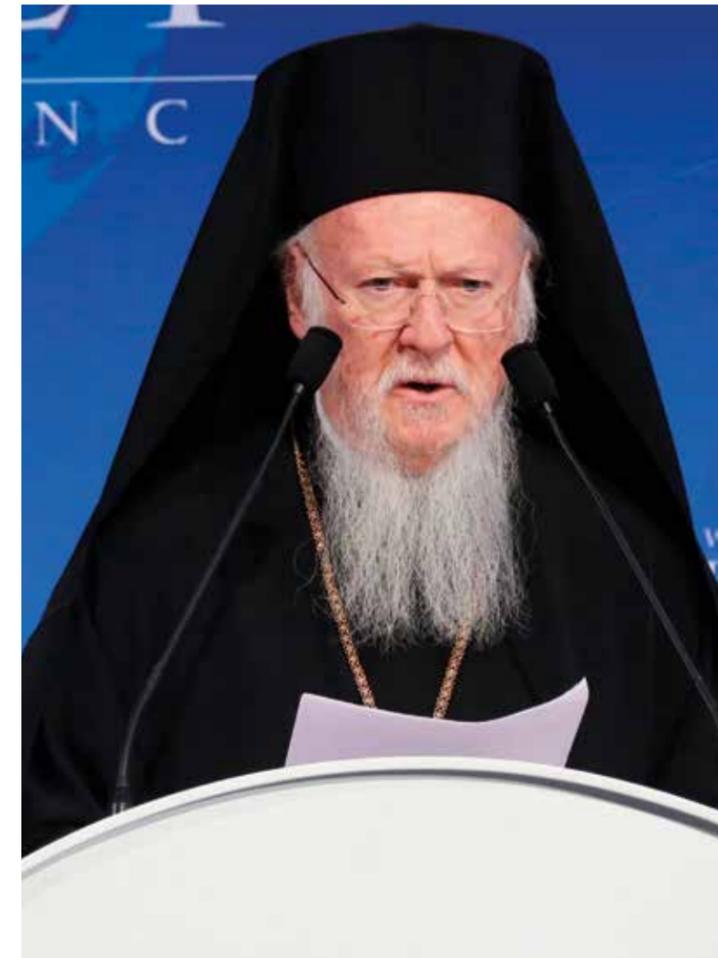


[...] Back then, more than one Nobel Prize winner believed that any country could win the sweepstakes — growth, full employment, price stability and balanced trade. It would soon be merely a matter of engineering, such as, for example, building a plane. Fortunately, as governments helplessly floundered looking for a solution, the small community of cool-headed central bankers, with their experience and pragmatism rooted in history, thwarted disaster. A decade has gone by and the global economy is showing new signs of life. Economic and financial governance has made substantial strides. But memories of ordeals and missteps quickly fade when normality and the lure of easy profits return. It becomes very tempting to ease up on regulations again. But we are not safe from the return of financial calamities. Since the first WPC, the world has also seen the outbreak and dramatic failure of the ill-named “Arab Spring”. Catastrophic policies based on American neo-conservative ideology led only to chaos, the intensification and spread of Islamist terrorism by groups like the self-proclaimed “Islamic State”, the massive growth of refugee flows and, around them, parasites who feed on collective misfortune. These disaster’s by-products include the rise of nationalism, even in Europe — although it should be pointed out that it also stems from other causes, directly related to poor governance and the Union’s over-hasty expansion after the fall of the USSR. History has at least three lessons to teach us: countries that toy with other States’ political regimes do so at their peril; each nation matures in its own way and at its own pace; and keeping the world reasonably open assumes that the main stakeholders will play by the rules. [...]

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# His All Holiness Bartholomew I of Constantinople

Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch



[...] Religious identity has transformed throughout the 20th century, and its manipulation, if not its instrumentalisation for hegemonic purposes, has twisted the very nature of its vocation: to help bring about peace, reconciliation and dialogue. The international scene is in the throes of profound change. Identitarian conflicts are combining with the rise of social injustices. Concurrent to this, the perception of inequalities is growing. In this context of insecurity, religion can play a positive role, provided that it becomes capable of taking back ownership of the nature of its message. A message misappropriated. A message violated. A message ensnared in the warmongering of fundamentalism. While it is true that there are many misunderstandings about religious fundamentalism out there, religion has without a doubt been used as a means for political ends or for personal interests that are inherently contradictory to it. We must therefore note the imperative need for dialogue in order to respond to contemporary conflicts, beyond the religious or non-religious nature of these conflicts. Dialogue is not a negotiation. Nor is it a controversy. There are no winners or losers in it. It is a characteristic of each being, through which the relational quality of the human being is formed. To understand what is happening in our world today, we need to think about the role of religion in humanity. What some call “the return of religion” in a “post-secular” world is, in fact, the reactivation of an essential dimension of humanity, which, even though it is powerfully linked to identity, is not necessarily identity-based but metaphysical and spiritual. [...] The legitimacy of religions today depends on their ability to assert a clear stance on the protection of human freedom and dignity as founding principles in building peace. No challenge, whether personal or international, will find resolution in solitude and isolation. We need one another, because we are relational beings, communitarian beings who, as we move closer together, become true contributors to peace. [...]

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5-6 novembre 2017 • Marrakech

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Novembre 3-4, 2017 / Marrakech

SOUS LE HAUT PARRAINAGE DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI MOHAMED VI  
UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMED VI

The stage area features a white podium with a large 'W' logo. To the left of the podium is a red flag with a green emblem. Three people are seated on the stage in front of a blue backdrop with the event's branding. The backdrop also includes the text 'WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE' and 'GLOBAL GOVERNANCE'.

# The future of South-East Europe



MODERATOR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman,  
WPC



**Ana Brnabic**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Serbia



**Edi Rama**  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania

The Serbs in Kosovo have proved to be very responsible politicians, and they basically joined the current government in Pristina, because first and foremost, we have to think about the quality of life, the security and the safety of all people living there. [...] I think that Western Balkans need the EU. At the same time, I think that the EU needs the Western Balkans, probably equally, because of safety and security, and because it will make Europe whole, so Serbia has started negotiations. [...] It is a good signal for all the citizens of the Western Balkans, which are trying to reform the societies, first and foremost in order to economically progress and do better, but also in terms of social reforms, more efficient judiciary, rule of law, and so on and so forth. I think it is very, very important that the negotiations also start, especially with Albania. [...] It is basically the pace at which we are actually implementing the reforms, and at which we are actually having macroeconomic stability, fiscal stability and fiscal discipline. We have an efficient and transparent public administration that is citizen-focused. We have the rule of law in terms of efficient judiciary. All of that is important first and foremost for us, and our citizens and our businesses, and then consequently also leads us to the EU, [...] I think what will lead this is regional stability, which is why I think the Berlin Process is extremely important, and what will lead the regional stability is going to be economy and business, and basically this regional economic area that we are now working on.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing historical in meeting today, which is great, because when we would meet in Belgrade or Tirana or Berlin, it was historical pictures. [...] Of course, we have a fundamental disagreement, as Ana said, on Kosovo, but again, even in this aspect, there is a lot of improvement, because there is a continuing dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina. People sit together, people talk. Although they are practically in a fundamental disagreement with each other, it does not impede being around one table and talking about not only this, but also many other things. What I would see as a very positive reflection of it is how much things are changing on the level of the population. [...] Kosovo is a republic that is recognised by many countries, and of course, the United States and many of the European countries, France and others have recognised it. At the same time, there are other countries that have not, but it is a reality. It is there, it is working like an independent sovereign state with its own institutions, and I am very happy to say, with a very admirable model of respect for minorities – first and foremost, the Serbian minority who is represented in parliament and in government. So my conviction has always been and still is that by recognising Kosovo, Serbia will make a major step forward, and will practically overcome the burden of the past, which is an impediment to look to the future with less of this burden. [...] There is a strategic need for Europe to complete, and not to let the Balkans remain a grey zone, where other actors can have their hands, and can promote their agendas, and create disruption. [...] The Balkans are the most diverse area in Europe in terms of religion. The Muslims in the Balkans are the most – let us say – pro-European Muslims you can find in the Muslim world, and the Muslims are the most pro-American, so our Muslims are more pro-American than Texans, but it is not something that may stay there forever, and it is not to be taken for granted, because others are also trying to – so radicalism and disruption in different ways can come. Then it will be as it has always been, not just the Balkan problem, but the European problem. It would be a problem for Europe.

## Investing in Africa

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI MOHAMMED VI  
UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI

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**Miriam Bensalah-Chaqroun**  
President of the General Confederation of Moroccan  
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**Christoph Beier**  
Vice Chair of the management board, Deutsche Gesellschaft  
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Africa should be in the new world stage for all the micro-approaches about growth, human capital, and all the agricultural potential and different resources that Africa does have. Regarding the three major challenges – I would like to review three of them – that we face as investors, the first challenge is more regulatory in doing business. [...] The legal framework and the regulatory framework are often either non-existent or flooded with delayed investments, and sometimes they even compromise the viability of the investors. [...] Secondly, education. As investors, we see education as human capital skills. We need skilled human resources, so we can match our competitiveness and productivity. [...] I would like to go to the third issue, which is economic infrastructure, which does cost a lot in terms of investment. First, the energy cost is not competitive in most of the African countries. It is two or three times the price in any Southern Europe country. Then come connectivity and logistics; connectivity does cost a lot in terms of GDP – 20%, when elsewhere, it is only between 8 and 10, up to 12%, so it does impact our competitiveness. [...] To wrap up, three challenges that I talked about, and it does impact competitiveness, but still opportunities are there, so those who go there have to address those issues to make their project viable and competitive in the end.

I think the issue of investment in Africa is crucial for the development of Africa, but it is also crucial for Europe, and maybe also crucial for the world. [...] by 2050, we know that the population of Africa will have doubled, so we are then confronted with 2.6 billion people in Africa, and we are then in need of maybe 20 million new jobs created every year in Africa, and these jobs – decent jobs – can only be created if there is a total refocus on investments. That is why investments are so important; public investors will not create these jobs. The private sector has to, and public sector has to be really the one who is enabling private investment. [...] In addition, the gap of public infrastructure, and also vocational training and the environment, the framework for entrepreneurship. You know, a clever SME policy is needed to support investments. Not only foreign direct investment but we need also national investments, regional investments. [...] There is a need to build up a proper pipeline for bankable or investible projects, and we at least would like, in reconsidering our own activities, we would like to go a little bit downstream on our activities. Not only concentrating on the environment any longer, the conducive environment conditions, but also being more directly involved in investments by preparing bankable projects. [...] I think we have to better connect our activities and strengths in a certain sector with huge public investments, and for that, I think we jointly should more selectively identify other sectors where huge employment opportunities are, and then jointly try to connect better public infrastructure investment with our activities of strengthening small-scale industry, vocational training, and so on and so forth.



## Investing in Africa



**Mostafa Terrab**  
Chairman and CEO, OCP Group



**Rémy Rioux**  
CEO of the Agence Française de Développement (AFD),  
Chairperson of the International Development Finance Club (IDFC)



**Shinichi Kitaoka**  
President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

Why Africa for a company that has an interest in fertiliser, thereby agriculture? [...] Several years ago, mobile development in Africa, we have to recognise, surprised everybody. [...] The same thing may be happening for agriculture. If you look at the challenges, the population challenge, what it translates in global terms, of arable land per capita, is globally a decreasing amount of arable land per capita, and if you look at where the remaining arable land on the planet exists, it is in Africa. 60% of remaining arable land not used is in Africa, and that represents 80% also of the arable land in Africa. [...] For Africa, it has to be a doubly green revolution. It has to be a green revolution in the sense of agriculture, but that has also to be very responsible in terms of protecting the environment, and protecting for example, Africa's biodiversity – very rich diversity. [...] We think that Africa is going to be the latter, feeding the rest of the world. [...] The financing gap is the following; we are investing more than \$4 billion in fertiliser production in Africa, but to make rapid growth, we need an ecosystem of companies. The deal-flow you mentioned. There is a deal-flow that we are de-risking, and that deal-flow should be really the focus of development agencies and financing institutions, because we can enter a virtuous circle for rapid growth.

The Agence Française de Développement has a very straightforward investment strategy. It can be summed up in two words: All Africa. Of course, it means we will always do as much as we can in Africa. It is so important. It accounts for half the agency's activity, with 500 people in all the countries. It also means—and here I totally agree with what Mostafa just said—that we must stop dividing Africa into two parts, North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa, once and for all. [...] What I find the most exciting is the recovery and Morocco's role in regional integration. That is an old topic. The day Morocco joins ECOWAS, the Organisation of West African States, which we obviously know at AFD, things will happen that have never happened before. The map of the continent will be transformed. You mentioned something else I am excited about: demographics. In 1900, there were 100 million Africans. Now, there are 1.2 billion. As on all continents, that will spur endogenous employment and economic growth with a speed and power no other part of the world has ever seen. [...] I think all of us are excited about the potential innovation we see. [...] What worries me about the present situation is that two crises are rocking Africa. There is the crisis in the Sahel and the crisis in Central Africa. [...] I will end on a bright note. We are changing. France will have raised its public development aid to 0.55% of GDP by 2022. It is also increasingly steering some of that aid towards the private sector. So are the Europeans. [...] This group of domestic and international banks around the world—Chinese, Indonesian, South African, Brazilian and European—will mobilise the private sector to meet the challenges we mentioned together.

During TICAD VI in Nairobi, I found two positive changes on the part of Africa. One is the rise of good leaders, who understand the situation of those respective countries—what they have, what they do not have, what they need – trying to listen to the advice from other countries, trying to create a good strategy for development. They are trying to reduce dependence on natural resources through industrialization. Japan is assisting this direction in comprehensive way. We focus on such areas as agriculture for reducing living cost, and public health and education for nurturing good human resources by utilizing our own development experience. In addition to this, we are trying to promote the interest of small and medium-sized businesses in Japan. In Japan, 99% are SMBs and many of them have a lot of innovative ideas which can contribute to development of African countries. They have already invested in South-East Asia and some of them are coming to Africa so we are trying to promote this movement. For this purpose, we are now receiving students from Africa, in the name of ABE (African Business Education) initiative. This is two years program combined with study in Japanese university and internship in the businesses, which will develop a relationship between African businesses and Japanese businesses.



MODERATOR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman,  
WPI



**Peter Maurer**  
President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

With the ICRC's founding, humanitarian action became a fully-fledged political concern of States. In that framework, the ICRC developed enduring methods: we act in the heart of conflicts; we are near the front lines to help civilian populations; we invoke the law to protect people affected by war and violence. But our activities are not limited to softening the effects of violence: we want to change the behaviour of the parties to conflicts by getting them to comply with international humanitarian law. The environment we work in today is changing fast: the lines between increasingly fragmented state and non-state actors and political, communitarian and criminal violence are becoming more blurred; military strategies increasingly flout the norms of international humanitarian law; war and widespread violence take a growing toll on civilian populations; attacks against hospitals, humanitarian workers and doctors are on the rise. In those circumstances, the principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence still matter and our preferred methods (confidentiality and proximity to victims and belligerents) remain relevant. Meanwhile, we are innovating with new operating methods, communication, humanitarian diplomacy and how we connect as well as adapting our means of assisting, protecting and funding humanitarian work.

## Trends in the Middle East



MODERATOR:  
**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**  
 former Minister of  
 Foreign Affairs and  
 Cooperation of Spain



**Youssef Amrani**  
 Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco



**Jihad Azour**  
 Director of the Middle East and Central Asia  
 Department, IMF



**Stuart Eizenstat**  
 Partner, Covington and Burling LLP

The Middle East continues to experience immense change and faces complex challenges arising from a fragmentation and deconstruction of the Arab World. As everything is interlinked because of the indivisibility of the security we cannot ignore the situation in the Maghreb and its Sahelian projection. The protracted conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya continues to generate spillover of instability in the MENA region. Then there is the key Palestinian issue, which remains unresolved but has now been relegated in the hierarchy of emergencies. To think that the Middle East could regain stability without finding a lasting solution to this conflict is an illusion. The common threat throughout the region is violent extremism. Addressing the issue of the fight against terrorism under the exclusive prism of security concerns is an incomplete response. The answers to our common challenges have one obvious common denominator: We need to work together a common strategic vision to solve the ongoing conflicts and to achieve of inclusive and multidimensional development for our region by promoting economic and social development and building coherent and democratic societies. In this respect we need strong, coherent and pro-active regional integration and to address our region's issue of identity. Identity issues and sectarian divides are rooted in faith and there is an urgent need to work together to deconstruct the jihadi narrative that seeks to distort Islam. These entire collective answers, Morocco has sought to apply them to itself, adapting them to its citizen's needs, realities and values. This has led to the elaboration of a singular Moroccan model under the leadership of His Majesty King Mohammed VI based on a global vision and citizen-based, grassroots approach for building a modern country.

The economic and financial question, which has led to several transformations in the region in the past decades, remains central to what we are currently experiencing, including on the political and security scene. However, those who follow economic developments can observe that, despite its importance, this area remains relatively marginalised in current public debate and in decision-making at the regional or international level. It is thus important to take a step back, in an attempt to better assess the issues and prospects for the region: what are our current conditions? What is the economic situation of the region as a whole? What is the outlook for the years to come and what are the challenges facing the countries in the region? Over the last few days, when I presented the IMF's economic outlook for the region for Year 2017, I saw a divergence in the growth prospects of oil importing countries versus those of oil exporting countries. Yet reform objectives or needs between these two groups of countries converge. First of all, a relative divergence in growth prospects can be seen between countries. Oil importing countries are growing at a relatively acceptable rate – about 4-4.5% this year. [...] In contrast, exporting countries are growing at a rate no greater than 1.5% to 2%, even though the non-oil sector is growing at a faster pace. This shows that we are gradually moving toward a post-oil economy situation, for the exporting countries as well as for the importing countries.

The political trends in the United States and the West have a direct impact on the Middle East. [...] With respect to the Middle East, it seems to me there is very positive news in a number of areas, mostly interestingly in the countries with monarchies. Saudi Arabia's 2030 vision by King Salman recognises the need to diversify an oil-based economy, to empower women and to encourage for the first time more private and foreign investment. The same is true in the United Arab Emirates, which are booming. Under King Hussein, Jordan is staying above water, which is saying something when you consider a country of 10 million has had to accept 700,000 refugees with few natural resources. Morocco is doing fairly well under a reformist King Mohammed VI and ISIS has been defeated on the battlefield in Iraq and Syria, although it remains a persistent problem for terrorism. These are very positive developments and should not be neglected. At the same time, they tend to be overwhelmed by three negative trends. The first is the rise of non-state forces of disintegration, many, although not all, radical, threatening traditional unitary states. [...] A second negative force is the rise of political Islam, and Iran is the progenitor of that, marrying Islam to a radical terrorist agenda. [...] The third negative force, at least from my standpoint, is the resurgence of Russian influence at the expense of the United States in a region in which they were expelled by President Sadat in 1973 as he turned to America. [...] Now, US policy under Trump has two priorities in this region. The first is the defeat of ISIS with modest help to pro-US forces in Syria and support of anti-radical forces in Yemen and Niger and in Nigeria as well. The second priority of the Trump administration in this region is to limit Iranian power in every way possible, short of war.



## Trends in the Middle East



**Renaud Girard**

Senior reporter and international columnist at Le Figaro



**Odeh Aburdene**

President of OAI Advisors, member of the Council on Foreign Relations



**Itamar Rabinovich**

President of the Israel Institute, former Ambassador to the United States, Israel

With the Arab Spring, a series of political revolutions exponentially amplified by the digital revolution, the populations of the Middle East were inundated by two ideological waves of unprecedented power. The first was democratic ideology. The second, Islamist ideology. And we watched as these two ideologies faced off, in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and beyond. It was a clash between forces fighting for laws written by men, the rule of law, and Western-style democracy and those fighting for laws written by God, and for Sharia, held so dear by the Islamic Brotherhood. Neither the democratic ideology nor the Islamist ideology won out. Who won, then? The return of national feeling, and the return of Nation-States. The Shiite/Sunni religious divide remains an important key to understanding the Middle East, but it is no longer the prevalent one. We see Iran's great power, Iran, joining forces with a major Sunni power, Turkey, for the sole purpose of strengthening their respective states in the face of the threat of Kurdish independence. This return of States and classic geopolitics comes along with the creation of alliances, as in the Europe of the 19th century. Facing down the Shiite axis (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon), a Sunni axis is rising, with the assistance of the United States (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Emirates, Jordan). Which in turn must fend off the mini-axis Turkey-Qatar. Here we are back in the complex East, dear to the heart of Charles de Gaulle...

First, if you look at the Arab region, you need stability. There are two ways to achieve stability- either by consent or by imposition. In the past 50 years, stability was based on imposition and we have seen that it did not work, whether you look at Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen or Libya. In my view, you need to have stability by consent. [...] To have economic growth, you have to eliminate corruption because corruption is rampant and the population knows it. Corruption is a form of taxation by the private sector on the whole population. [...] Now, regarding Palestine, this is a very complex issue. It has been with us since 1948. Many people have tried to fix it, starting with President Carter and then President Reagan, Clinton, and Obama, and it has been difficult. [...] Now, as I look at the situation today, I see some signs of hope and despair. My first hope is that there is going to be a Palestinian reconciliation. Whether or not it will succeed, we have to wait and see, but at least for the first time in many years, the Palestinian plane does not have four or five pilots. It has one pilot, one authority and one address. [...] "Will Mr Netanyahu seize that opportunity?" [...] The Palestinians realise that peace is in their interests, however, the Palestinian leadership today will not go into negotiations unless the following is clear-they want to see a clear path to a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders. If the path is clear, I think the Palestinians will negotiate. [...] The Palestinians feel that East Jerusalem, Arab Jerusalem has to be linked to a Palestinian state, which has to be sovereign.

The presentation dealt with the following main trends in the current Middle Eastern arena:  
 - Partial US disengagement. The US continues to be active in the Middle East. President Trump's first foreign trip was to the Middle East. But the policy begun by Obama has not been altered by Trump. The US shies away from major military involvement in the region. This has created a vacuum exploited by Russia and Iran and manifested most prominently in the context of the Syrian crisis. A build up of Russia's position and influence. Russia's successful intervention in the Syrian civil war was a turning point. Crises and weakness in the Arab world. Several Arab states are failed states. Important Arab states like Saudi Arabia and Egypt are definitely not failed states but they are encumbered by major domestic problems. Sunni Shiite tensions sometimes depicted as Saudi Iranian rivalry. Stalemate in the quest for an Israeli Palestinian settlement as the region waits for Trump's promised peace plan. Under the table several moderate Arab Sunni states are collaborating with Israel against Iran and ISIS Turkey's and Iran's return to a full fledged involvement in the Middle East is transforming the region's politics. The discrepancy between a growing population and scarcity of resources will continue to undermine the region's stability.

## Trust and truth in the digital age

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI MOHAMMED VI  
UNDER THE HIGH PATRONAGE OF HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI

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Correspondent, Europe,  
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**Haïm Korsia**  
Chief Rabbi of France



**Susan Lioutaud**  
Founder and Managing Director, Susan Lioutaud  
& Associates Limited

You have a truth. It is yours and you want to share it. You stand by it. But your truth is not accepted by everybody by any means. And then at some point, minds change and so does the truth. It makes its way to you. The truth also depends on the moment. Obviously then, it can change at some point in time; so absolute truth does not exist. That idea seems essential to me. In the Talmud, Hillel and Shammai, never agree. But a voice comes down from heaven and says, "These and these are the words of the Living God". This story allows us to understand that the truth lies not in an affirmation, but in the ethical tension between two positions that requires finding a balance. The truth is probably the combination of all those angles. It is, in fact, dialogue, i.e. the ability to be enriched by the other's truth. That is what happens in the debate between religions. We must be grateful to the French Republic and the secularism it upholds. Every religion says, "We have our truth." But to be able to express my truth, I must fight to allow the others' to exist. Saying that, I argue that there are several truths. In my view, that will be the point of this debate.

Power today is scattered. [...] in fact, we do not really even know who has the power. The second power dynamic is a concentration of power in the technology companies. [...] The question here is how do we rebalance the allocation of responsibility? We cannot have online sex trafficking, recruiting of terrorists and all manner of wrongdoing and have these companies saying that they are just a neutral platform. On the other hand, we cannot have regulators targeting and quashing innovation in ways that can also be negative for society. Now, the final point about power and technology is that technology has disempowered state institutions. Starting with the law, we see that legal systems lag very far behind technology, which is constantly changing and at an increasingly fast pace, and the law simply cannot keep up. We see that legal systems are very ill-equipped to deal with the cross-border impact of technology, and understandably legislators just do not understand the technology. [...] Technology has also catalysed this epidemic of compromised truth, [...] More generally, we have to ask ourselves, 'What else about our decision-making needs to shift?' One is that we need to broaden the conversation. It cannot be that the innovators and those who control the innovations, are the deciders on behalf of society about when and how innovation is unleashed on society. [...] Then finally, we need to look at this very daunting and complex reality that we have with this complicated distribution of power, lack of understanding about where it is and who is responsible and we need to avoid taking refuge in the binary. We should be asking when and under what circumstances. How can we maximise the positive benefits and minimise the risk?



## Trust and truth in the digital age



### Oliver Bussmann

Founder & Managing Partner at Bussmann Advisory, Zug/Switzerland, former UBS and SAP Global CIO



### Anne-Thida Norodom

Professor of public law at the University of Rouen, France; Member of the Strategic Advisory Board of Ifri



### Stefan Heumann

Member of the management board of Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (SNV)

The next wave of digital disruption is called blockchain and I would say it is the new technology of trust because it will change how we interact between each other and how we transact because it leverages the open Internet and cryptographic functionality. We will see a lot of things getting faster and more secure. If you look at how we interact today, we transfer information over the Internet by duplication. We always copy music, PDFs, PowerPoints, whatever, if we want to exchange between two parties. That is a lot of duplication and in most cases, there is somebody that verifies that this is being processed in the right way and that generates a lot of complexity. There are a lot of third parties involved. It takes time, very complex and inefficient and it is not transparent. Now with blockchain, the idea is that we now have a world in which even physical assets can be transferred in a digital way. We do not want to have a duplication of assets. We do not want to use a third party. It is almost like a self-regulated way of exchanging, doing a deal, doing a transaction, exchanging information, and so the blockchain technology is simplifying business between two parties. It is very direct peer-to-peer interaction. The information that you store on the open Internet via blockchain cannot be changed. It is immutable and it is happening without a third party. This potentially eliminates clearing houses, Facebook, Uber and other third parties that are usually involved in transactions between two parties. [...] In the end, we are talking about significant financial benefits, such as simplification, speed and transparency, so the technology itself at the end is a new technology of trust that the community will build and there is momentum across the region that I think is unstoppable.

Several questions on existing law arise here. Is existing law enough? How can the balance be kept between regulating fake news, protecting free speech and safeguarding freedom of information? Can fake news be legally defined? [...] Several things in French or European Union law could qualify as fake news. The offence of false information, bringing a libel suit and invoking the right to online reputation, the right to privacy, attacks on the nation's vital interests or false advertising. Who should be sanctioned? I see two types of authors. First, there are the online platform operators. [...] The authors of fake news can also be sanctioned, which prompts us to think about requiring them to take more responsibility. [...] An attempt could be made to address the phenomenon's causes. I see two: the financial gains made from fake news, and a deeper cause, distrust of institutions and the governing class. [...] What is the best way to regulate fake news? There are two solutions: either "soft-law" instruments, co-regulation and self-regulation by private players, or a legally binding instrument. [...] It seems to me that we must be very careful about creating new rules to regulate at any price a new technological phenomenon.

Many of you on the way over to Marrakesh might have picked up the latest issue of The Economist. Their cover story actually asks, 'Is social media undermining democracy?' It is remarkable how our discussion about the Internet has really changed in the past few years. [...] What really concerns us is more on the other side, which is intentionally spreading false information, usually a story that is taken out of context and is intentionally misinterpreted to give it a different spin and to drive an agenda. [...] Spreading fake news are not just incidents on the Internet, but they are usually part of campaigns. They are part of a strategy for political mobilisation in all of these cases and I would argue here that we should understand that fake news are being used as a strategy for political mobilisation. [...] Fake news and disinformation on the Internet have become major challenges. We need to study this problem more carefully to better understand it. Coming up with solutions won't be easy as we need to avoid undermining freedom of speech. It is thus really important that governments, social media companies and civil society come together to address this issue. Otherwise, truth and trust will decline and the potential of the digital age won't be realised.



## The world economy



MODERATOR:  
**Richard Cooper**  
Professor of Economics,  
Harvard University



**Uri Dadush**  
Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center,  
Non-Resident Scholar, Bruegel



**Kemal Dervis**  
Vice President and Director of Global Economy  
and Development, Brookings Institution, former Minister of  
Economic Affairs of Turkey

2017 was a good year, and so will be 2018. Why? Four elements, just very quickly, these are well known. Steady growth across all the large economies, accelerations of economies that have been in trouble – Russia, Brazil, Japan and Italy – less trouble in the past, but very sluggish growth. You are actually seeing decent growth in these large economies. The second element is that policies are helpful, monetary policies remain very stimulatory. Fiscal policy plays a larger, neutral role. The tax package announced in the US suggests that there will be some fiscal stimulus coming in the United States, so it could be even – from the short-term point of view – a good thing. The third element is we have had 10 years of very slow growth, a terrible time really in the world economy. There is a lot of pent-up demand, and there is also a lot of under-utilised capacity, so in half of the 60 largest economies in the world, unemployment is still over 5% at the moment. That is a good indication of under-utilised capacities. Finally, inflation is very subdued. Oil and commodity prices are still very moderate, and so inflation is under the 2% benchmark. That is at the headline level, if you look at the underlying inflation it is even lower than that, so these are the elements, essentially, of the optimism for the short-term.

I want to focus on really two points; one is this issue of debt and interest rates, and whether that is a major risk. [...] Gross debt to GDP has increased. It is significantly higher than it was at the beginning of the 2008 crisis. This debt does not create too much of a problem, because of extremely low interest rates. [...] I do not foresee these interest rates rising for various reasons: both supply side and demand side. [...] If this hypothesis about interest rates is wrong, then we could enter a major crisis situation, because the deleveraging process would be very messy and much of the ammunition that was available has been spent. The second point I want to make is about the productivity paradox. We have indeed entered a world with artificial intelligence, a booming technology world, and at the micro level, you would think as a macroeconomist, that productivity growth would be rising very rapidly, but in fact, the opposite is the case. Both labour productivity and total factor productivity are rising much more slowly than they have in a long time. [...] On the one hand, you have this booming technology innovation, and on the other hand, you have measured productivity actually slowing down, [...] What is happening is that the best firms on the frontier are actually increasing their productivity quite well, [...] However, they are a small minority, and their weight in the overall economy is small. The other firms, the median firm or the below-median firms are showing – in most cases – negative total factor productivity growth, so it is not that innovation is not happening, [...] It is, but only in a minority of high-performing firms, [...] It is one more factor of why the income distribution is becoming more unequal and that may be the biggest problem.



## The world economy



### Jung Sung-Chun

Vice President, Department of International Macroeconomics & Finance, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP)

I will briefly mention the cross-cutting potential negative factors for the global economy. The first factor is – as already mentioned – inward-looking protectionism in the advanced economies. This is a very big problem for many countries; for example, South Korea is facing a very big problem with the US, because the US government asks for renegotiation of the Korea-US FTA. [...] The second risk factor is the very weak real wage growth in advanced economies, especially in the European countries, and in Japan. It is a big problem for those two big economies, and lower inflation rate is also a very big problem. A lower inflation rate tends to lead to weaker consumer confidence, weaker business confidence, so the world economy has not succeeded yet in completely ending the deflation mindset, which is very, very prevalent in many advanced economies. Finally, I would like to mention the changes in international financial conditions. The US Fed has already begun to raise its policy rate, and there is a mood of tapering in the European Central Banks. There are many emerging economies propelled by capital inflow from the advanced economies. Debt-fuelled emerging economies, I think, should normalise their balance sheet before accommodative financial conditions are ended. This is a very big policy task for the emerging economies.



### Itoh Motoshige

Emeritus Professor of University of Tokyo and Professor of Gakushuin University, former Advisor to the Prime Minister

It is obvious that the world economy is in an expansionary process. If you look at stock prices, or employment numbers, or growth rate, or even just rising long-term interest rates, this all shows just where the economy is expanding, but this is not a place where we speak only of the optimistic picture, so let me just raise three concerns or problems. One is the very low growth rate. Not just the growth rate, but very low potential growth rate, so this may be very much related to what people call the circular stagnation, and behind is the very low productivity. [...] In Japan, we have a lot of discussions about the increasing importance of reform to accelerate the reallocation of resources, especially for the labour market. [...] My second concern, which has also been raised by some other people, is the very low inflation rate. [...] Third, I think Kemal just mentioned the importance of the risk of debt, and I agree, but I just want to emphasise the other side: the risk of asset. You have to look at the price of the stocks and real estate. Because of the maybe very, very low interest rate, in most countries, probably the stock price and the real estate price is among the highest, and it is very difficult to say whether this is a bubble or not, because of the low interest rate.



### Qiao Yide

Vice Chairman & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation

I am trying to summarise four issues that are currently causing much concern among the international community. Firstly, regarding the recovery of the world economy, it is obvious that the economy is in recovery. Can this recovery be sustainable or not? In addition, does so-called secular stagnation, claimed by Larry Summers, still exist or not? [...] The second issue is how to deal with the possible negative impact of globalisation. Even those people who support globalisation recognise some possible negative outcomes from globalisation. Particularly, although globally, the income inequality has been reduced among different countries, but in each country, how do we solve the wide gap of income inequality? [...] The third issue – what is the impact of new technology, and artificial intelligence in particular? These technologies may not necessarily have some positive impact in terms of labour productivity, or total productivity. [...] The last issue is how to prevent the future against a financial crisis. Some signs that people worry about, is that we still have a very high leverage level, and also a fluctuation of cross-border capital. [...] Chinese economy has performed relatively well. Last year, the GDP growth was 6.9%. In the first three quarter of this year, the GDP also reached the same growth of 6.9%. The IMF forecast that maybe at the end of this year, the GDP growth of China can reach 6.8%. That means that generally, the Chinese economy has already stabilised. Generally speaking, the debt ratio in China is okay, particularly government and household debt relative to other countries is low. People worry about the debt ratio of non-financial corporate sector. Probably now, they will reach 160% of GDP, which is very high. Yes, we should be taking care of that issue. At the same time, I do not think we should exaggerate the issue, because in China, there are some differences compared to other countries.

## The future of transportation: connectivity and governance



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



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



**Patrick de Castelbajac**  
Head of Airbus Strategy and International



**Jean-Yves Le Gall**  
Chair of the ESA Council and President of the Centre National  
d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES), France

Internet, smartphones and technology in general have dramatically changed our lifestyle in less than a decade creating a new wave of shared economy. The real-time ubiquitous access to knowledge has created new usages and behaviors: owning something is good, but sharing it is much better, especially for the young generation: this is possible because of technology which allows us to have access to everything, anytime, anywhere with a high degree of personalisation. What we used to consider good has also changed a lot in less than a generation: owning a trophy car is not seen as a social achievement or differentiator anymore but rather as a polluting commodity amongst other transportation systems. The triptych, speed of communication (5G+, fibre), increase of IT power (CPU, storage, IOT) and software (shared in the cloud) will change the landscape of cities which will become smarter (e.g. NEOM). buildings will be organized around workers and will become eco-friendly and finally cars will drive us safely and in a friendly way from A to B. The best is yet to come as long as technology is contained in its role to make our world a better place to live for our kids and future generation.

What we are talking about is vehicles flying people vertically in cities, [...] Urbanisation is a major phenomenon, with more than half of the population now living in urban areas. Over the past ten years, roughly 200 000 people moved from rural to urban areas every single day in average. Cities are growing bigger, but so are traffic, congestion, and traffic jams. We tried to measure the impact on economies, and last year in the US, people started to figure out and account for all the direct costs, the time lost, fuel, but also the indirect costs. They came up with a bill of \$300 billion per year in the US alone, last year. It is humongous, and when you talk about that sort of money, people start to think about solutions. [...] if you look at cities today, it is clear that there are very limited solutions on or below the surface – the subterranean areas around cities are also crowded. So we think what we need to do is go for the third dimension, because by definition it is open, and we have all the space we need for people to travel there. Once we say this, how close are we to urban air mobility and to the dream of flying around? From a technological standpoint, we are not very far. [...] The difficulty is integrating all the technologies, not only on the vehicle but also on the ground, in space, working with authorities regulating traffic and trying to make sure all of this is safe. [...] We believe that this revolution is coming and is no longer a dream and it is something we can work on.

Europe's Galileo geolocation satellite system is an asset for autonomous vehicles. It is a service offering 10-metre accuracy around the globe, much more accurate than GPS. It is an authentication service that lets users ensure that they are receiving the right signals, and not being spoofed. It offers enhanced signals to ensure better positioning resilience in urban environments. And it allows close interoperability with GPS, designed into the system from the outset. In a world where autonomous vehicles are coming, Galileo will bring a lot of benefits even if there is still a strong need to conduct trials, to allow industry to design innovations and to give governments enough data to inform policy decisions and legislation. From this point of view, cooperation between the public and private sectors will be a guarantee of success. While it may seem strange to have a car driving alone today, within a few years it will be possible to drive, for example, from Casablanca to Marrakesh without drivers. It will only take a few years. In the US, some experiments have started on social issues. At the moment, there are five million truck drivers and they clearly understand that this is an issue. However, autonomous vehicles will bring a lot of benefits and that is exactly what is at stake.



**MODERATOR:**  
**Richard Burt**  
 Managing Director,  
 McLarty Associates,  
 former US Ambassador  
 to Germany

## America and the world one year after Trump's election



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



**Yukio Okamoto**  
 President, Okamoto Associates, Inc., former Special Advisor  
 to two Prime Ministers of Japan



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

Where are we right now in the renegotiations of NAFTA? I think we are facing a great opportunity, and at the same time a great threat. A great opportunity because simply any contract that you reread after 20 years of operation is going to have numerous opportunities for improvement. This is the case in NAFTA, [...] The difficult and very challenging side of the renegotiation, is the series of proposals put forward by the US during the fourth round of negotiations. These proposals go against the competitiveness of all three countries, not just Mexico, but the US and Canada too. For example, proposals which have the unattainable objective to manage the US trade deficit. For example, weakening or eliminating the dispute settlement procedures that bring credibility, strength, enforceability to the flows of trade and investment in North America. For example, trying to change the successful complementarity in flows of agricultural products between the three countries, by increasing the likelihood of imposing antidumping measures against Mexican and Canadian exports to the US. Finally, a sunset clause, which would automatically eliminate any kind of permanence and credibility for the investment in North America. On the second issue, the casting by the US of the construction of the wall is so wrong. [...] In Mexico as well as in Canada, we are developing and applying a series of policies which would be efficient in minimizing the damaging effects if the United States decides to leave NAFTA. For instance, we are doing just that in enhancing our trade agreements with Europe, Asia and Latin America.

So far, thanks to the help of three generals and especially Jim Mattis, Mr Trump is perceived as a good President for Japan. On the other hand, if I can be blunt, we were a little bit disappointed with the inaction of President Obama in the Asian theatre, which we believe has emboldened China's ambition to go outward, especially its expansionary maritime strategy towards the South China Sea, East China Sea, and the Pacific. [...] The pace at which he is experimenting has been speeding up. I think that the international sanctions have at last started to take effect, slowly, but steadily and Mr Kim Jong-un has to build the weapons in his hands before he chokes economically. [...] However, my conjecture is he has further ambitions to unify the Peninsula, the aborted dream of his grandfather, so he can say to the United States that they should not intervene this time because they know what will happen this time. [...] After North Korea has acquired a de facto nuclear state status, we will have to beef-up our retaliatory capability on a massive scale, as a means of deterring North Korea's temptation to use those weapons and to build a credible nuclear missile defence system. I think we will have to wait a long time before North Korea become a normal state.

Since I was correct in most of my predictions except one, let me give you my predictions for the next year. President Trump's slogan "Make America great again" really means make America strong and rich again. I think his tax cuts will be popular with both the corporate world and for those who are in the lower income bracket. The US economy is thriving these days as stock markets are breaking records every few weeks. The unemployment rate is very low and getting lower, and around 250,000 new jobs have been created just for the month of September. So, economically America is going to do very well next year at the expense of other countries. There will be a re-adjustment in the trade agreements like NAFTA and the US-Korea trade agreements that will benefit the US. With changes in the tax laws and tax cuts, many American companies will bring their assets and cash back to the US from overseas. There will be a lot of foreign companies that will be building factories and buying assets in the US. I mentioned earlier the late successes of my factory in the US and we are, at the moment, already planning to build another facility in the US. So the economic outlook is very good for the US next year. The challenge for President Trump next year will be the mid-term elections but with such good economic outlook I think the Republican Party will be able to hold the majority or even increase the majority in both the Senate and the House. The biggest challenge for President Trump will be the outcome of the special prosecutor's inquiries on his Russian connections before the elections but I don't think it is going to lead to his impeachment.



## America and the world one year after Trump's election



**Alexander Panov**

Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Professor and Head of the department of diplomacy of MGIMO



**Hubert Védrine**

former French Minister of Foreign Affairs



**John Sawers**

former head of the Secret Intelligence Service, United Kingdom

I think that because of internal problems, Trump now and for the future, while he might be successful on the economic front, in general is already a lame duck. I call it lame rabbit, because he is jumping in a variety of directions and it is now difficult to catch him because he is unpredictable in his movements. He does not have full power and cannot produce a regional strategy, let alone a global one. The best example is North Korea; shouting diplomacy is not what we expect from a great leader of a great country. There is also the Middle East, which we discussed yesterday, where there is also no leadership from the United States.

I think that we all need a strong, just America, that is not selfish. We need an America that can have good ideas on how to organise the world order after the Cold War, but we do not see leadership of that kind. I am very sorry to say that there is no communication between Putin and Trump and they have only met once, on the sidelines of some conference. Political dialogue on all levels has almost frozen. If witch hunts continue in the United States I cannot see a possibility of improving bilateral relations. I only hope that this history of Russia in the United States will not finish in the same way as in the 1950s during the Cold War, when the defence minister jumped from the window and killed himself while crying, 'The Russians are coming'.

Trump's election in the United States continues to baffle the Democrats, the left and progressive forces in general. They are still aghast. The world is divided between a few leaders who are very happy about Trump because they benefit indirectly and countries that are directly threatened. All the countries that have been more or less behind the United States' shield since the end of the war are wondering what will happen.

Scenarios:

1) Implosion. Don't bet on it. 2) Impeachment. Unlikely. 3) "Professionalisation". Not very credible. Anyway, that is not his goal. He was honest about one thing during his campaign: "I'll be unpredictable." He has kept his word except for one point: being predictable on satisfying his base. 4) The situation continues as it is: confused, chaotic but without an acute crisis. 5) Re-election. It is destabilising.

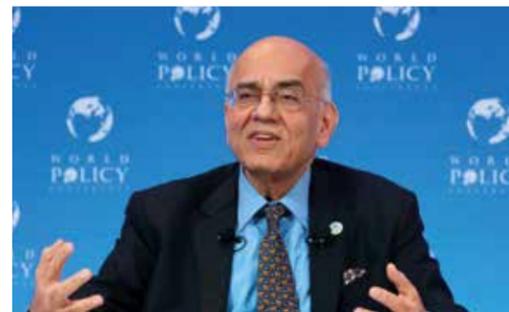
What can be done? Organise ourselves the best we can. Not long from now there will be a test: the Iran agreement. I do not think Trump is just a blip. The future must not be thought of nostalgically or with hopes of a return to "normal" after the next election or the one after that.

America and Britain were the two countries that most embraced globalisation. We were slow to realise that the beneficiaries of that were relatively few, and those that did not benefit were more numerous, [...] Brexit is going to be a painful negotiation, which will probably end up with an agreement, but it will not be very satisfactory. [...] We have an unreliable and quixotic American President, at a time when we have the strongest leader in China in modern history. [...] China is now replacing America in many places as the supporter and upholder of public goods, like action against climate change and in support of global trade. [...] I think what we will find, is that the generals around President Trump will see military solutions to problems, which might otherwise be dealt with through political and diplomatic means. I think that the chances of a conflict over North Korea are now considerably greater than before. [...] In the Middle East, the absence of American leadership is an encouragement to local leaders to act independently. [...] It is not just in the political and security fields either. [...] I think we will see an alternative clearing system for international transactions which does not involve the United States, and that will depend upon the yuan as the driving currency. [...] We will see challenges, led by the Chinese, but supported by others in the global system, to push back America's dominance in the world and they are likely to be successful. We will also see action by America's allies to look to their own resources and capabilities, with some unwelcome and dangerous results, as America's leadership in the world is gradually replaced by a nationalist 'America first' agenda.

# Artificial intelligence and the future of human labor



MODERATOR:  
**Ali Aslan**  
TV host and journalist,  
Deutsche Welle TV



**Masood Ahmed**  
President, Center for global Development, former Director,  
Middle East and Central Asia Department, IMF

Artificial Intelligence will affect the future of work far more broadly than you see now and this is not simply an issue for the OECD or advanced economies. AI is going to affect the nature of work in developing countries and emerging markets, and those countries and markets are in many ways less prepared for the consequences of AI. Traditionally, when you thought about development, it was basically done by taking surplus labour from agriculture, which had become more productive, and moving them into light manufacturing. If light manufacturing is increasingly done by robots and through AI, that rung of the development ladder disappears. Where will these people who come from agriculture go? Are they going to jump straight into high valued added, more sophisticated manufacturing and services? Do they have the skills to do that? Are education systems that are struggling to even equip people to do simple manufacturing, able to give them the skill sets they need to take on the new jobs that we are all struggling to define? We need to start planning and preparing for technological change. I do not suggest that you try to stop it; on balance, it will add to our productivity and our ability to live better lives. However, to do that we need to equip ourselves now, and to make this a national agenda.



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

If you look at the number of Artificial Intelligence related inventions patented in the five top IP offices in the last five years, the number has nearly doubled. In addition, when we look at the funding of Artificial Intelligence start ups, there were 160 deals in 2012 and 658 in 2016. There has been really rapid change in a very short period. We all see that Artificial Intelligence can make better decisions, detect problems earlier and generally reduce costs in several areas fundamental to societal wellbeing. [...] Of course, Artificial Intelligence also creates challenges [...] People tend to be very worried about what will happen in the workplace and what their future will be. At the OECD, we think that this kind of fears can be a little bit exaggerated, [...] I come to the point of what governments should do. First, we need to adapt our skill policies. The skills competition for jobs is changing and in almost all advanced countries we have seen a decline in the proportion of middle-skill jobs and an increase in the proportion of both low and high-skill jobs. To face the phenomenon, skills competition is of utmost importance and governments must improve the education system. [...] The second policy is active labour market policies, so that we can provide workers who lose out in this transition process with the necessary income support, but also the means to find a new high-quality job as quickly as possible. Third is social security policies. We also heard that there are many possibilities for that, but because the form of work is changing, social security systems also must change.



**Holger Mey**  
Vice President, Advanced Concepts, Airbus

Technological megatrends include nanotechnologies, biotechnologies, robotics, and so-called artificial intelligence. While each of these trends certainly carries the potential for disruptive change, the most interesting and far-reaching change can be expected if/when these trends merge. We might well enter a new phase of evolution. The term artificial intelligence might not adequately reflect what we are actually talking about. It is probably more about intelligence used by machines or artificial organisms. The human brain did not invent intelligence, it merely uses it. What if a brain is not built on the basis of hydrocarbon but silicon or gallium arsenide? And if one day it could be more complex than the human brain, it might as well surpass our intellectual capabilities. Will the computers convince us that we are superfluous?



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

This intervention sheds light on the principal senses of AI around which all technologies are built and providing a roadmap of how development in AI will evolve in the years to come. (i) Act: The presence of automation started from the time of the first industrial revolution that saw automation of repetitive tasks. Today we have robots with capabilities to interact and work with human beings. In IT, the first deployment was in RPA -Robotic Process Automation, for doing simple and repetitive tasks; (ii) Listen and talk, the second sense is the next area in terms of artificial intelligence and the most advanced today. Today, virtual assistants and chatbots can respond on average to 30% of our questions. It is estimated that in 5 years, AI-driven speech recognition and interaction will be as good as, or even better than humans; (iii) Watching and monitoring which might take 7-10 years to develop completely. The development in face recognition will completely change the cybersecurity space. Virtual Reality and Augmented Reality are important components; (iv) Knowledge is further away, but will definitely constitute a big revolution. With AI, the whole concept of large knowledge repositories becomes less relevant and the requirement is to build the capability to ask questions and access the correct data from wherever it is stored; (v) The fifth sense is about Analytics. While business intelligence is trying to understand some patterns from historical data, analytics is forward looking. The way we look at the world will completely change with AI replicating human senses; organisations' working model, hierarchies, and social models will undergo change and our existing institutions will have to be geared for this change. The most immediate challenge is to adapt our education system starting from the very early stages.



# The future of trade and international investments



MODERATOR:  
**Nicolas Barré**  
Managing Director,  
Les Echos



**Marcus Noland**  
Executive Vice President and Director of Studies,  
Peterson Institute for International Economics



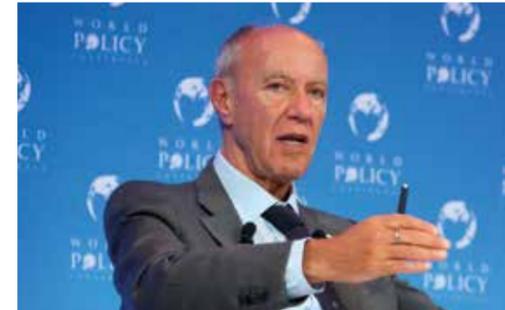
**Bark Taeho**  
President, Lee & Ko Global Commerce Institute,  
former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

The Trump Administration trade policy is an explicitly protectionist policy. It reflects a continuation of campaign themes: a focus on trade deficits, including bilateral deficits, currency manipulation, and “disastrous” trade agreements. The US has withdrawn from TPP and forced renegotiations under threat of abrogation of KORUS and NAFTA. If one simply takes the protection cases from the first 100 days of the Trump administration and assumes that protection is actually applied, the share of US imports under protection doubles. Together with some colleagues from the Peterson Institute I modelled trade wars with China and Mexico. What we find is that most of the US casualties in a trade war would be among the most vulnerable people in society. The real threat is the interaction between the macro policy and the trade policy. The United States is likely to adopt an expansionary fiscal policy, which is going to lead to a growth spurt, widening budget and trade deficits, and appreciating exchange rates. We would then face the prospect of the Trump administration reaching for protection in response to the increasing trade deficit.

First of all, the WTO members should seriously discuss how to revise the Doha Round agenda at the upcoming WTO MC 11. It should be also emphasized that MC 11 must produce a successful outcome. Second, along with the multilateral negotiations, the WTO members must consider taking different approaches to address further liberalization and new commercial rules. Given the nature of the decision making mechanism of the WTO, we may need to seek for plurilateral agreements for certain issues among like-minded participants. Third, the WTO’s dispute settlement function has been respected despite the failure of the Doha Round. However, recently WTO has been unable to fill vacant members at the WTO Appellate Body. It is hoped that the problem should be resolved as soon as possible. Fourth, the WTO members should agree to join in combating unfair trade practices but at the same time understand that the investigation and imposition of trade defense measures should be consistent with the WTO rules and purposes. Last but not least, the WTO members should utilize their existing or future bilateral FTAs to further liberalize trade and reflect new commercial issues in the agreements. In other words, it would be important for them to focus more on making the FTAs as modern as possible by including newly emerging trade issues.



## The future of trade and international investments



**Francis Gurry**  
 Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)



**Stefan Mair**  
 Member of the Executive Board, Federation of German Industries (BDI)



**Yi Xiaozhun**  
 Deputy Director-General, WTO

I think that advanced manufacturing technologies are going to radically alter the nature of trade relations in the future. [...] With advanced manufacturing technologies, robotics, Artificial Intelligence, sensors and additive manufacturing, I think that we are seeing the possibility of industrialised countries recapturing manufacturing. Adidas was given as an example, where they will have the capacity to manufacture instead of using factories in Indonesia, Vietnam or the Philippines. I think that technological possibility is joined by a political will, which we are seeing expressed, to recapture manufacturing. I am not talking here about the Trump administration because I think it is more old economy than new economy, and when he talks about recapturing manufacturing I think he is talking about traditional not new manufacturing. However, a very deliberate view is being expressed that one of the reasons for recapturing manufacturing is because it is followed by innovation and that is a good reason to preserve manufacturing capacity. I think we also see that very much in the case of China, with its strategy on Artificial Intelligence and manufacturing. In this case, it is not recapturing manufacturing but preserving it. [...] One of the characteristics of the data economy is that it does not respect the architecture that has been put into place for trade relations in the past and I do not see that really being addressed. [...] In caricature, the old model was that 'here are the rules, comply' and the new model is, 'here is the road, trade'. I think that this is going to have major consequences for the institutional architecture.

Since 2008, when the G20 countries committed themselves to keep their markets open, you could count more than 2 500 trade restrictive measures. [...] From my point of view, there are two very obvious reasons for the rise of protectionism. One has already been addressed in yesterday's session, I think by Uri Dadush, who said that we had a decline of social inequality globally, but an increase of social inequality in major economies. Those people who feel left behind and think that their jobs are taken by workers in emerging economies want those jobs back. [...] From my point of view it is clearly the responsibility of national states to deal with these problems [...]. The second reason for rising protectionism is the feeling of governments and societies that they are losing control over overwhelming global market forces. [...] It was Dani Rodrik who phrased this challenge for democracies and nation states in the so-called globalisation trilemma, which says that you cannot have hyperglobalisation, as he called it, democratic politics and national sovereignty at the same time, so you can only combine two of them. Obviously, most governments opted to reinforce national sovereignty over globalisation. [...] From my point of view, the problem is that this option cannot really cope with the global challenges we face. There is no alternative to resort to global governance, even if it means weakening national sovereignty.

1/ Many people now feel as if the global trading system is on the verge of collapse. However, I believe that the multilateral trading system remains strong and solid, which represents the best world effort to keep protectionism and economic tensions at bay. 2/ The current trend of turning against trade will not solve any problems. Instead, raising barriers to trade will only make the situation worse. It will not bring jobs back. A better response to these challenges is to have more active domestic policies to support workers and equip them with the skills to compete in the modern market place. 3/ Bilateral or regional approaches are important. However, they cannot be enough on their own; they can only supplement the multilateral trading system and act as building blocks for it. The multilateral approach is essential and indispensable. WTO members share the responsibility for bolstering global economic cooperation to leave a strong and well-functioning multilateral trading system for future generations.



MODERATOR:  
**Ali Aslan**  
TV host and journalist,  
Deutsche Welle TV

## The European Union and the world



**Richard Burt**  
Managing Director, McLarty Associates,  
former US Ambassador to Germany



**Steven Erlanger**  
Chief Diplomatic Correspondent,  
Europe, New York Times



**Elisabeth Guigou**  
President of The Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation  
for the Dialogue Between Cultures, former Member of  
Parliament and President of the Commission of Foreign  
Affairs at the Assemblée nationale, France

We are going through a really crucial and historical change in which the message from Washington to Europe and the EU is now: 'You are on your own.' [...] American policy becomes less focused on Western values and shared values and more on transactionalism, and there is an emphasis in American policy on India, China, East Asia and South Asia and not the US-EU relationship. This puts the Europeans, and the EU in particular, in a difficult position. It is a scary world for Europeans, on the one hand, without the US as a partner, but on the other hand it can also be a force for change in Europe, an invigorating period for Europe, to take on new responsibilities and new leadership. The Europeans need to think about defence spending and strengthening their defence to play a bigger role in international politics. There is some consensus beginning to emerge along those lines, and as an American I would applaud an effort to strengthen European security and defence. [...] Some kind of agreement needs to be reached in Brussels to find a way of demonstrating that there are costs associated with not living up to the standards and rules of the EU, because if the EU fails to do this, it faces potential disintegration. [...] The Germans now potentially have a French partner, which could create a revitalised Franco-German alliance within the EU, which historically has always been the vital engine of growth and modernity in Europe.

The Germans are desperate to have a France that is in better shape, partly to share the responsibility and the blame for European leadership, because there is a lot of anti-German feeling in Southern and Eastern Europe. The feeling is that, if you think Trump is "America First," Germany has been acting as "Germany First" within Europe for quite a long time, even though its myth is altruism. But no one in the EU believes in that myth anymore, and Merkel understands that. [...] People do not recognize this Britain. We think of Britain as a country of pragmatism, of common sense, political stability, a nation of shopkeepers, but it has become nearly unrecognizable. It is no longer the country they understood it to be their whole lives.

The European Union's great achievement is to have become synonymous with the three decades of peace and prosperity between 1945 and 1975 — but only in Western Europe, rebuilt in the shelter of two kinds of protection: American protection for its security, and the Iron Curtain — granted, a detestable border, but protected by article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The European Union has been too preoccupied with its internal matters to think about post-Soviet European security. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the European Union was outpaced by history. The only answer was to admit the States of Central and Eastern Europe, which was necessary of course, but managed quite poorly from a political point of view. The negotiations focused primarily on the single market and the economy, because they were the most urgent priorities for the Central and Eastern Europe countries and also because they were at the heart of the EU's brief and what the negotiators were used to doing. But we did not speak enough about values, solidarity and relations with our eastern and southern neighbours, so now we have a problem: what do we share? What do we want to do together? Above all, the EU accommodated itself much too easily to the collapse of the Soviet Union, oblivious to the humiliation it would cause in Russia. I think many of the European Union's present and future troubles come from the fact that it turned away from the outside world.



## The European Union and the world



**Bogdan Klich**  
 Senator, Minority Leader of the Senat,  
 former minister of Defence, Poland



**Michael Lothian**  
 former Member of Parliament, United Kingdom



**Yukio Okamoto**  
 President, Okamoto Associates, Inc., former Special Advisor  
 to two Prime Ministers of Japan

84% of people in my home country are in favour of the future of the EU, are satisfied with our membership of the EU, so please do not put society and the current government in Poland on the same level. This is the policy of the current governments in Hungary and Poland but not of Central Europeans; please remember that. [...] There need to be expectations that European leaders will be able to send a significant political message to the rest of Europe, stating that Europe is able to significantly improve its capabilities regarding CSDP in the future. It does not mean that we need more Europe everywhere – we are used to this situation of more Europe – because we are in a different situation than 20 years ago, when we expected more Europe everywhere and were working on constitutional treaties. However, there are at least two areas where there is a need, a public expectation, of more Europe – external security and internal security. The citizens of the EU believe that more Europe means more integration in those two areas, and I do not want to say that it is possible to improve European capabilities concerning counter-terrorism without reviewing the treaties. It would probably be necessary to review the treaties and prepare a new treaty in this sphere, but we can do without changing our EU treaties in renewing our security capabilities outside. This means that, with the operational HQ, with the improvement of battle groups, with the improvement of the EU research policy – the study on which we were working on – and even with the new battle groups concept, the EU is ready to do that.

I am here because, quite simply, while we are leaving the EU – and there is no doubt about that because the British people have spoken – we are not leaving Europe. [...] European defence and security without the positive contribution of the UK would be a very poor option. We provide, for a start, more than anybody else in terms of military capability in NATO, and without the British contribution any European security system would be severely lacking. We provide an enormous amount of shared intelligence. We have very sophisticated intelligence systems in the UK, not least in GCHQ, which will be vital in the future to the fight against terrorism, and we will have a big role to play. [...] Looking at what is happening in the Middle East at the moment, there is this terrible crisis in Yemen, in which we have a role to play. [...] You cannot have a world order that is governed by people who are selected on the basis of the situation at the end of the last World War, and where one country has a veto and can stop any sensible decision being taken forward. That is a major challenge, but we in Europe should be playing a major role in trying to move towards that. [...] Politicians naturally react to that by saying that we must not allow our comfortable positions to be interrupted, and resist it. However, in the end change happens, and if we are to be genuinely constructive, we have to accept that change and work with it. [...] The reason that all these people are anti-establishment is that they are fed up with the old order. It is not enough for us to say, as they used to say on television 'Leave it to us; normal order will be resumed as soon as possible'. People do not want normal order to be resumed – they want change, and that change has to come through ideas and vision.

Who will uphold the public good? I have been campaigning everywhere in Japan to the effect that Japan should now be one of the banner-bearers in support of the public good, departing from the diplomacy of rhetoric. Who in the world can we partner with? There is only the EU. The EU is the best partner for Japan in this new campaign. First of all, Europe shares a common destiny with Asia in terms of security. Should Mr. Kim Jong-un's missiles go westward, it will affect the whole Europe. We are a unity, and we do not have to wait for the ambitious one-world concept of China. [...] Looking at Europe, the level of reconciliation you have reached is very impressive, and it is incumbent on Japan to reform our educational system. [...] What we will learn in dealing with Europe, especially the EU, will help us to acquire a new dimension in terms of how we can transcend the past, come to grips with the past, and through the collective wisdom approach a final reconciliation in Asia. That is how this reconciliation will benefit us.



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MODERATOR:  
**Thierry de Montbrial**  
 Founder and Chairman,  
 WPC



**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**  
 former President of Mongolia

My government and myself launched an initiative called the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security; it is like the Helsinki Process. It is still going on every year in June, and we have experts from North and South Korea, from America, Europe, Russia, China and Japan, and with them we discuss issues related to the northeast Asian situation. [...] Now one of the biggest questions is how to deal with the North Korean nuclear issue [...]. The Korean nuclear programme is not an ordinary one, and without the nuclear programme that regime might not be so wild. Because of that, we understand that we have to use face-saving tools and give face-saving opportunities to them, and that might be the peace agreement. [...] I would invite Kim Jong-un if I were the leader of the US or another country like China, and we need to take him away from his weapon and show him how the world is striving for this and what kind of possibilities there are. Engagement is crucial, and currently there is almost no engagement. They want to talk about issues, and most of the powers do not listen; they just tell them to stop their nuclear programme, and that if they do not accept this condition they will not talk. [...] Russia and China are our two big neighbours. We have an important mechanism now, and we call it a summit. Once every year, the Russian, Chinese and Mongolian Presidents meet at a high level [...]. I had a chance to visit Iran, and that was really interesting. [...] I actually started the Iran nuclear agreement. One thing I would like to say is that the Iran nuclear agreement is a really important one. Today's American administration and President Trump are making that a little questionable. Should America abort that deal, one country will be nuclear, one power, and that is something we really have to worry about.

## The development of Africa



**MODERATOR:**  
**Sean Cleary**  
 Founder and Executive Vice-Chairman of the FutureWorld Foundation and Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd, South Africa



**Nizar Baraka**  
 Chairman, Economic, Social and Environmental Council (CESE)



**Cheikh Tidiane Gadio**  
 President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies (IPS), former Foreign Minister of Senegal



**Aminata Touré**  
 former Prime Minister of Senegal



**Lionel Zinsou**  
 Co-President of the Fondation AfricaFrance, former Prime Minister of Benin, former President, PAI Partners

Today, it is clear that Africa has multiple challenges to take up: the stability and security challenge, which is a major one; the challenge of approaching Africa as a whole, rather than as something fragmented – we need to go beyond the fragmentation logic; and the demographic challenge. We need to understand that Africa will double its population between 2017 and 2050 – this is a first in the history of the world, that a continent is able to double its population in such a short space of time. How can we ensure that this demographic acceleration results in a boon for the continent and not in a burden waiting to be overcome? Not to mention, of course, other challenges, in particular stemming from climate change; Africa is the continent that will suffer the most from the effects of climate change. And of course, the challenge of shared prosperity. [...] To conclude, I would like to say that, in its policy, Morocco proceeds from this integrated vision and acts in terms of human capital and knowledge, through what we are doing in terms of education, but also in terms of spirituality and support. We are taking action on security with the Moroccan peace forces, present to varying extents all over Africa, and we are acting on the economy with investment. Morocco is the second-largest investor in Africa, with 5% investment. So, ideas in Africa are driven by Morocco in different sectors, and this also includes economic development. We also do so on natural capital, with everything that is being done in the area of food security, in terms of renewable electrification. That is what I wanted to say about development in Africa.

Keep in mind that one-third of the population of North Mali does not have access to drinking water. I thought to myself: “Here is a concrete question in African development.” We have to ask ourselves some serious questions: after sixty years of independence, should we still be at this stage, in a situation where one-third of the population of North Mali, which itself accounts for two-thirds of Mali, does not have access to drinking water? [...] The good news came with a piece on the Ivory Coast and a project called “Finance is committed”, where African financiers help SMEs, which account for about 80% of the private sector. What is interesting is that Africa helping Africa, Africa coming to the rescue of Africa on the continent, changes from the kind of talk we usually hear. [...] Africa has to manage some quite extraordinary conflicts. We need innovative solutions, we need to find innovative solutions. Eritrea is a problem, we have tons of questions about what is going on there; Somalia is a problem; the DRC, which has not had any respite since 1960, and there is also Burundi and the CAR. Looking at all these countries, you realise that Africa has to take up major security challenges, whether terrorism, criminal economies, human trafficking or drug trafficking. This translates into a migratory movement that is the greatest tragedy that Africans have experienced. When we hear the word migration, Europe comes immediately to mind; however, the greatest tragedy experienced by Africans is the massive brain drain of our young people, who were our primary asset and whom we are going to lose in the seas and deserts. For Africans and their friends, it is time for a change in paradigm; it is time to reflect again on how to save this continent. Thank you.

As an African, what we would like to see from the rest of the world is: we need a better understanding of the rapidly changing day to day reality in Africa, with less cliché, no patronising, because we also know that some of the attitudes are inherited from the colonial past, so we have to be conscious of that and fight it, because Africa is changing, as I said. There are new and younger African leaders who are grounded in their own culture, yet fully conversant with international standards and international cultures, and a new generation of very educated young Africans who look at the world through a different lens from their parents. That is perhaps what China understands better than many of its competitors in the continent, because they have been colonised, they have been oppressed, so they have more empathy, and they perhaps understand more quickly how we may feel, which is something the Western world needs to understand. We also need different business patterns. That is what we expect from our foreign partners with the slogan, ‘Fair must be fair’, and we do know that in all deals that we try to make happen, we are paying much higher because of insecurity, it is said, even though a country like Senegal is a very peaceful one. Having gone through different processes peacefully, it happens that our loans are, most of the time, more expensive than any other country, because Africa has, I believe, the worst public relations strategy.

I would like to emphasise that this African development is much more endogenous than people tend to believe. For example, direct investment flows are fundamental, qualitatively and even quantitatively. When you add it all up, they account for 5% of the continent’s GDP per year. The continent is, after Asia and far ahead of Europe, and obviously Japan, and of course the United States, a continent of high savings and high investments. We invest and save in Africa more than on all other continents, except Asia. [...] Savings in Africa are endogenous and investment as well. 75% of growth is driven, as in all economies, by domestic household consumer activity, corporate and government purchasing, but massively by households. We are faced with very largely endogenous growth. [...] Our model made of very sharp non-inclusive growth now requires a lot of imagination, if we are to solve these problems of the city/countryside normlessness, the labour market and the reduction of poverty that is not happening. Our model is dangerous, politically and socially, but it is not economically dangerous. If you want to get rich in your sleep, invest in Africa, in land, in real estate, in a huge number of sectors, in consumer goods, and in construction materials. We have no economic suspense, but we have a political and social suspense, because our model does not resolve any of our social problems on its own, unless we design policies that are extremely well-suited to this very particular constraint.

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**MODERATOR:**  
**Marcus Noland**  
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WORLD  
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## Security in Asia



### 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



### Yuichi Hosoya

Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University



### Jia Qingguo

Professor and Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University

Among the potential options that have been raised, I would like to discuss a few of them and their ability to achieve the goal of CVID of the North Korean programme. First, the military option. Donald Trump has said that any US military option would be devastating to North Korea, but he added that military action is not Washington's preferred option to deal with North Korea's ballistic and nuclear weapons programme. [...] Regardless of how much has been said about possible military action, in reality, this war scenario is the last option to take. [...] Secondly, South Korea's nuclear option. [...] Should South Korea choose this option, it would also face unbearable difficulties and strong opposition from the international community, including the US, China, Japan, and others. Thirdly, sanctions plus show of strength, that means, extended deterrence by the US. [...] In order to thwart North Korea's continuing provocation, the US and South Korea recently put on maximum military vigilance and conducted joint military drills [...]. My conclusion is that a nuclear-armed North Korea is not acceptable. [...] Continuation of stringent sanctions on North Korea plus extended US deterrence and show of strength would be the best option to deter North Korean provocation, which I hope will lead to a CVID resolution of this quagmire.

I would like to say that the possibility of war is much higher than before, since the last nuclear explosion of North Korea. Many experts agree that the likelihood becomes much higher than before because of the hardening of the American stance on this issue, and because of Chinese participation to increase pressure on North Korea with sanctions. [...] Three possible scenarios on the future of the North Korean crisis. The first one is: no war with a denuclearised North Korea. This is a goal set by the international community, this was decided by the United Nations Security Council resolution, and was agreed by the six party talk's joint declaration nearly a decade ago. [...] As long as the North Korean regime wants to survive, it is extremely unlikely to see the denuclearisation of North Korea. The second scenario is: no war with a nuclearised North Korea. This means that North Korea would maintain its nuclear weapons with ICBM and some other ballistic missiles. It is quite dangerous because North Korea will continue to try to intimidate the United States, as well as Japan and South Korea or some other surrounding countries [...]. It will be quite likely that we will see a rapid proliferation of nuclear weapons spread to these smaller states, so the second scenario is quite undesirable. The third scenario is: a war with a nuclearised North Korea, which means that North Korea is likely to attack Seoul or Tokyo, perhaps with nuclear warheads and ballistic missiles. [...] The Japanese strategy is to consolidate the international community to increase the pressure, and the key is China.

I think uncertainty is probably the key word to capture the situation of Asian security. It is uncertain, at least for three major reasons. Firstly, we seem to be witnessing an emerging rivalry, or strategic rivalry, between China and the US. Americans appear to be more and more concerned about the rise of Chinese military, especially the rise of Chinese naval capabilities. [...] It is also uncertain because the territorial and maritime disputes remain very much alive between China and India, among the South China Sea claimants, and between China and Japan in the East China Sea. Despite the fact that the situation there has been improving, and appears to be stabilising, things can happen, frictions may rise again any time in the future because there are no institutional arrangements so far as to how to manage these problems. The situation is also uncertain because of the North Korean nuclear threat. [...] I think China and the US have much more interests in common than many people realise. Many people have been saying that these two countries will be getting at each other very soon, but I think they have too much at stake to worry about doing that. Despite uncertainty, Asian security may not be doomed. I think the best we can do is to hope for the best and prepare for the worst.



## Security in Asia



**Michael Yeoh**

Founder & CEO of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI)



**Jusuf Wanandi**

Co-founder, Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Senior Fellow of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Foundation, Indonesia



**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**

former Governor of West Bengal, The Raj Bhavan, India

There are six key security challenges facing Asia as a whole. Number one, we have heard about the North Korean crisis. This is a crisis that is unknown and unpredictable, but we cannot afford to have a war or a conflict because the costs of it is too high, and could perhaps even lead to World War III. My second key security challenge is that Asia needs to address is the South China Sea. We need to find a way forward in the South China Sea, possibly bringing to fruition the conclusion of a Code of Conduct between China and ASEAN. The third security challenge is in Myanmar, the Rohingya crisis. That, I think, is the biggest humanitarian crime facing Asia today. The fourth challenge, I think we need to deal with in Asia is the Pakistan / India / China border. There are minor skirmishes there, but they could lead to an accidental flare-up. The fifth challenge I think we need to deal with is Islamic State terrorism, and the potential of lone-wolf attacks in Southeast Asia. I think that is now the biggest threat to Southeast Asia. My sixth point is about non-traditional security threats, and these can be things like transboundary crimes, drop in human trafficking, economic and cybercrimes, piracy, human rights abuses, and the smuggling of children and women. The key questions we face then are the following: are existing confidence-building mechanisms sufficient? What more can be done to further enhance regional peace stability? For Southeast Asia right now, for many years, we have got the ASEAN Regional Forum and more recently, the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting, and I think these will continue to be important mechanisms. We need to also have more intelligence sharing among countries in Asia because that is so important in the fight against terrorism. There also needs to be neomechanisms and protocols to combat cybersecurity and cyberterrorism.

What we also should do is cooperating among ourselves in case the US is really going to withdraw its leadership from the world or from the East Asia region. If we compare the US and China, we could see a paradox. While the US is becoming more inward-looking, China is becoming more outward-looking and open to the world. On the one hand, we have supposedly a liberal leader (the US) and an authoritarian one (China). But it was Xi Jinping, the supposedly authoritarian ruler who opened up to the problem we are facing. It was Xi who wanted to take leadership in trade, in climate change and in reforming the world that he said China should be prepared to do. This means that we also have to observe how China is going to do it, and cooperate with her if she really wants to do it with other partners: big countries, neighbouring countries and the developing world in general. Cooperation in the future is a very important part of the reforms to be made in global governance, especially regional ones. We, ASEAN members have tried to cooperate with China on the South China Sea developments. We have so far achieved a framework of the Code of Conduct on the South China Sea, and are going to work again next year (2018) on formulating the articles. The efforts encourage ASEAN to open up to China and cooperating with her on other important things like the cooperation on the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st Century and the Maritime Fulcrum idea of Indonesian's President Joko Widodo.

1/ The shift in the geopolitical centre of gravity from the Euro Atlantic to the Indo Pacific, further overshadowed by the rise of China, has led to a significant churn in relationships and events in Asia. 2/ Most of us in Asia are concerned about how China sees itself. The 19th Party Congress did little to assuage such concerns; following China's announcement of its great power ambitions, its projection as a military and economic superpower, and especially the contents of President Xi's "Make China great again" speech. 3/ Today, in South Asia, Afghanistan is one of the most troubled regions, not only of Asia but of the world. The situation here is extremely fragile. The elected government in Afghanistan has lost control over much of the countryside; almost 40%, perhaps even more. The most distinctive aspect of Afghanistan is the degree of violence that is present. 4/ West Asia is an area that requires a great deal of attention. The ideological clash that is taking place between Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran creates the possibility of a divide down the middle, which has the potential to create problems for countries with large Muslim populations. There is another aspect of this situation in West Asia. ISIS is facing some set backs in areas like Syria and Iraq etc., but do realize that as the ISIS faces a setback in this region, their storm troopers are already spreading across the rest of the world.

## Young Leaders session



MODERATOR:  
**Patrick Nicolet**  
Group Executive Board member, Capgemini



**Natalie Cartwright**  
Co-founder of Finn.ai



**Edouard Nattée**  
Founder and CEO of Fox Intelligence

1. Education in the future for all children should include:
  - a. Fundamental: Basic coding skills
  - b. Critical skills: Lifelong self-learning abilities
  - c. Training: Resilience to failure
2. If we are to keep pace with innovation, policy creation and implementation must accelerate. In order to do this, we must create and iterate based on a minimum viable policy.
3. Cost and access are no longer barriers when building a technology company. Every country and city should have ecosystems that foster small and medium-sized technology companies.

The point is this: it is impossible to solve any of the key issues of our time - climate change, poverty, women's conditions, access to medication and education - if we do not have access to publicly available, reliable, and transparent data. It is impossible. You cannot run a diagnostic if you do not have the data. You cannot design your solution if you do not have the data. You cannot test your decisions and the impact of your measures if you do not have any data. The good thing, and this is something that everyone on this panel experiences every day, is that we have the tools to do it. We have computing power, we have the science - it is called data science - we have the people and skills - they are called data scientists - and that works very well. The bad thing is that we are human beings, and human beings have one flaw. We have a major issue with accountability, we have a major issue with being held accountable for the things we do.



## Young Leaders session



**Allen Ali Mohammadi**

Co-founder, Hippogriff AB



**Arthur Stril**

Co-founder, Zinc VC



**Aurélien Billot**

Head of the Commercial and development policies Unit at the General Secretariat for European Affairs, France

Every day, we have a choice, we can focus on what is right with our lives, or we can focus on what is wrong. I believe that focusing on what is right with our lives is the best way to fix what is wrong. Moreover, focusing on what is right with the world is the best way to fix what is wrong with the world. [...] Heart disease is the number one killer around the world. In fact, every two seconds a person dies from a heart disease. The problem, however, is not the heart disease itself, it is the late detection of the disease [...]. The sudden death of my grandmother changed my world view and created a big question mark. I thought: why was there no way to detect her disease at an early phase, and what if we could have saved her life? That was the ignition to start developing our innovation, called Heartstrings, a tool that uses AI to detect heart disease before it is too late. [...] How can we address one of the greatest challenges of healthcare, with what already exists, with what we have? That is the point. We are living in a time where we have access to advanced technologies and high quality infrastructure that can empower us to tackle the challenges we are facing. We developed our unique AI algorithm that uses the existing parameters, like electrocardiogram and demographic data, to detect heart disease at a significantly earlier stage, even if the patient does not have any symptoms. [...] We are offering a technology which is twice as accurate, 10 times faster, and 49 times cheaper than the existing methods and which can save millions of people each year. [...] Our vision is to save at least one million lives each year.

Healthcare is going to be highly personalised, unified, preventive, and embedded. Of course, this is an optimistic scenario and it carries many risks [...]. Thinking about personalisation: today, drugs and treatments are rarely differentiated, yet we know every single human being is unique. There is the development of autologous therapies and you have companies like Novartis and Kite Pharma that just received FDA approval for therapies that reprogram your own immune system to find cancer cells. [...] Looking at how healthcare will be unified, today healthcare is still very fragmented; you have cardiologists, orthopaedic surgeons, people trying to treat each and every single organ, yet we know many diseases, such as diabetes or cancer, are whole, and you need a truly holistic approach. This goes beyond the body. Body and mind are truly integrated, and a number of startups are starting to tackle mental health, examples of which include Headspace, which is a meditation app which has been scientifically proven to improve both your mental, obviously, but also your physical health. [...] Thinking about how healthcare is going to be more preventive. In order to have true prevention, you need three elements; you need awareness, so you need to know which diseases exist and what you can do about it. Social media are playing an increasing role in addressing millions of people about serious health issues [...] Finally, healthcare is going to be embedded within your home and there are already home hubs like Amazon Echo, which is built on its AI platform, Alexa, and provides basic healthcare insights within the comfort of your home. [...] The first mission of Zinc is to improve women and girls' emotional and mental health, which is a very crucial topic, for which awareness has been raised but for which, still, many solutions are lacking.

My job is basically to bring ministries in the same room and to make them talk together, and to possibly have innovative ideas on trade policy. Data is of course one of these issues, a rising issue [...]. What are the main challenges for the EU from a policy perspective? I see three main challenges: The first one is that of data governance, or data privacy versus data sharing. [...] The second is the alternative between access and security. [...] The third main challenge is that of fair competition, and one way of saying it is that these big data technologies challenge almost every business we can think of.

What can the EU do on these three aspects? [...] On the first issue of data governance, we have an issue both with personal data and non personal data. Regarding personal data, we have an EU regulation, and the main challenge will now be how to implement the new EU/US personal data information exchange. [...] On non personal data, we need new policy to precisely define which barriers make sense and which do not. [...] On the issue of access versus security, there is also a lot of work to be done to standardise platforms, to agree on common European standards - which will be linked with cybersecurity issues [...]. Finally, the issue of the level playing field might be the most complicated one. I would like to stress the French proposal to find a way to tax profits in a fair way for all data companies so as to avoid tax evasion and to ensure that all companies abide by the same tax standards. [...] In this thriving environment, we need an entity with democratic ownership that can address these issues of data governance, of access versus security, and of a level playing field, and I think that the EU has a chance here and could help fill this gap for all of us.



# The state of the world



**Assia Bensalah Alaoui**  
Ambassador-at-large of HM the King of Morocco



**Kriengsak Chareonwongsak**  
former Prime Ministerial Advisor of Thailand, Senior Fellow Harvard University and Chairman, Nation-Building Institute



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

What global governance should we seek given the turning points to come and the current meek rebuilding on the international scene? We ask this first considering Mr Trump's determination to deconstruct the federal state and unravel trade agreements, and considering his brazen excesses. [...] The question also springs forth when one looks at China, which has taken aim at the very centre of the international chessboard; to Russia as well, with its considerable capacity to harm; and to the uncertainties of old Europe, exacerbated by the rise of all kind of extremism, populism and the frustrations around Brexit, ... but which has also been fortunate enough to find, in the strength of the young President Macron, a determination to dispel these uncertainties, of course thanks to the leadership of Angela Merkel, all-enduring even when weakened. Is it possible to revitalise Europe, without rebuilding the Mediterranean region? [...] It is imperative that we take aim at the root causes of this evil, particularly the factors that induce organised crime and its powerful transnational networks. [...] The sources of ill-development and youth unemployment, which unfortunately reduce the choice of taking up arms with terrorists and in mafia networks, or emigrating! [...] In this regard, I am delighted to see that my country has taken this security issue to heart by developing a full-fledged global strategy, lauded by all our partners. [...] What governance should we build in the face of these megatrends? The two megatrends to which everyone points today, namely the unstoppable rise of uncertainties and the dizzying speed of technological change [...] To conclude, last but not least, a word about women. The most noteworthy absentees from the agenda of this World Policy Conference, even if their presence is increasing.

The "Post New World Order" regards to the state of the world has three major pillars. The first pillar is economic. 1) There is the disparity tendency as the 99:1 rule I created, where 1% of people own 99% of wealth. 2) China, India, and ASEAN, which comprise more than half of the world population, are rising. 3) MNCs will continue to dominate. 4) Technological convergence will precipitate in innovations and will drive more breakthrough in the future. 5) The governance crises are increasingly due to the lack of practical architecture of international governance. The second pillar is societal. 1) The increasing number of aging populations worldwide will present us with unprecedented problems. 2) International migration is increasing due to the turbulent world we are living in. 3) What I called 'magna-cities', with more than 50 million people will emerge, which we do not yet know how to manage. 4) Many emerging issues will bring about morality issue that we need to deal with. 5) Terrorism fatigue will weigh down the entire world. The third pillar is political. 1) The world move towards multi-polarity. 2) The liberal order will shift towards the pragmatic order. 3) Separatism syndrome is a reaction to the inability to solve problems such as the Catalonia issue. 4) People are calling for non-professional politicians. The non-professional leaders are being elected everywhere. 5) Democratic breakdown is increasing.

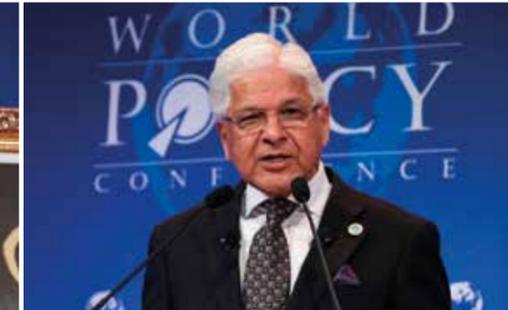


## The state of the world



**Ju Chul Ki**

President of the Overseas Koreans Foundation, former Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security, Office of the President of the Republic of Korea



**Ashwani Kumar**

Senior Advocate Supreme Court, former Union Minister for Law & Justice, India



**Mona Makram Ebeid**

Egyptian Senator, Distinguished Lecturer, Political Science Department, American University in Cairo

Firstly, the North Korean ambition of becoming a nuclear weapons state must be stopped within one or two years. The entire world should cooperate to bring a tangible outcome. The permanent members of the UN Security Council should overcome political power bickering and be united this time to settle the North Korean nuclear issue. There is also a need for further developing the Northeast Asian security structure. Northeast Asia is the only region that lacks security dialogue mechanism, and a tailor made regional security mechanism should be installed. We need enlightened leaders and influential intellectuals to promote this cause. My second point is how to address the danger of the weakening basis of democracy. As US President Trump government focuses more on the America First policy, there is the worry of weakening support for global values. We need to harness global values, and moderate countries should endeavor jointly to uphold global values. European and East Asian countries should join their hands to uphold global values.

The third point is the potential for new tripartite cooperation and burden sharing of the world governance. Northeast Asian countries can share the burden of world's governance and development assistance. It would be good if Northeast Asian countries further increase mutual communication and policy coordination among themselves. One could now envisage a new type of trilateral structure between the United States, Europe and Northeast Asia for better governance.

For these purposes, we need to groom political leaders endowed with wisdom, broad eyesight, new vision and leadership. The World Policy Conference must continue to carry out such an endeavor to foster a more open and more tolerant world.

Fundamentalism, a rise of identity politics, breakdown of inter-faith dialogue, and as somebody said "the failure of happy modernity" are inescapable realities of the present world, and my very grave doubt about our capacity to regenerate failing democracies troubles me a lot. [...] Are our freedom and nationalism mutually exclusive? Do we need to pronounce the demise of reason to appease radical populist demagogues? Is it fair to invoke moral relativism to eliminate the testing measure of power and can we afford to forget the caution sounded by James Madison that there are more instances of abridgment of freedom of the people by the gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations. Let me conclude by what Toynbee, my favorite historian, reminded us. He said "civilisation moves forward on the basis of challenge and response" and each age has to write its own history Martin Luther King told us - there is no such thing as tomorrow and he said that we are "confronted with the fierce urgency of now in the unfolding of life and history" and let me tell you ladies and gentlemen, we are all individually and collectively duty bound - not once, not twice, but over and over again, to repeat what we believe is right because as Dante cautioned us - the hottest places in hell, said Dante, are reserved for those who in period of moral crises, which we face today, preserve their neutrality.

On the eve of the January 2011 revolution, the political scene had few ideological stances for mobilization aside from the Muslim Brothers, which helps to explain the inability of many non-Islamic groups, who call themselves liberals or leftists including the youth, to organize effectively, with the result that the hierarchies within the present regime have evolved in a way that prioritizes the military and the security establishments.

The corollary to the growing influence of the security establishment has been the neutralizing of civilian politics. Civil society is under relentless pressure and its activities have been severely curtailed.

Today rethinking is taking place among substantial fears, both among regime supporters and a broad cross-section of the population, focusing on the rising threat of radicalization of certain Islamic groups particularly in the Sinai and their brutal attacks against Christians, anti-state violence and terrorism, fears that have gripped the political calculation of the regime, but also the non-Islamist opposition and much of the general public. As a result, non-Islamists have come to see the military and the institutions of the state as the primary defence against Islamic ambitions to remake the state and redefine Egyptian identity.

Although this alliance of civilians with the army against the brotherhood will postpone full democracy and civilian control for some years, it may well be the fastest possible path towards sustainable democracy if certain requirements are met, such as a more comprehensive set of economic and political reforms.



## The state of the world



**Fathallah Oualalou**  
former Minister of Economy and Finance, Morocco



**Meir Sheetrit**  
Member of Parliament, Israel



**Yukari Niwa Yamashita**  
Board Member, Director, The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ)

This reading of the state of the world is that of a Moroccan who belongs to three spheres: Arab-Muslim, Euro-Mediterranean and African. A reading around three trends: The first relates to the proximity realm, that of the Mediterranean, a realm that has lost its centrality and which, in both north and south, is experiencing difficult times. But today, a wind of hope seems to be blowing, to allow our space to overcome these difficulties. The second relates to the distant space that is imposed on us and is calling upon us. That of Asia, and especially China, and to which Africa must respond in a way that takes account of its geographical location and its membership in the Euro-Mediterranean sphere. The third is more global. A globalised world, all the components of which are looking to protect its identities. A world that is becoming multipolar – an economic, strategic and increasingly civilizational multi-polarity. It is up to the Muslims, in their return to spirituality, to open up to modernity and the demands of the twenty-first century. This too will enable the Mediterranean region to regain its centrality.

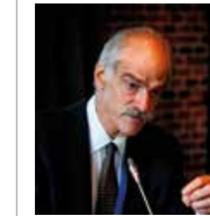
The question is, have we arrived at a deadlock, and is hope for peace in the Middle East, between Israel and Palestine lost? I am from those who believe it is not; we are not in a deadlock, and there is hope for peace if we act in the right way, [...]. I believe the only solution to reach peace with the Middle East is through what we call the Saudi Initiative, or the Arab Peace Initiative. I am a big supporter of this initiative, since 2002 when it came to the world, I have fought to explain it and convince the Prime Ministers of Israel, the government, the Knesset, to go in that direction. Why do I believe this is the solution? The Arab Peace Initiative proposes that if you make peace with the Palestinians, by going back to the 1967 borders, and find an agreeable, justified solution to the Palestinian refugees, 57 Islamic countries are willing to make peace with Israel, with full normalisation, and that will be the end of the conflict. [...] I believe that the problem is an Israeli-Arab problem. It is not an American problem. Americans do not understand Arabs, I am sorry to say, but in my opinion, the two do not understand each other. We should solve it ourselves. If we had negotiated Oslo with the Americans, there would never have been the Oslo Accords.

Although we have a tendency to think in terms of months or years, we also need to talk and think in terms of decades. [...] As long as Paris pushes the world into the future, and as long as it goes further than Kyoto did, I think the world that we are going to leave to the next generation will be fine. However, future generations will face this world as we leave it so I hope that the world will improve in the future. [...] We still lack technologies, finance and policies to address climate change in a large volume required to decarbonise our energy use, but we can still do it, while optimizing the total cost of mitigation, adaptation, and damage. [...] We also need to remember that 1.2 billion people are still without access to energy today, and probably many more to come, and energy is required for economic development. It is not only power generation which requires energy, we also need energy for cement, steel and petrochemical products for roads, buildings and infrastructures. All of these need to happen but they cannot be achieved in a world where neighbors never stop fighting. Unfortunately I must stress that there is no time to waste. [...] Although from time to time the world faces setbacks caused by the fragility of peace and profound social instabilities, I am very happy to see the world community believes in dialogue and can agree on major issues such as climate. [...] As Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Abe recently said, 'Now is the time to bring together the wisdom of mankind'.





# 1. Finance and economy



CHAIR

## John Lipsky

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

The global economic outlook is unusually benign, with 2018 growth expected to be at or even above trend in most major economies. With inflation pressures low, the principal central banks continue to follow accommodative policies, with prospects for only gradual policy tightening in the future. Financial markets are priced consistently with this favorable outlook. Thus, even with many financial asset values at historic highs, there isn't a sense of any imminent danger of market weakness or a new financial crisis. While it is recognized there are both fundamental and policy risks that could undermine this positive outlook, by and large they are not reflected in current market prices. While the process of post-crisis systemic reforms remains incomplete, bank capital increases and reduced leverage have helped to increase the sector's stability. However, further progress is warranted regarding balance sheet cleanup for some Eurozone banks as well as strengthening their profitability. Further steps remain to complete the EU's banking union and capital markets union, and resolution mechanisms remain incomplete and/or untested virtually everywhere. While the FSB is promoting financial sector reforms with success, the regulation of non-bank financial sectors is very much a work in progress. Moreover, other aspects of global governance reforms of relevance to the financial system – including macroeconomic policy cooperation, trade liberalization and IFI reforms – are advancing slowly, if at all. Finally, the IMF's lack of an effective crisis prevention instrument remains a systemic weakness that can and should be addressed.



## Akinari Horii

Special Advisor and a member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

Japan's economy is in an excellent shape: the labor market is tight and corporate profits are high, but inflation is subdued. The Phillips Curve is not a straight line but a curve on which there is an inflection point beyond which inflation accelerates. In the case of Japan, the inflection point appeared in history when the unemployment rate was below 3%. An acceleration of inflation was often triggered by events like a chemical plant accident, which made people reassess inflation prospects. I have deep concerns over the functioning of financial markets. Market-making capability of securities dealers as well as FX dealers has declined significantly because of Dodd-Frank Act and Basel III. Credit risk-taking has also been restrained in the banking sector and pushed to shadow banking. Passive investors have grown and so have indexed products while active managers have become fewer. The dearth of active managers makes the market prone to herd behavior, which could induce runs in the market when a shock is applied to it. Despite this risk, the Federal Reserve's capability in addressing non-bank crises has been curtailed.



## Bertrand Badré

Founder and CEO, Blue Orange Capital; former Managing Director, World Bank

For 10 years we were miserable talking about the Eurozone and for once, I think it is okay. I also do not think that there are any reasons to be complacent, because there are a number of pending issues. [...] I think that this international momentum prevented us from repeating the mistakes of the 1930s. We avoided a sharp rise in protectionism. We avoided austerity measures and carried out stimulus, at a cost because we have seen public debt jumping, but we avoided that. In addition, beside Lehman and a few accidents, the banking system was prevented from totally collapsing. I think we should celebrate this and we have survived. I think that is a positive thing. The point is really, where are we now? [...] My point is, we have patched up the system, we have survived, but we do not have a holistic view of how we finance our economies. [...] My point is really that we are at a moment where we are alive, but we need to think about what comes next. How do we address the issue of how we finance our economy? How do we restore trust in the system? At the end of the day, people do not trust the system anymore. [...] We do not need people to put money in Germany, we need people to put money in climate, health, agriculture, etc. It is not happening. People say that there is this great revolution of impact investment; that is great, but it is very tiny. I can tell you that the minute that the US Treasury goes back to 5%, impact will vanish, and people will just go back to the old game. I think that we are at a moment where we all need to be somewhat smarter. [...] Therefore, the system needs to think out of the box and is paralysed, because the system does not allow you to think out of the box. How can we move this? How can we really coordinate this? For me, this is the real question going forward, if we want to break this misallocation of capital. [...] If we have another crisis, can we recreate the miracle of 2008, when we prevented the collapse of the whole world? I am not sure that we are in a state of mind where we are capable of doing this again, today. That is what worries me. It is not so much where and when, but how do we address these things if we are incapable of thinking of the system we want? Again, I am scared by the lack of cooperation and a number of other things, but on the other side, we have the tools. We have the capacity to handle things. That is why it is a fascinating moment, because we can go in either direction.

# 1. Finance and economy



**André Levy-Lang**

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

I have just a couple of comments to add to Bertrand's. [...] I think that there is no bank in Europe that creates a systemic risk. The European banking system is sound, but as Bertrand said, there is a problem in terms of profitability [...] partly because of the vagaries of the capital markets. Partly also because of the competition in the retail market, and the fact that very low interest rates are not helping margins. On the other hand, banks are reacting, especially French banks, to the technological impact in several ways. One, they are reducing costs, closing branches and reorganising. Two, they are acquiring start-ups to get around the legacy problem they have with their huge IT systems. [...] To come back to France and Germany, I think that France now is realising that it has to take care of itself and not wait for Germany. [...] There is really a new feeling in France of 'Yes, we can'. [...] We are almost 10 years now from the subprime crisis and remember, the subprimes were assets that were high yielding and supposedly liquid. [...] If you look at the present situation, there is one asset that has grown to numbers actually several times the amount of subprimes, and that is exchange traded funds (ETFs). [...] Fund managers love them, The rough number of outstanding ETFs today is, I think, \$4 trillion. They represent 30% of the trading volume on the US equity market. As long as there is no external shock, it is okay. However, if there is an external shock. [...] I think ETFs will be one of the first victims. Of course, the banks do not have that much of those, but fund managers do. [...] It is different this time because it is investors, rather than banks, who would bear the losses. However, if this happens, the bond market and the stock market would react, and that has indirect consequences for the economy.



**Daniel Daianu**

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

In spite of the efforts to maintain what is called the liberal international order, deep currents are working against it. In Europe, and also in other parts of the world, ever more worries are linked to job losses and rising uncertainty, be it related to new technologies or global competition – there is also the need for safety including physical [security]. Analytically, one can imagine a price line with a trade-off between safety and openness. Both are public goods, but during hard times, people value, presumably, safety more. And vice-versa, during good times, openness is valued more highly in relative terms. Here I think lies the origin of the inward-looking syndrome which we see in Europe, in the US, etc under the guise of closing borders, governments being more intrusive in people's lives, rising protectionism, etc. Is the financial system simpler now than it used to be? I would argue that the evolving system is not simpler. Financial innovation goes on and toxic products are put on the market and used, in spite of an allegedly more effective regulation and supervision system. A big question is how much rot there still is in the balance sheets of banks? One indication in this respect is that not a few governments and central banks in Europe are reluctant to undertake the bailing-in procedure. Not least is the question for whom does the system work. The complexion of finance and the nature of regulation and supervision influence the magnitude of a crisis, how many people are impacted severely, etc. Thence comes a growing pressure on the political system and fringe, extremist parties come to the fore. We need to address more the way finance works. We should reduce leverage more, for banks can be very destabilising as actors in the economy. As a matter of fact, the whole of finance can be very destabilising. We need policy coordination in the global economy. We need simpler systems, transparent, and no portion of finance, including fintech, should be beyond the territory of regulation and supervision



**Raed Charafeddine**

First Vice- Governor  
of the Central Bank of Lebanon

On the level of the oil-exporting countries, we have seen sluggish growth, at the same time, we have stubborn budget deficits. As far as the MENA oil-importing countries are concerned, they suffer fiscal impotence and high public indebtedness, despite the projected rise in growth. [...] The structural socio-economic challenges encompass the lack of economic diversification and rentier economies; fiscal inefficiencies; unemployment and job market failures; weakness of intra-regional economic integration; retardation of technological innovation; weakness in financial inclusion. [...] As for the contemporary macroeconomic adversities, they too are mainly the outcome of regional political and security unrest and conflicts, accompanied by population displacement, in addition to resource price shocks. [...] We have two million refugees in Lebanon, among a population of a little over four million. [...] Lebanon did not actually suffer from the global financial crisis. [...] What we did was a lot of pre-emptive policies and measures that prevented the effects of the crisis from tackling Lebanon. [...] What the Central Bank did was actually stimulating the economy and at the same time, taking the precautions so as not to impact inflation. We targeted our inflation, but at the same time, back in 2013, we came up with a policy that we called a stimulus package, whereby we lent banks USD 1 billion, and we have been doing that since then. [...] This liquidity of USD 20 billion, out of the banks' total assets of over USD 200 billion, in addition to a deposit base in our banks of almost four times our GDP constitute substantial financial capacities. [...] The Central Bank stimulus package has contributed to 50% of the GDP growth since 2013. [...] Financial engineering, which is a multilevel swap that targeted several objectives in the Lebanese macroeconomic, financial, and monetary stability scenes. [...] We have launched a knowledge economy, whereby banks get involved in equity financing, rather than giving them loans.



**Jeffry Frieden**

Professor of government at Harvard University

We have an integrated international financial system and, if we have learned anything from the last couple of hundred years, an international financial system is prone to crises. We do not know where the crises are likely to come from, but we do know what some of the sources of weakness are, both in theory and in practice. Our world is now one of very high level of gross financial flows. These hold the potential for a loss of confidence that then raises liquidity questions, for there is no amount of liquidity that can deal with a generalized loss of confidence. The catalyst for such a loss of confidence is impossible to predict – few would have seen the subprime portion of the American mortgage market as a likely candidate in 2006. However, from China to the American stock market to Latin America to Europe and beyond, there are plenty of possible candidate. Underlining the risks are the fact that today we have an administration in Washington that is not committed to the current international institutional structure, and may well not be willing or able to work together with our financial and trading partners should difficulties break out. I worry that, when the next crisis comes, intervention by the major powers, and in particular by the US, will be more destructive than constructive.

## 2. Energy and climate



COORDINATOR :  
**Eyl-Mazzege,  
Marc-Antoine**  
Director, Ifri's Centre  
for Energy



CHAIR  
**Nobuo Tanaka**

former Executive Director of the International Energy Agency,  
Chairman of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation

The energy sector is probably one of the most impacted by the unpredictability or uncertainty of the US policy. The new United States energy policy is based on energy dominance, nonetheless we may touch upon climate issues, geopolitics and also certain segments, like oil, gas, coal, maybe renewable energy, and if we still have time, we will cover nuclear energy. All of these elements are closely linked together as a system, so we cannot really discuss only one sector. We have to see the energy sector as a whole. [...] When I was head of the IEA before, the IEA started the so-called 450 ppm scenario. That is a scenario to contain the atmospheric temperature to 2°C until the end of the century. Now in the recent Energy Technology Perspective of the IEA this year, they described a scenario called The Beyond 2°C Scenario. This means aiming at a 1.75°C target to the end of the century, but net zero emission by 2060, so this is a really challenging scenario, but it covers the very interesting issue of electric vehicles. To produce a transport revolution, very strong government intervention is necessary. [...] Their publication was released in June, so it was just before the UK and France announced the ban on internal combustion engines, but it is clearly mentioned that a ban on internal combustion engines would be needed to achieve this Beyond 2°C Scenario. [...] When I was at the IEA, I always said that the government policy in the energy sector infrastructure must be stable and predictable, otherwise the private sector will never invest in infrastructure for 40 or 50 years. [...] How can we make the energy policy more stable and predictable?



**Olivier Appert**

Chairman of the Conseil Français de l'Energie

It is really important to discuss Trump's energy policy and perhaps I will make a non politically correct statement by saying that Trump's energy policy will have no direct impact on the CO2 emissions of the US. [...] I think what is very important to discuss here is the Chinese decisions and policies and where China is moving to. I would also like us to discuss the elephant in the room, which is coal. [...] In Europe, besides some companies such as Total, we have lost the momentum of CCS and the leaders are now in the US and China. In Europe, we will again be me-toos. [...] In Europe, except for the UK, it will be very, very difficult to cope with the challenge of setting up a carbon price, mostly if there is no agreement in Germany. [...] Electricity is very difficult to store. It is possible to store it for a few hours, but unfortunately what we need in order to develop 100% renewables is interseasonal storage. For the time being, there is no economic solution except hydro storage. Other technologies are considered but for the time being there is no business case for that. However, it is very attractive for politicians. [...] The transport sector represents 60% of oil consumption and the bulk of the increase in demand comes from the transport sector. Petroleum products represent 92% of the energy consumption of the transport sector. What about the other 8%? It is 4% natural gas, 3% biofuel and 1% electricity. [...] If we are not able to cope with the two degree scenario, as you said, adaptation will become more and more important. [...] You have to take into account the inertia of the energy system. [...] Energy efficiency is paramount and we should spend more time discussing energy efficiency.



**André Caillé**

Director of Junex Inc., former Chairman of the World Energy  
Council and Deputy Minister of the Environment of Quebec

I think the most important impact is the loss of US leadership in promoting the Accord. [...] If that is the case, commercially, in a country where energy is deregulated, clean coal simply does not compete with combined cycles powered by natural gas. [...] I suggest that an approach be made, especially to the UN, to make hydro, a low-hanging fruit, fully recognised as a renewable. [...] I would like to add to your comments. It is true that it is much easier to capture CO2 from a combined cycle generator, but the same remark can be made for cement plants and ammonia plants. Both produce much cleaner effluents than coal. Coal is the worst. If you want to take the low-hanging fruit, use large hydro. [...] I think that the best approach here is, number one, to have a CO2 pricing system. That will produce resources. There could be a taxation period. It is going to be very difficult in the US. Whatever the system, CO2 emissions have to be priced. Money has to be used mainly to develop renewables. I mean developing the absolutely necessary technologies to make them a firm supply as soon as possible. In the meantime, I agree with my colleagues here. Natural gas should be used to replace coal.

## 2. Energy and climate



**Lee Hye-Min**

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

The US decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement will weaken the enforcement measures of the Paris Agreement and undermine the resolve of other countries to make their own reductions in view of the US role in this important global agenda, in addition to the fact that the US, the second-largest emitter after China, contributes to more than 16% of the total global emissions.

In particular, there would be a significant negative impact on climate finance. The advanced countries are committed to generate USD 100 billion annually until 2020 to help the mitigation and adaptation efforts of the developing countries and for that purpose, the Green Climate Fund was established in 2010. By announcing his decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, President Trump also said that the US would stop contributing to the Green Climate Fund. The US has pledged USD 3 billion to the Green Climate Fund, which is the biggest contribution and twice as much as the second-largest pledger, Japan. In fact, Barack Obama authorised the transfer of a second USD 500 million instalment to the GCF just three days before he left office, leaving USD 2 billion owing. Slashing funds for global clean energy innovation efforts would significantly hamper efforts to develop and deploy new carbon reducing technologies that would likely be central to achieving the goals of the Paris Agreement. The objective of the Paris Agreement is to achieve adaptation and mitigation by making all countries participate. The way we achieve this objective is through technology, finance and capacity building, especially for developing countries. Therefore, the decision of the US administration to withdraw from the Paris Agreement will definitely have a very negative impact on the climate finance. It is time for all of us to think about how to address this issue in the years to come. As the G20 leaders declared at the Hamburg summit in July, the Paris Agreement is irreversible and the global community will move towards its implementation, though the road ahead will be very bumpy.



**Ladislav Paszkiewicz**

Senior Vice President Strategy and Climate, Total

The population from developing countries is going to increase and energy is needed, especially when you get out of poverty. It is true that people who already have three cars do not care that much about having an additional car. For people who have no access to mobility, when they get out of poverty, there is a demand for energy and our responsibility as a corporation is to provide and to supply enough energy to people requesting it. We have to provide reliable, affordable and clean energy. The difficulty for us as a corporation is how to supply this energy while at the same time decreasing our carbon footprint, which of course energy has an impact on. [...] We advocate for carbon pricing at the level of EUR 20 per ton in order to create business models. For the last few years, in all the decisions we have made, we have taken into account a carbon price of between USD 30 and USD 40 per ton in the projects that we sanction, depending on the assumption that we had for the oil price itself. It is included and embedded in our economic analysis so we can rank projects against each other and make decisions assuming that in the long run, we will have a carbon price, even though we do not have one today.



**Tatsuo Masuda**

Visiting Professor, Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Graduate School, Japan

I think technology is a real game-changer in fighting climate change. Even people's mindset will change accordingly. Politics will affect the attitude of the government or policymakers, but once technology is built in, it will do the right job. Let us think how we can give technology a bigger role to play. [...] We should not just let it go as stranded assets. We have to make the best use of those hydrocarbons together with renewables. [...] I would like to comment on one big trend, which will override any backward movement by a government. For example, there is the big "Breakthrough Energy Coalition" by 28 billionaires in the world, which was declared in November 2015, just on the eve of the Paris Agreement. Many investments are taking place, thanks to that private money. [...] Time and tide are moving much faster than political leaders may think and already the big ship has departed. From this point of view, I honestly am not that much worried about whatever Mr Trump might say. [...] Just coming back to CCS, many people here may believe it is very costly to capture CO<sub>2</sub>, but technology is developing very quickly and today the lowest cost of capture is USD 40 per ton. [...] Their target is to make CCS and CCU profitable commercially. In today's world of competition for better technology, those changes will occur sooner rather than later. [...] Those technologies are already on the horizon, so we should give more publicity to them and maybe as you pointed out, support those new technologies together with several governments and companies.



**Friedbert Pflüger**

Director, European Centre for Energy and Resource Security, King's College London

Before Trump, the Paris Agreement paradigm had found broad acceptance but now it has reached a historic turning point. The United States will no longer be the "electric engine" of climate policy. We are already on our way to missing the goals of Paris. If the issue of climate change becomes secondary for the most powerful nation on earth, it will become difficult to convince emerging and developing countries to remain committed to their climate pledges. Germany, with its Energiewende, is lagging behind its own climate goals and is not well equipped to become a forerunner, as an aggressive expansion of renewables is not by itself sufficient to ensure sustainable emission reduction. Politicians tend to set goals for a distant future, in which they cannot be held accountable anymore. But, in addition to phasing out fossil fuels by the end of the century, we should also concentrate on reaping the low-hanging fruit of the foreseeable future. Fossil fuels cannot all be thrown into one pot – gas is much more environmentally friendly than oil and especially coal. Much rather than the electrification across sectors – as originally intended for example by the German government – natural gas has the greatest potential to lower emissions, as clearly shown in the course of the US' "shale revolution" and the UK's "dash for gas".

# 3. China



CHAIR  
**Park In-kook**

President, Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS)

International community is paying attention to the principal contradiction facing Chinese society, notably unbalanced and inadequate development and people's demand for a better life. There are ever-growing needs of the people for a better life, which will be a test for the future of the CCP. In foreign policy, we find both elements of continuity and change. Overall, in the next five years, China will have more continuity than change with a more pragmatic approach and more Xi imprint. China also seems to aim to become the arbiter in the Asia-Pacific both politically and militarily so China will become more assertive in the next five years and after. On the North Korea challenge, there is probably only six months to one year left until a daunting catastrophe begins. North Korea seemingly has no reentry vehicle yet so it is not ready to talk. The most critical factor is whether the Trump administration continues to maintain the North Korea challenge as its top priority. Unless it is kept as a deal breaking issue, the US cannot secure genuine full engagement of China that has the final say on the issue.



**Jia Qingguo**

Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University

We should probably pay attention to the principal contradiction facing Chinese society, that is, the contradiction between the unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing need for a better life. [...] On foreign policy, Xi also talked about trying to build a community of common destiny. He believes that we are in the same boat and should try to help each other. We can have competition, but our relationship is not a zero sum relationship. Rather, through our efforts, we can achieve a win-win outcome. [...] Both sides have realised after repeated interactions that the other side cannot give up. [...] In general, the foreign policy section sounds very positive. If these views were presented by Donald Trump, the world would probably be exhilarated. [...] If the US completely withdraws forces from South Korea, then the Japanese may demand that American soldiers leave Japan.



**Qiao Yide**

Vice Chairman & Secretary General, Shanghai Development Research Foundation

I decided to use the format for my presentation of putting a number plus keywords to summarise the main points from an economic perspective. First are two unchanging things; that is a basic judgement on the current position of the Chinese economy. The first unchanging is based on the national condition. That means that Chinese is still and will remain for a long time, in the initial stages of socialism. The second unchanging is China's international status as the world's largest developing country. Its implications are that economic development is and will be the priority for the Chinese Communist Party. [...] There are one plus two stages, which are the tasks for the future objective in the next three decades. The first stage of three or four years is from now to 2020. The target is to finish the building of a moderate, prosperous society in all aspects. [...] The first step from 2020 to 2035 is 15 years, and the target is basically realising the socialist modernisation. The next step from 2035 to 2050 is then building China into a greater, more than socialist country, which is a prosperous, strong, democratic, advanced culture, harmonised and beautiful. [...] Continuations are also very important and related to the main context of our future development strategy. The first continuation is that the Chinese government decided that it will still continue to carry open-door policy. [...] The second continuation is that the CPC wants to continue to carry through domestic economic reforms. First, we will continue to carry out structural supply side reform, paying more attention to the real economy. [...] The second item is that they want to improve market economic systems. That means that we will continue to do SOE reform. [...] We will also pay more attention to countryside development, mainly to reduction of poverty. [...] Another one is that we pay more attention to cooperation of regional development.



**Douglas Paal**

Vice President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

How do we manage our long-term rivalry with China and keep it from becoming a wasting struggle? [...] I think, conceptually, we ought to take a departure from this so-called Indo-Pacific strategy, which is really an effort to put some kind of muscle into Barack Obama's pivot to, or rebalance to Asia. For me, that was an example of NATO and the old-fashioned joke term, 'No Action, Talk Only'. The US never really did anything in the pivot and in fact, the pivot provided a pretext for the Chinese to do some things that they thought were countering what the US was doing, and we ended up with a net deficit in our position in the Asia-Pacific region. The South China Sea would certainly be a very good example of that. [...] The United States ought to be coming forward with a policy of co optation of China's new desire to be a more responsible stakeholder in the world. We ought to be adjusting our positions and instead of opposing, literally, the Belt and Road Initiative as a threat to us, or as in the Obama administration, opposing the formation of the AIB. Not only would it be cutting our losses, since we uniquely opposed the AIB; I think the count now is 57 countries to one against us on that. More importantly, to try to refresh the Bretton Woods instruments and bring them up-to-date. I think it is time for another round of examination of the Bretton Woods institutions, so that they are more representative of the countries' shares of GDP around the world. The G20 might be the basis for that model of re-examining it. [...] We also ought to have concepts of regional security. [...] I think the US really needs to be much more vocal in putting forward our values on those of our allies, in trying to identify what we want to achieve with regional security proposals and tackle specific problems, of which North Korea would be one and the South China Sea would be another.

# 3. China

**Richard Cooper**

Professor of Economics, Harvard University

Donald Trump has been President of the United States for over nine months. It is therefore possible to compare his campaign statements, which were largely sentiments or slogans, not proposed policies, with the actions taken by his administration. These comparisons are divided into four categories, with examples for each: 1) campaign slogans exercised successfully, 2) campaign slogans attempted, but unsuccessfully, 3) campaign slogans reversed, and 4) campaign slogans made but policies are still unclear after nine months. Illustrations: 1) declining to join the 2016 trade agreement of the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and announcing withdrawal from the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. 2) Stopping immigration from Muslim countries suspected as sources of terrorists, and failing to revise or repeal the Affordable Care Act of 2010 concerning health care for US residents. 3) Embracing NATO and US defence alliances with Japan and South Korea, and failing to declare China a currency manipulator "on his first day of office" or subsequently. 4) Renouncing or significantly revising the North-American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), and significantly reducing US corporate income taxes.

**Bark Taeho**

President, Lee &amp; Ko Global Commerce Institute, former Minister for Trade, Republic of Korea

I would now like to discuss a few issues related to international trade. First, I would like to hear the positions of China as the largest trading nation in the world on the MC11, delayed process of selecting vacant members of the WTO Appellate Body and more generally on the current difficult situation of the multilateral trading system. Second, I would like to hear from Chinese colleagues the major reasons for slow progress of the RCEP negotiations and the possible Chinese leadership in remaining negotiations. Third, recently, President Trump has enhanced his criticism against the Chinese unfair trade practices. I will greatly appreciate if our Chinese colleagues give us the Chinese view on the current US-China trade relations. Fourth, President Xi mentioned that the role of state owned enterprises (SOEs) will be strengthened in the future. I thought that it may be contradictory to deepening market-oriented economic reforms. I would like to hear the background of President Xi's statement on the SOEs. One more concern is that we are experiencing global oversupply as well as overcapacity problems in certain sectors such as steel. If certain industries enter into the restructuring process, the implementation of the market opening policy may face difficulties and possibly be delayed. I would like to hear from Chinese colleagues how China is dealing with these problems.

**Yuichi Hosoya**

Professor, Department of Political Science, Keio University

China and the United States are two elephants in a room in East Asia and Japan is not equal to these two giants. However, I would say that Japan is perhaps one of the most influential players in the region, or Prime Minister Abe may be becoming the most influential player in the region. One of the reasons for that is that he has a quite close relationship or friendship with President Trump. I think it is quite exceptional to be so close to President Trump. [...] Then, I would like to take a few minutes before ending, to point out that two regional concepts exist. One regional concept is defended by China, the Chinese government, which is the One Belt, One Road initiative. This continental or Eurasian vision is strongly supported by Russia and the two great powers, Russia and China, are trying to create a continental, more or less, international order based upon very strong Chinese power. The other regional vision is defended by the United States, US-centric in the Pacific order, previously called the liberal international order, which focuses on the importance of freedom of navigation of the sea. [...] In the end, I would like to conclude my talk by saying that even though there are two regional visions, it is also very important to bridge these regional visions. We do not have to see the new Cold War between those two blocks, which are different from Cold War blocks. There are some overlaps, like India and Australia are joining in some Chinese initiatives, such as AIIB and our Japanese Prime Minister Abe recently supported the idea of the Belt and Road initiative. That is why I think there is room to collaborate between those two regional visions. Of course, there are some overlaps and I think that one of the most important Japanese strategies is to try to combine two different blocks of regional order as much as possible. At the same time, it is essential for the Japanese Prime Minister or government to try and invite the United States to come back to the regional order as a leader of this region.

**Jean-François Copé**

Mayor of Meaux, former delegate Minister of Budget, France

Globalisation is changing shape and the «new Silk Road» symbolises this change. This collective narrative answers the major challenges of our time: strengthening global connectivity, fostering multilateral cooperation, contributing to create the conditions of the economic recovery; and awakens a common project to rally the two poles of prosperity that are Europe and Asia. This project is a great opportunity because we have common interests and common enemies. I think that good diplomacy is diplomacy where you can put common values, but also common interests on the table. Therefore, the European Union must take part in it because it matches an alignment of interests that we cannot escape.

## 4. Russia in twenty years



CHAIR  
**Igor Yurgens**

Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Russia

"Russia in Twenty Years". The question is impossible to answer, because if I take myself 20 years back, to 1997, Russia was declaring at that time that it wanted to be part of the EU and probably even of NATO. We drew up four spaces: a common economic space, a common humanitarian space, a cultural space, and a space of security. We were on our way to a very serious honeymoon. It started in 2003, when new President Putin reconfirmed his European choice and went to Brussels to sign the strategic documents. In 1997, 20 years ago, it would have been pretty difficult to predict what is happening now, in 2017. However, there are some givens. The current situation is one of them, and in the short term, Russia would be coming back to the international stage. Russia is strong enough to be present in many difficult conflict situations. Russia managed to get through economic crises, from the first stagnation onwards. This year, it will hopefully have 2% GDP growth. The Russian economy now is totally different from what the Soviet economy was, and it is much more flexible. It is an economy that adapts to the new normalcy under sanctions and low carbon prices. That is in the short term. Mid term, we see some risks and difficulties. The Russian economy is not what the Soviet economy was by volume. Back in 1991, Russia still represented 19% of world GDP, and now, we are at 1.5, aspiring to reach 2%. We definitely have some serious weaknesses, and we should cut ourselves to size in terms of our international aspiration and positioning. The long term seems unknown to us. However, as our Emperor Alexander II once said, the distance is our curse. In 20 years, the distance will be no question. The fourth industrial revolution will probably make the distances in Russia, that were our curse in many ways, a nonissue. Long term, we could be a leader in Eurasia, which Zbigniew Brzezinski called a key to the geopolitical control of the Earth. Alternatively, we can collapse again, as the Soviet Union did in 1991, if the policies are not right. That is also a scenario which could be visualised.



**Alexander Dynkin**

President, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russia

Alexei Kudrin and a group of experts are currently working on the comprehensive programme of modernisation and institutional build up. The biggest departure from previous reform programmes is not just an economic exercise in the field of economy. This is a more comprehensive set of roadmaps in the legal sphere, in education, foreign affairs, defence policy, culture, etc. [...] The recent World Bank Doing Business assessment for next year puts Russia in 35th position, which is five steps up. In 2012, we were in 124th position. It is a substantial skyrocketing of the entrepreneurial climate domestically. [...] The demise of empires almost always brings tectonic shifts in the world order, and it also leaves long lasting territorial conflicts. The Kashmir conflict has continued for 70 years since the British departure and gave us two nuclear states. The fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Sykes Picot legacy largely fed the current bloody events in the Middle East. The Stalin Khrushchev borders drawn inside the Soviet Union, according to certain political expediency, have left many territorial mines. It is curious that there are so many fervent supporters of the Stalin Khrushchev legacy in the West. In 2007, at the Munich Security Conference, Putin warned about the period of Russia's retreat and of the West exploding the troubles of the post Communism transformation. He said that sidelining and marginalising Russia is over. It was portrayed as an effort to launch a new Cold War. At the NATO summit in Bucharest, he declared that the fast track for Georgia and Ukraine, or the third wave of NATO enlargement, was unacceptable for Russia. [...] I do not know what the world order will be in 20 years. Much courage and imagination is needed to take the road not travelled before. Without a new mode of dealing with each other and communicating with each other, it would be impossible to find more promising growth.



**Michel Foucher**

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

It is the Chinese factor that will be decisive in the overall positioning of Russia in 2037 and of others countries in Eurasia and in Indo-Pacific as well. This is the real «game changer». [...] The second factor is that the USA will look at them less as a European power. What has started last year is a deep trend. [...] Between now and 2037, divergences between Washington and Brussels have grown in many respects. And the EU has grown more autonomous under the leadership of Paris and Berlin to face the global challenges. [...] The Russian power is strong in military, geopolitical and diplomatic realms. [...] So the real issue for Russia is the state of its economy at the global age. To-day, its economy is not diversified enough to take benefit from globalisation. The range of exports is narrow. [...] Russia is certainly one of the countries that took less benefit from globalisation. [...] Why working with Russia to fill the gap between its strong external power and its inclusion into the global economic game? First and foremost, because it is in the interest of the European Union. [...] If we are not able to set up a new European order in the next 20 years, a new European concert, we will remain weak in the international sphere and be unable to promote stability in the critical neighbourhood that EU and Russia are sharing. Our common future will be bleak.

## 4. Russia in twenty years



**Donald Johnston**

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



**Yaroslav Lissovlik**

Chief Economist, Eurasian Development Bank

First, I see little prospect of Russia exiting authoritarian one man rule whether it be Putin for the time being, or his successor. Second, I foresee that even with an authoritarian regime Russian will become a major economic power amongst the community of nations. [...] If this trend continues, in 20 years we may well see about 50 percent of the world population under autocratic governance, including Russia, with the other 50 percent under some form of democratic governance. This need not result in adversarial relationships if their respective developments going forward are based on free trade and open market principles. Indeed that is to be hoped for in the near term in US-China relations. As we have learned from many experts, the world is entering a new industrial revolution where artificial intelligence (AI) with intelligent machines will play an increasingly preponderant role in our economies. This could enable Russia to combine its highly educated population and leading edge AI technologies to move quickly to secure a global leadership role in many AI areas. This is easier to accomplish in autocratic regimes. I fear that democracies will struggle to deal expeditiously with the cobweb of paralytic bureaucracies at different levels of government which can stifle the rapid and efficient deployment of innovative technologies. There will likely be much resistance from organized labour where AI could displace traditional jobs on a massive scale. As a result, Russia and China may emerge as winners in the competition to dominate the AI robotic revolution. [...] Russia enjoys one of the highest literacy rates in the world at 99% as well as one of the greatest percentages of tertiary education graduates. As economist Joe Stiglitz has noted: "One of the good things that Russia inherited from the Soviet era is a high level of education, especially in technical areas so important to the new economy" I conclude that Russia, with its rich human resource base, has the capacity to become once again a major global force in 20 years.



**Artem Malgin**

Vice-rector for general affairs and corporate relations, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)



**Alexander Panov**

Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Professor and Head of the department of diplomacy of MGIMO

First, in 20 years, Russia will be much more self centred and self concerned, with policy and ambitions made-to-measure. We still feel ourselves to be bigger and stronger than we are, and that is why I hope we are going to be less interventionist in 20 years. We realise our scale in global affairs and our resources. This is because many of the problems which we face now are there because of overestimation or simply wrong estimations or wrong appraisals of who we are. Second, Russia will be more open, since by that time, we will manage to build this Russia centred integration, which brings together our Eurasian neighbours. It will also manage to find a modus operandi with the EU and EU led countries. We want to have immediate geographic resources for these two parts of the Eurasian continent. I do not mean Eurasia politically, which is linked to the former republics of the USSR. It automatically makes Russia more open. Russia will be more participative, more devoted to multi nationalism, and much more assertive. Third, the Russian presence will probably be better established all over the world, but there will not necessarily be the political, state run presence. It will rather be Russian companies, Russian investments, and Russian led but multilateral initiatives, which will be better presented in other parts of the world. Thanks to that, we will find more of a Russian presence in Africa, the Middle East, South East Asia and Central and Eastern Europe. These are our immediate neighbours and nation neighbours to a great extent. Fourth, by that time, everyone agrees that Russia will be more developed. I should emphasise that it will be slightly less resource-dependent, and it will clearly be more digital. Russia will be on a steady track towards an old European state standard.

What is very interesting is something that you are hearing in the domestic policy debates, as all these economic plans are being devised by Kudrin, by Oreshkin, by the government etc., is the word non linear catch up. This means that if previously, the vision was that we adopt this or that technology step by step, we go through all of the necessary stages and all of the requirements to reach a certain level. Now, Russia is looking for shortcuts, and some of these shortcuts may be precisely represented by the new infatuation of President Putin. This is the digital economy, the new economy. [...] Any timeframe of 20 years that you look at is about generations. We are starting to see some very interesting signs of this generational shift, including in the upper echelons of power in Russia. You have, for example, the new economy minister, Mr Oreshkin, a very capable policy maker, who has risen to heights in a matter of several years. In terms of how the Russian government is starting to operate, it is going to be very different. This generation, with the likes of Oreshkin, is a very interesting one that is likely to be quite influential. [...] There are some low base effects that have not been fully exploited so far. I would first and foremost single out economic alliances. If you look at the number of FTAs secured by Russia, for advanced economies, this is 14 15, and for Russia, this is 1 2. One of the recent ones was Vietnam. Russia is doing it together with the European Economic Union, but there are dozens of countries that are waiting in line to forge a free trade area with Russia and its Eurasian partners. These are diverse potential partners such as Singapore and such as South Korea, which is very keen from what I understand to secure an FTA.

We will still have all the possibilities ahead, for at least 20 years, to be a very powerful country, with all these resources. In the future, we will also have water resources, which are enormous in Russia, along with timber etc. Without these, life is not possible, even in the digital era. For Russia, being a minor partner for China is not a possibility, but on the other hand, a combination of these two powers may be stronger than the combination of the United States and Europe. The possibility of Russian diplomatic skill and Chinese economic skill will be quite a powerful means in international relations. [...] I think that Russia and China should call some kind of international conference and say, 'Let us get together and formulate new rules of international law'. What is international law? It is not what Moses received from above. It is people who created this international law and it was adopted and respected, but it is not respected anymore. What is the difference between Kosovo and Crimea? This was debated yesterday, but it is clear that you can treat international law in your own interests, and to explain it in your favour. However, what is non interference in internal affairs? For Russia and China, if both countries would like to be the leaders of the world, it will be a chance to create a new international order using new international laws. It is a place for Russia to take a leading role in such a process. I do not want to be long.





**Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al-Thani**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar

[...] For ages, the Middle East was the source of civilisations, the root of languages and the origin of different faiths. It was an international trade hub connecting the East to the West and the West to the East, where the people could connect and engage. The key word for this was co-existence, and there was engagement of people from different backgrounds and different ethnicities. Now the situation has reverted. We don't want it to revert to the dark ages. Before, we used to be a source of enlightenment and we do not want to become a source of turbulence for the world. I believe most of the international challenges are now happening in the region, in the Middle East, where we have different on-going conflicts: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Yemen and its humanitarian catastrophe, Libya's situation which is spilling over into Europe, Africa and the sub-Saharan region. The ongoing issue in Iraq is another example. Unfortunately, the most horrifying situation in recent history is what's happening now in Syria. [...] If we are going to look at all these conflicts, we will find that there are different narratives. And they are usually using religion as a scapegoat. But if we look at all of them, we will find one common theme here, which is that those who want and seek power always create crises. [...] We hope that one day, wisdom will prevail and that the countries who are trying to avoid engagement, avoid talking and addressing any of the security concerns, will understand they are our concerns too. They have to come to the table and solve the issues. We have to learn from history, we cannot learn by experience. The entire world witnesses the same conflicts, the same crises everywhere. These crises took years and years and in the end, none have been solved on a battlefield or through confrontation. All of them have been resolved around a table. And we hope that all crises in the Middle East will be solved around a table.





**Patrick Pouyanné**  
Chairman of the Board and CEO, Total

[...] I can assure you that in fifty years' time, there will still be oil and gas in the planet's energy mix, just as there is still coal two hundred years later. Because there is a profound mistake that many people make, and which I see as cause for concern, because it can be the source of bad decisions, that of believing those who speak in overly Manichaean, somewhat simplistic terms: "All we have to do now is say goodbye to these fossil energies and replace them with new, renewable energies." This seems like a fine idea, but it does not address, given the current technologies, the primordial aspiration for economic and social development across mankind. [...] There are two other technologies that will be fundamental if we want to reach the two degrees in the Paris Agreement. The first is energy storage. Storing energy is extremely complicated. We are making progress, but are doing so slowly. [...] The question of energy storage brings me back to the electric vehicle that today appears to be the new Grail. [...] The electric vehicle is an extremely important subject and I profoundly believe that it will develop in particular in cities, but that its impact on oil consumption will remain limited. The electric vehicle does not imply the disappearance of oil. [...] And then the other key technology to be developed if we want to limit the temperature increase to less than two degrees, alongside the storage of energy, is the capture-storage-transformation of the CO<sub>2</sub> that we will be emitting when we continue to use fossil energies because we will need it. We will need to be able to capture it, and to transform it into materials like cement, or to store it. This is another major technology on which groups like ours are engaging. [...]





### Ahmet Davutoglu

former Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

[...]The UN Security Council today reflects a balance of power rather than internationally agreed conventions. Therefore, the only mechanism regarding the Syrian question is the Astana mechanism, where Turkey, Russia and Iran run diplomacy to have no-conflict zones in Syria and there is no hope of any UN mediation. This means ad hoc systems and ad hoc solutions are on the way. This is basically the problem of global institutions. We need more effective institutional mechanisms in the UN and also in international economic organisations.

I want to give five principles for future global governance. I call them the five 'I' in one of my articles. One is inclusivity. We need to have an inclusive national, regional and global order, not populist nor exclusivist. Second is integrity. We should not have double standards. All principles should be followed by integrity. These are ideals. The other principle is interest optimisation. Rational negotiation is absent today. There is no longer any rational negotiation. There are more emotional reflections in the international arena. Fourth is implementation of decisions, not just taking decisions, but implementing them. The last is a new institutionalisation of international systems. We need integrity, inclusivity, institutionalisation, interest optimisation and implementation of decisions. Otherwise we will have many more meetings on this as an intellectual exercise, but no result-oriented meetings. I hope all these discussions will open up a way for global governance. [...]





**Nasser Bourita**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco

[...] Multiple, shape-shifting paradoxes are fuelling challenges. I will mention just four that matter particularly to Morocco because of their impact on our action and deployment. Paradox 1/ Information, which has never circulated so freely in the world, produces not just knowledge, but also ignorance. New information and communication technologies (NTIC) are growing at an unprecedented pace. They embody and transmit knowledge, but also spread chaos. Terrorist and criminal organisations use them to undermine security, stability and development efforts. Instead of shaping their critical thinking, easy, approximate and incomplete information ("fake news" as some would say) is believed by ignorant people with oversized egos. [...] Paradox 2/ Conflicts are fewer but more complex. The number of conflicts has decreased by nearly 40% since the 1990s. However, that figure hides a bitter reality: conflicts are harder to settle, and therefore longer, deadlier and more devastating for the most vulnerable civilian populations. [...] Paradox 3/ The world is said to be a "planetary village" yet more and more barriers are rising. Connectivity cancels out distances and the growth of transport snubs geography. But as some gaps narrow, others widen. [...] Paradox 4/ The system dating from the Second World War is criticised, but no alternative has been found. Asking questions about alternatives is as legitimate as ruthlessly attacking the existing order is counter-productive. Multilateralism remains vital for Morocco. But its facets are changing. Morocco is aware of that. [...]



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LUNCH DEBATE • SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5 • 13:00 - 14:30



### Aziz Mekouar

Ambassador of Morocco, in charge of the negotiations on climate

You may have heard atomic scientists talk about what they call the Doomsday Clock, and in 2016 we were at three minutes before midnight, meaning that we are on the verge of extinction of the Human race. The clock works according to the dangers, and the two main dangers that the Human race is facing are nuclear war and climate change. We have ways to stop nuclear war; it is miraculous that nothing has happened and, hopefully, nothing will happen. Climate change is much more dangerous, because there is a point of no return where there is nothing we will be able to do, so we must pre-empt and start acting. We can see what is happening from the information we have recently had from science centres around the world. For instance, the National Snow and Ice Data Center, in the Arctic, said a few months ago that there was less ice than ever before, with the mean temperature in 2017 at 23 degrees above normal, and in the Gulf of Mexico, the sea surface has never dropped below 72 degrees Fahrenheit, and it was the warmest winter in all cities around the Gulf of Mexico. It is very dangerous, and I believe that what happened in Paris is that people, countries, governments, and non state actors reached that conclusion and decided to finally sign the Paris Agreement after 21 years of negotiations. In Morocco we believe that the danger for the world is real, and under the leadership of King Mohammed VI, who has always been very highly concerned by the need to protect the environment since he led the Moroccan delegation to the Rio Conference in 1992, we have been doing a lot. For instance, if we look at renewable energy, by 2020, 42 to 46% of our energy will come from renewable energy, and by 2030, 52%, will come from renewables. [...]





Marrakech: de la WPC

WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

Dmitry Medvedev



Abdoulaye Wade



Nicolas Sarkozy



2008 EVIAN

2009 MARRAKECH

Kofi Annan



2010

2012

2014

2015

2011

2013

2017



NETWORKING







**King Mohammed VI**

Placed under my patronage, this important meeting in the Ocher City offers eminent figures from a wide range of backgrounds the opportunity to discuss major regional and global issues. It also contributes to improving governance in terms of thinking, decision-making and control. The aim is to promote the advent of a more open world which respects diversity.

**Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim Al-Thani**

The World Policy Conference has become one of the most important events in the world of policy and international efforts.

**Stuart Eizenstat**

I want to congratulate Thierry de Montbrial on the 10th anniversary of the World Policy Conference and say wholeheartedly what a privilege it is to be on a panel of this distinction.

**Mari Kiviniemi**

It is my fourth time participating in the World Policy Conference and congratulations to Thierry on the 10th anniversary of this great event.

**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**

The World Policy Conference is a kind of symphony of voices. Some people ask why the former President of Mongolia is sitting here. The beauty of this spectrum is that you can come from Mongolia, have some kind of relationship to this and bring our perspective here. This is a really great opportunity and a great platform, and we have to maintain it. Mongolia, and myself, are really committed to this great endeavour and purpose.

**Sean Cleary**

Congratulations, again, to Thierry and the whole team, in terms of having reached this remarkable milestone of this being the 10th conference.

**Mayankote Kelath Narayanan**

It is a privilege to be here at the 10th World Policy Conference, and special thanks to my dear Thierry for the stewardship of the WPC in these very fractured times.

**Ju Chul Ki**

I hope that the World Policy Conference will continue to carry out such an endeavour to foster a more open and more tolerant world.

**Ashwani Kumar**

I thank Thierry and his team who have brought together, in this wonderful city of Marrakesh, a galaxy of global leaders and thinkers who have devoted the last three days of their time to find solutions to the challenges we all face, which make this world a challenged world.

**James Stuewe**

This has been a truly amazing few days. I feel so fortunate to have been part of such a gathering. The ideas shared, all from the world's top thinkers, helped the broader group, and I hope the world, drive for a more peaceful and cooperative planet.

**Michael Lothian**

It was full of interesting debates, challenging ideas and frank thinking. It was an honour for me to take part. The world is more unstable than I have known it in many years and the agenda and his skilled chairmanship gave us all an opportunity to address these issues in depth. My belief in the need for new structures of world governance was strengthened further by what I heard.

**Susan Lioutaud**

My sincerest thanks again for the privilege of speaking at the WPC. It was a wonderful 10th anniversary event. The location and hotel situation were superb, and I only regretted that I couldn't stay until the end. You have truly built a remarkable tradition. I look forward to next year.

**Emmanuel Macron**

I hope that the international dialogue on the organisation of our planet will continue, and I know that I can rely on the World Policy Conference to produce better ideas, better policies and to bring the debate forward. An excellent ten-year anniversary to the WPC: it serves a valuable purpose.

**Bartholomew 1<sup>st</sup>**

We can only rejoice in the fact that, in this country, a new edition of the World Policy Conference is taking place. By inviting us to express these few thoughts at the opening session, its organizers – and here we would like to warmly thank Professor Thierry de Montbrial for his friendship – stressed the fundamental importance of religion in reflecting on world affairs, or, to phrase it otherwise, about international issues. The Ecumenical Patriarchate which we have the honour of representing thanks them, while wishing them every success in their undertakings.

**Patrick Pouyanné**

Congratulation and long live the World Policy Conference, with Total's support!

**Nasser Bourita**

First, I would like to pay tribute to somebody who deserves it, Thierry de Montbrial. We would not all be here tonight without him. Dear Thierry, thank you! Thank you for your tireless but, as you can see, heartily acknowledged efforts. Thank you for your vision. Today those who had faith in this adventure in 2008, who believed the WPC would continue through the years with brilliance and distinction, are delighted. And the best is yet to come. Thank you for giving us the opportunity to discuss and debate the world's key issues.

**Ana Brnabic**

I think the World Policy Conference is an important event. I really appreciate the fact that the organisers decided to stress and to present the current situation in the Balkans, especially the reconciliation and the partnership between Serbia and Albania. I am honoured to be here to represent Serbia's point of view and to talk about the whole region. We are all united towards the same goals.

**Edi Rama**

It is an honour to be here and to attend an event with such important participants who are knowledgeable and experts in their domains. It also gives me the opportunity to show something I am very proud of, which is the endeavour to reach peace and cooperation in the Balkans.

**Jean-Yves Le Gall**

My warmest and sincerest congratulations for those three days of top quality interventions and debates which have been extremely fascinating. Once again this year, the World Policy Conference was the place to be.

**Xavier Starkloff**

I wish to thank you for inviting me to take part in this event which has been fascinating once again because of the interesting issues addressed by highly knowledgeable speakers. Furthermore, it has been a pleasure to exchange views with distinguished participants outside the conference. Among young participants, useful and fruitful talks were held between public sector representatives and entrepreneurs.

**Jean-Claude Lehmann**

All the presentations and discussions have been truly fascinating to me. They have enlightened me on a number of topics I used to have limited knowledge of. The overall remarkable quality of experts who have been given the floor significantly enhanced my awareness. Moreover, this meeting gave me the opportunity to meet and discuss with captivating personalities.

**Oliver Bussmann**

It was a great experience and honor to discuss important geo-political topics in such an elite round of experts. Overall the conference was well-organised, in-depth panel discussion and a perfect place for networking.

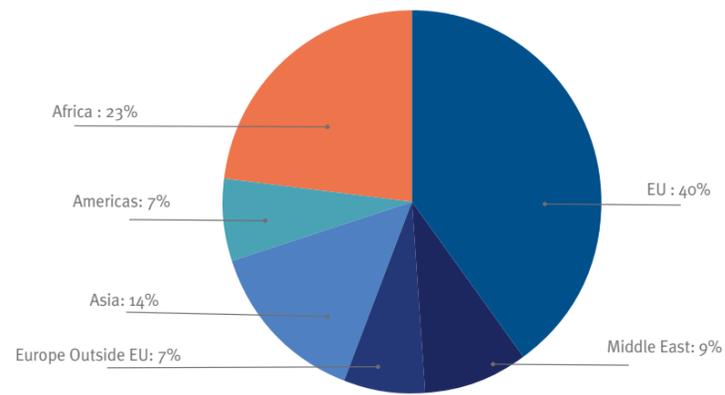
**Tatsuo Masuda**

It was indeed an unforgettable conference in Marrakesh. I was immensely benefited from attending all sessions, and networking with old and new friends. I just wrote back to one of new friends made in Marrakesh.

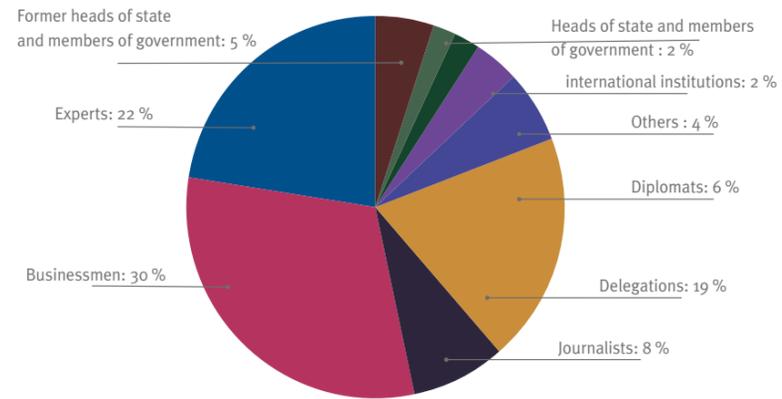




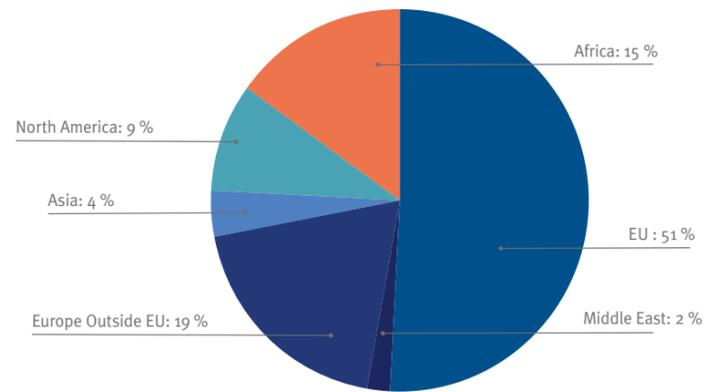
KEY DATA



Participants - Geographical breakdown (total: 329 participants from 40 countries)



Participants - Breakdown by function (total: 329 participants from 40 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles (total: 491 articles)



INVITED GUESTS

**Abbad El Andaloussi, Zineb**

Managing Director, Investment Team, Helios since 2017. Former Managing Director at Rothschild, where she remains a senior advisor.

**Adamakis, Emmanuel**

Metropolitan of France & Exarch of Europe. He is Vice President of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) and President of the Assembly of Orthodox Bishops of France, as well as the Co-President of the Council of Christian Churches of France.

**Adghoughi, Redouane**

Director for European Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Kingdom of Morocco.

**Aburdene, Odeh**

President of OAI Advisors, member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Prior to that he was a managing partner of Capital Trust S.A., where he remains a senior advisor.

**Ahmed, Masood**

President, Center for Global Development. Former Director, Middle East and Central Asia Department at the IMF. He also held positions in the World Bank.

**Ait-Kadi, Mohamed**

President of the General Council of Agricultural Development, Morocco. Former governor and founding member of the World Water Council.

**Al-Hajeri, Manaf**

Chief Executive Officer of Kuwait Financial Center, Markaz. Former Deputy Director in the Investment department at the Kuwait Fund for Arab and Economic Development.

**Allard, Patrick**

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

**Aloui, Omar**

Economist specialized in consulting. Specialist of natural resource economics (Morocco, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Benin among others) and social policy (Morocco, Sudan, West Africa).

**Al-Omeir, Othman**

Publisher and Editor-in-chief, Elaph. Former editor-in-chief of the Majalla magazine and of Alsharq Alawsat.

**Al-Thani, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar since 2016. Previously he held the position of Assistant Foreign Minister for International Cooperation Affairs (2014-2016).

**Amrani, Youssef**

Chargé de mission, Royal Cabinet, Morocco. He was appointed as Minister Delegate for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation by His Majesty King Mohammed VI in 2013. HE was Secretary General of the Union for the Mediterranean.

**Antoniszyn, Ilona**

Economist, local and national government official, politician, Poland. She served as undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Economy of Poland from 2011 to 2015.

**Appert, Olivier**

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

**Aslan, Ali**

Berlin-based presenter, talk show host and journalist who has worked for global TV networks such as CNN, ABC News, Channel News Asia and Deutsche Welle TV.

**Azour, Jihad**

Director, Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund since 2017. He served as Lebanon's Finance Minister (2005-2008).

**Badré, Bertrand**

Founder and CEO, Blue Orange Capital. Former Managing Director and World Bank Group Chief Financial Officer. Previously, he served as the Group Chief Financial Officer at Société Générale.

**Baraka, Nizar**

President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Morocco since 2013. He is also the President of the Scientific Committee of Cop22. Former Minister of Economy and Finance of Morocco (2011-2013).

**Bark, Taeho**

President, Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute. Professor Emeritus and former Dean at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) of Seoul National University. He served as Minister for Trade of Korea.

**Barrault, François**

Chairman and founder of FDB Partners SPRL an investment and advisory firm in TMT and publishing. Chairman of Idate/DigiWorld Institute. Former President and CEO Lucent EMEA.

**Barré, Nicolas**

Managing Editor of Les Echos. He served as Deputy Managing Editor at Le Figaro (2005-2008) and was Tokyo Bureau Chief and US correspondent for les Echos.

**Bartholomew 1<sup>st</sup>, Dimitrios**

Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch since 1991. He particularly advocates for inter-religious dialogue, religious freedom, human rights and environmental protection.

**Bassou, Abdelhak**

Senior non-resident fellow, OCP Policy Center. Former police commissioner. He was in charge of several responsibilities within the Directorate General of the Moroccan national security.

**Beier, Christoph**

Vice-Chair of the Management Board, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) since 2011. He held several positions at Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH (2000-2010).

**Benabderrazik, Hassan**

Economist, Former General Secretary of the Moroccan Ministry of Agriculture of Morocco.

**Benbrahim El Andaloussi, Hamid**

Honorary Chairman of the Moroccan Aerospace Industries Association (GIMAS). He is Chairman or board member of several companies in the aircraft, international hotel, solar industries and in the government security area.

**Bensalah Alaoui, Assia**

Ambassador-at-large of His Majesty the King of Morocco. She is Co-President of the OCEMO (Office of Economic Cooperation for the Mediterranean and the Middle East), Marseille and Vice-President of the Association of Moroccan-Japanese Friendship (AMJ).

**Bensalah-Chaqroun, Miriem**

President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises since May 2012. She heads Holmarcom, one of the largest groups in Morocco operating in multiple sectors.

**Bensemhoun, Arié**

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

**Berradi, Khalid**

Chief Operating Officer, OCP Policy Center.

**Bertossi, Christophe**

Director of the Centre for Migrations and Citizenship at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri).

**Besnainou, Pierre**

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

**Billot, Aurélien**

Deputy Head of the Commercial and development policies Unit at the General Secretariat for European Affairs. Former Deputy head of the Paris Club Secretariat at French Ministry of Economy and Finance.

**Bilou, Marie-Roger**

CEO, The Africa International Media Group, Media Consultant and Adviser on African Affairs. She also heads the “Club Millenium” in Paris.

**Bönning, Matthias**

Chief Operating Officer and Head of Research, oekom research AG.

**Borza, Remus**

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

**Bouabid, Othman**

Interior Ministry of the Kingdom of Morocco. Former Governor. He was Director of Cabinet of the Interior Minister, Special Adviser at the Office of the Interior Minister and administrator at the central administration of the Interior Ministry.

**Bouis, François-Xavier**

Founder and President of Compagnie Financière Jacques Cœur – CFJC, a leading European financial multi-specialist broker dedicated to institutional investors.

**Bowdler-Raynar, Jonathan**

CEO, B-R & H Finance SA. Former Member of Board of Director, Hottinger & Cie SA.

**Bourita, Nasser**

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Kingdom of Morocco.

**Brnabic, Ana**

Prime Minister of Serbia. Previously, she served as Minister of Public Administration and Local Self-Government.

**Burelle, Jean**

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

**Burt, Richard**

Managing Director of McLarty Associates (Europe and Eurasia practice) since 2007. Former US Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany (1985-1989).

**Bussmann, Oliver**

Founder and Managing Partner, Bussmann Advisory. He served as Group Chief Information Officer of UBS (2013-2016). Prior to this, he was Global Chief Information Officer at SAP.

**Caillé, André**

Director of several corporations, including Junex Inc., an oil and gas exploration corporation, for which he is a Senior Strategic Advisor. Member of the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Canada.

**Cartwright, Natalie**

Co-founder of Finn.ai, a company which works in cooperation with banks to set up a virtual banking assistant powered by artificial intelligence.

**Castelbajac (de), Patrick**

Head of Airbus Strategy and International since 2017. He joined Airbus in 2002. In 2014, he was appointed Chief Executive Officer of ATR. In 2016, he came back to Airbus as member of the Executive Committee.

**Charafeddine, Raed**

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

**Chareonwongsak, Kriengsak**

Former Prime Ministerial Advisor of Thailand, Senior Fellow Harvard University and Chairman, Nation-Building Institute. President of the Institute of Future Studies for Development and an Honorary Consul General in Thailand.

**Chegraoui, Khalid**

Professor of History and Political Anthropology, Institute of African Studies, Mohammed V University, Rabat, Morocco.

**Cherkaoui, Mouna**

Professor at Mohamed V University, Faculty of Law, Economics and Social Science, she is also a Research Fellow at the Economic Research Forum where she is in the Board of Trustees.

**Cherkaoui, Mohamed**

Emeritus University Professor and Emeritus Research Director, National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Paris. Professor at Hassan II University of Casablanca. He has been Co-Editor « Sociologies » at Presses Universitaires de France since 2006.

**Chen, Aiguo**

Director, CEFC China Energy Company Limited. General Manager, CEFC Shanghai International Group Equity Investment Fund Management Ltd.



**Cleary, Sean**

Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd, Managing Director of the Centre for Advanced Governance, Founder and Executive Vice-Chair of the FutureWorld Foundation, and a Director of Companies.

**Cohen-Tanugi, Laurent**

Member of the Paris and New York Bars. Founder and managing partner, Laurent Cohen-Tanugi Avocats. He served as Chairman of French governmental task force on Europe in the global economy (2007-2008).

**Collomb, Bertrand**

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

**Condé, Sékou Kouréïssy**

President of the African Crisis Group. Former Minister of Security, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Secretary General of the National Transitional Council and as Ombudsman of the Republic of Guinea.

**Cooper, Richard**

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

**Copé, Jean-François**

Mayor of Meaux, France. He is a lecturer in Sciences Po and Associate Professor at the University of Paris VIII. Former delegate Minister of Budget (2004-2007) and spokesperson of the French government (2002-2007).

**Counsell, Benedict**

International Markets Manager for Delivery Hero, the largest food delivery network in the world. Previously, he worked in Investment Banking at Deutsche Bank, London.

**Cozon, Stanislas**

Executive Vice President, Capgemini. He has been Managing director in charge of global industry sectors within Capgemini.

**Dadush, Uri**

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

**Daianu, Daniel**

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

**Daly, Elena**

Founder and Principal of EM Conseil. She served in General Counsel, strategy and risk-related senior positions at alternative investment funds at Citigroup, Fortress Group and Nomura International PLC.

**Dassas, Pierre**

Chairman of The House of the Rising Stars Foundation (Geneva, Switzerland), Chairman of the European Leadership Network.

**David, Dominique**

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

**Davutoglu, Ahmet**

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

**Dehmej, Salim**

Head of the financial stability unit at the Research Department of Bank Al-Maghrib (Central Bank of Morocco).

**Dejammet, Alain**

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

**Deroubaix, Bertrand**

Senior Vice President Public Affairs, Total. He began his career in the French Transportation Ministry. He joined Total in 1995. In 2012, he was appointed General Secretary of the new Refining and Chemical Division.

**Dervis, Kemal**

Vice President and Director of Global Economy and Development at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at Sabanci University. Former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey.

**Desfilis, José**

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

**Desouches, Christine**

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

**Diop, Abdou**

President of the African and South-South Commission, General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises. He is Managing Partner of Mazars Morocco and in charge of the development of activities in Africa.

**Dong, Manyuan**

Vice President, China Institute of International Studies (CIIS). He is a senior research fellow specialized in Middle East studies and ethnic issues.

**Drouin, François**

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

**Dučka, Dorian**

Former Deputy Minister of Energy and Industry of Albania (2013-2015). He joined the international private sector in 2015. He has served as External Adviser on Investments to the Prime Minister of Albania since 2016.

**Durand, Hermine**

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

**Dye Ba, Ciré**

Executive Director, CIRTECH-CTC. He has over six years of experience in political consulting and currently works as an advisor to numerous African statesmen and politicians on political strategy and public policy.

**Dynkin, Alexander**

President, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russia. He is among others a member of the Presidium of the Presidential Council for Science and Education, and a member of the Presidium of Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS).

**Eizenstat, Stuart**

Partner, and head of International trade and finance Covington & Burling LLP. He has held key senior positions, including chief White House domestic policy adviser to President Jimmy Carter and U.S. Ambassador to the European Union.

**El Aoufir, Zouhair Mohammed**

CEO of Moroccan Airports Authority (ONDA) since 2014. Previously, he served as Senior Vice President of Royal Air Maroc. He was also Chief Executive Officer of Atlas Blue and Managing Director of Air Senegal International, two subsidiaries of Royal Air Maroc.

**El Aynaoui, Karim**

Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of the Mohammed VI Polytechnic University and Managing Director of OCP Policy Center. Former Director of Economics and International Relations at Bank Al-Maghrib, the Central Bank of Morocco (2005-2012).

**Elbegdorj, Tsakhiagiin**

Former President of Mongolia. Previously, he served as Member of the State Great Hural (2008-2009), Chairman of the Democratic Party of Mongolia (2005-2008) and Prime Minister of Mongolia (2004-2006).

**El Kadiri, Mohamed**

Managing Director and General Secretary of OCP. Former Professor of electronics and telecoms at USTL (Université des Sciences et Techniques de Lille) and Ecole Mohammedia des Ingénieurs (EMI).

**El Ouafi, Mustapha**

Managing Director of OCP. He joined OCP in 1992 and has held the roles of Sales Director for Asia, Middle East and Oceania, Director in Charge of the Jorf Lasfar Platform at OCP and Executive Director in charge of Sales, Marketing and Raw Material Procurement.

**Erlanger, Steven**

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

**Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine**

Director, Ifri's Centre for Energy since 2017. Prior to joining IFRI, he spent six years at the International Energy Agency (IEA), notably as Russia & Sub-Saharan Africa Programme Manager.

**Foucher, Michel**

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

**Frieden, Jeffrey A.**

Professor of Government at Harvard University. He specializes in the politics of international monetary and financial relations.

**Gadio, Cheikh Tidiane**

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

**Gallardo, Juan**

Chairman of Organización Cultiba, Grupo Azucarero México (Sugar Mills) and of GEPP. He is also a board member of Caterpillar Inc., Santander Mexico and a member of the International Advisory Council of Bombardier and Rabobank.

**Gascón, Lorenzo**

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

**Georgelin, Jean-Louis**

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

**Germay (de), Nicolas**

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

**Girard, Renaud**

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

**Girault, Jean-François**

Ambassador of France to the Kingdom of Morocco since 2015. He was Director for North African and Middle East at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development (2012-2015). He was ambassador to Vietnam, Irak and Syria, among others.

**Gomart, Thomas**

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

**Guerin, Gilles**

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

**Guigou, Elisabeth**

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

**Gurry, Francis**

Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) since 2008. He started his career at WIPO in 1985. Previously, he had been teaching and practicing law.

**Hafnaoui, Mohamed**

Deputy Chief Executive Officer of CDG Développement Group since 2014. He joined CDH Développement in 2007. Before that, he was Deputy Director and member of the Management Board of the Tanger Med Special Agency (TMSA).



**Hajji, Karim**

Managing Director of the Casablanca Stock Exchange and member of the World Federation of Exchanges (WFE). Before joining Casablanca Stock Exchange in 2009, he was CEO of Atlas Capital Group, which he set up in 1999.

**Halalai, Traian**

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

**Halferty Hardy, Kerry**

Lecturer and consultant. Her varied career has spanned the public, private, and non-profit sectors in Europe and the Americas, with a particular emphasis on the policy and healthcare fields.

**Harlé, Emmanuel**

Founder and Executive Chairman of Industries & Finances Partenaires. Former Director and CEO of Morgan Grenfell Investissement, Administrative and Financial Manager of Compagnie Sanara and Deputy Director at Suez Group.

**Hayat, Nezha**

President of AMMC, Morocco's Capital Market Authority, since 2016. Former chairperson and CEO of Sogelease (Société Générale Morocco group). She created le "Club des femmes administrateurs au Maroc" in 2012, to promote women in corporate boards.

**Heumann, Stefan**

Co-Director of the Berlin based think tank Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (SNV). He helped establish SNV's European Digital Agenda program. Prior to joining SNV he coordinated the public affairs section of the US Consulate General in Hamburg.

**Hié, Henri**

Professor of Practice (Aviation Management), The Hong Kong Polytechnic University. Former Vice President, Strategy & Partnerships in China, Air France. Before joining Air France, he worked at Bossard Consultants.

**Hijab, Riad**

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

**Hoagland, Jim**

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

**Horii, Akinari**

Special Advisor and a member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, a research think tank in Tokyo, Japan. He also sits on the Audit & Supervisory Board of Tokio Marine Holdings. Former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan.

**Hosoya, Yuichi**

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

**Houari, Mikail**

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

**Itoh, Motoshige**

Emeritus Professor, University of Tokyo and Professor at Gakushuin University, former dean of the graduate school. Member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy. He has held various positions such as advising the Prime Minister as well as several Ministers in Japan.

**Jankowitsch, Peter**

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

**Jansen, Sabine**

Senior Lecturer at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), Paris, and Research Fellow at the Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po (CHSP) Paris.

**Jia, Qingguo**

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

**Johnston, Donald**

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

**Ju, Chul-Ki**

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

**Jung Sung-Chun**

Vice President, Department of International Macroeconomics & Finance, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP).

**Kabbaj, Mohamed**

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

**Kerguiziau de****Kervasdoué, Jean (de)**

Emeritus Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and founder of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health, member of the French Academy of Engineering.

**Kiechel, Anne-Laure**

Partner, Sovereign Advisory, Rothschild & Cie. She headed Lehman's DCM practice for Northern Europe, then she co-headed Lehman's Global Finance practice for France.

**Kim, Heungchong**

Senior research fellow, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP). Senior visiting fellow at Ifri, France and Adjunct Professor at Sogang University.

**Kimonyo, Jean-Paul**

Senior Policy Advisor, Office of the President of Rwanda. He is also the representative of Rwanda to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

**Kitaoka, Shinichi**

President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Former President of the International University of Japan.

**Kiviniemi, Mari**

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

**Klich, Bogdan**

Senator, Minority Leader of the Polish Senat. He served as Minister of Defence and Member of the European Parliament. He managed the Information Department at State TV Centre in Cracow.

**Kodaira, Nobuyori**

Senior Advisor to the Board, Toyota Motor Corporation. Former director-general of the Agency for Natural Resources and Energy Policy at the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry of Japan (METI).

**Koleitat, Dania**

Executive Director of Al Istishari Strategy Center for Economic and Future Studies, Abu Dhabi. She is also a Member of the Arab Council of Social Studies.

**Korsia, Haïm**

Chief Rabbi of France. Member of the French Academy of Moral Science and Politics. Former member of the National Consultative Ethics Committee.

**Kowal, Pawel**

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

**Kumar, Ashwani**

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

**Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre**

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

**Lafont, Bruno**

Honorary chairman of Lafarge. He co-chaired of the Board of Directors of LafargeHolcim. Previously, he was Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Lafarge.

**Le Gall, Jean-Yves**

President of the French space agency, Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES), since 2013. He is also Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency (ESA) and President of the International Astronautical Federation (IAF).

**Lee, Hye-min**

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

**Lehmann, Jean-Claude**

Founding member and Honorary President of the National Academy of Technologies of France. Member of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the French Nuclear Safety Authority (ASN).

**Lévy-Lang, André**

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

**Liautaud, Susan**

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

**Lipsky, John**

Peterson Distinguished Scholar, Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). Former First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

**Lissovlik, Yaroslav**

Chief Economist of the Eurasian Development Bank since 2015. Member of the Advisory Council of the Central Bank of Russia, member of the Council on Foreign and Defense policy, and member of the Bretton Woods Committee.

**Lo, Moubarrack**

Special Advisor to and Chief Economist of the Prime Minister, Senegal. President of the Emergence Institute.

**Lothian, Michael**

Former Conservative Member of Parliament and lawyer (QC). Member of the Privy Council. Member of the Top Level Group of UK Parliamentarians for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation.

**Loulichki, Mohamed**

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

**Lowenstein, James**

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

**Mafe, Eniola**

Partnerships & Business Development Director for the Niger Delta Partnership Initiative (NDPI) Foundation. Former Programme Manager on Africa at Vital Voices Global Partnership in Washington, D.C.

**Mair, Stefan**

Member of the Executive Board, Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie e. V. (BDI, Federation of German Industries). Former member of the management of the SWP and director of research.

**Makram-Ebeid, Mona**

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

**Malard de Rothschild, Arielle**

Managing Director, Rothschild & Cie. Member of the board of Lucien Barrière Group and Imerys, France. Chairman of the board, CARE France.

**Malgin, Artem**

Vice-rector of MGIMO-University. Member of the Valdai Discussion Club Scientific Council, Member of the Scientific board at the Security Council of the Russian Federation.

**Mallikarjun, Manu**

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



**Manole, Petre-Florin**

Member of Parliament, Romania. He was an advisor to the Minister of Labour, then to the Minister for Social Dialogue. In 2015 he became a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council for Combating Discrimination.

**Mariton, Hervé**

Former Minister, former member of the French Parliament and Mayor of Crest since 1995.

**Masuda, Tatsuo**

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

**Mathe, Amanda Onamandla**

Managing Director of Ndlovukazi Online Media, Digital Media Consultant. Listed as a Visionary Leader of the Engineering Symposium Africa conference 2017.

**Maurer, Peter**

President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Former Secretary of State for foreign affairs in Bern. Former Ambassador and permanent representative of Switzerland to the United Nations in New York.

**McNamara, Kerry**

Advisor to the Chairman and CEO of OCP Group (Morocco). Former Executive Director of the Civic Education Project (CEP).

**Mekouar, Aziz**

Former Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the United States. Ambassador for multilateral cooperation within the COP22 steering committee. Former Chairman of the Council of the FAO.

**Methqal, Mohamed**

Ambassador General Director of the Morocco International Cooperation Agency (AMCI). Former special economic advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. In 2016, he was Chief of Staff of the President of COP22.

**Mey, Holger**

Vice President, Advanced Concepts, Airbus, Munich, Germany. Former President & CEO of the Institute for Strategic Analyses (ISA) in Bonn, Germany. Member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS, London) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Berlin.

**Meyer, Jean-Claude**

Vice chairman International of Rothschild Europe. Former Managing Director of Lazard Frères & Cie (1976-1988). Former advisor to DATAR (Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale), an office of the French Prime Minister.

**Mohammadi, Ali**

Co-founder, Hippogriff AB. Social entrepreneur who has developed a technology for early diagnosis of heart diseases.

**Mokaddem, Leila**

Country Manager for the Central Africa Regional Development and Business Delivery Office, African Development Bank. Former Resident Representative of the Senegal Regional Office and then Resident Representative to Egypt.

**Moratinos, Miguel Ángel**

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

**Mouline, Saïd**

CEO of the Energy Efficiency Moroccan Agency (AMEE) and Head of the Public Private Partnerships at COP 22 committee. President of the Energy, Climate and Green Economy Commission at the General Confederation of the Moroccan Companies (CGEM) and President of the Moroccan Center for Clean Production.

**Mouline, Tawfik**

Director General of the Royal Institute for Strategic Studies (Rabat, Morocco). He is the Honorary President of the Moroccan Association of Regional Science. Former Director of Studies and Financial Forecasts at the Ministry of Economy and Finances (Morocco).

**Nairne, Ula**

Executive Director of StarFinder Investment Fund, Board Member of the Institute of Economic Development Europe-Latin America (IDE EAL), owner/director of Nairne Ltd. Former Director of Global Advisory Services at Geopolitical Intelligence Services AG, Liechtenstein.

**Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath**

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

**Nasr, Samir**

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

**Nattée, Edouard**

Founder and CEO of Foxintelligence. Previously, he was Co-Founder and Managing Director at Westwing France.

**Nicolescu, Razvan**

Executive Lead Advisor for the Energy & Resources practice in Deloitte. Former Romanian minister for energy. Former Chairman of the Administrative Board of the European Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators (ACER).

**Nicolet, Patrick**

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

**Niwa Yamashita, Yukari**

Board Member, Director, The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ). Council member of the International Association for Energy Economics (IAEE).

**Noland, Marcus**

Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. Former senior economist at the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President of the United States.

**Nordmann, François**

Former Ambassador of Switzerland to France (2002-2007). Former Ambassador to Guatemala, Head of the Swiss Delegation to UNESCO, Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Permanent Representative of Switzerland to the international organizations in Geneva.

**Norodom, Anne-Thida**

Professor of public law at the University of Rouen Normandie. Co-director of the Rouen University Center of law studies (CUREJ) and Secretary General of the French Society for International Law.

**Okamoto, Yukio**

President of Okamoto Associates and Senior Research Fellow at MIT/CIS. Former Special Advisor to Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto (1996-1998) and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Jun-ichiro Koizumi (2001-2004).

**Oualalou, Fathallah**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. Economist and Moroccan politician. He served as Minister of Economy, Finance, Privatisation and Tourism and then Minister of Finance and Privatisation.

**Paal, Douglas**

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

**Palacio, Ana**

Member of the Spanish Council of State. Former member of the Executive Committee and Senior Vice-President for International Affairs of Areva.

**Panov, Alexander**

Member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation. He is also a Professor and Head of the department of diplomacy of MGIMO. Former Ambassador of Russia to Norway, Japan and the Republic of Korea. Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

**Park, Dongsil**

Ambassador of the Republic of Korea to the Kingdom of Morocco since 2015. Former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and to Italy.

**Park, In-kook**

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

**Paszkiwicz, Ladislav**

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

**Pflüger, Friedbert**

Director of the European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS), Department of War Studies, King's College London. Former Press Secretary to President Richard von Weizsäcker and former member of the German Bundestag.

**Platteau, Jean-Louis**

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

**Ploquin, Xavier**

Advisor for Energy, Industry and innovation in the private office of the French ministry for the ecological and inclusive transition. Former Deputy Chief of Bureau (Energy) at the National Budget Office, Ministry of Finance, France.

**Pouyanné, Patrick**

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

**Prieux, Pierre**

President of Alcen, group composed of high technology companies in the fields of defense, energy, medical machines and aeronautics. He started his career as President of Tabur Marine and Dufour.

**Qiao, Yide**

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

**Rabinovich, Itamar**

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

**Rama, Edi**

Prime Minister of the Republic of Albania. Former Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports and Mayor of Tirana Municipality.

**Rezrazi, El Mostafa**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center, co-coordinator of the OBOR China-Morocco Research Group and President, Moroccan Association for Asian Studies. He is the executive director of the Moroccan Observatory on Extremism.

**Rioux, Rémy**

Chief Executive Officer of Agence Française de Développement. In 2015, he was responsible for financial matters in the French negotiation team for COP21. Former Deputy Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development in charge of economic affairs.

**Romain, Benjamin**

Founding Partner, Okan – Strategy and Financial Advisory, consulting firm dedicated to Africa since 2013. Former consultant at McKinsey & Company (2009-2013). He was also an analyst at AXA Private Equity (2008) and at PAI Partners (2007-2008).

**Ryu, Jin Roy**

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

**Sano, Tadakatsu**

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

**Sawers, John**

Chairman and Partner, Macro Advisory Partners. Former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6). Former UK's Ambassador to the United Nations, Special Representative in Iraq and Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Tony Blair.

**Schweitzer, Louis**

General Commissioner for Investment. Chairman of the French foreign affairs council and special representative of the French foreign minister for the franco-japanese partnership. Former Chairman and CEO of Renault.

**Severino, Jean-Michel**

CEO, Investisseur et Partenaire (I&P), member of the Académie des Technologies and of the French Council of Foreign Affairs, French General Inspector of Finance. Former Vice-President of the World Bank for Asia.



**Sheetrit, Meir**

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

**Shek, Daniel**

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

**Simon, Jean-Marc**

French Ambassador. Former Advisor to the French Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Cooperation. Former French Ambassador to Central African Republic, Nigeria, Gabon, and Côte d'Ivoire.

**Stark, Hans**

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

**Starkloff, Xavier**

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

**Stoian, Marius**

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

**Stoica, Gruia**

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

**Stril, Arthur**

Co-founder, Zinc VC. Former Head of Unit at the French Ministry of Health. He served as French expert seconded to the European Commission.

**Stuwe, James**

Analyst, Priorities Integration Directorate, Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS), Government of Canada.

**Sur, Serge**

Emeritus Professor of Public Law, University of Paris Panthéon-Assas. Former Deputy Director of the UNIDIR, Geneva (1986-1996) and ad hoc Judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague (2009-2012).

**Tabet, Riad**

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

**Tanaka, Nobuo**

Chairman of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. Former Executive Director of the International Energy Agency (IEA). Former Director-General of the Multilateral Trade System Department at the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), Tokyo.

**Tang, Karen**

Executive Director of The Better Hong Kong Foundation since 2006. Former Deputy General Manager of the Chinese Television Network and General Manager of the Hongkong Telecom IMS.

**Terrab, Mostafa**

Chairman and CEO of OCP Group. Former Advisor in the Royal Cabinet and Secretary-General of the MENA Economic Summit.

**Touraine, Agnès**

Chairman of the French Institute of Directors (IFA). Founder and CEO of Act III Consultants, a management-consulting firm dedicated to digital transformation. Former Chairman and CEO of Vivendi Universal Publishing.

**Touré, Aminata**

Former Prime Minister of Senegal. Former Director of the Gender and Human Rights World Department of the United Nations Population Funds in New York. Special Envoy of President Macky Sall for internal and external Affairs since 2015.

**Vaïsse, Justin**

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

**Védrine, Hubert**

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

**Veret, Amalric**

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

**Wanandi, Jusuf**

Co-founder, Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Senior Fellow of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Foundation, Jakarta. Chairman of the Indonesian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (INCEPEC).

**Weymuller, Bruno**

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

**Yim, Sung-joon**

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

**Yaha, Mohamed Abdellahi**

Chairman and CEO, Maurinvest Group, which he founded in 2011. Chairman/CEO of MAURILOG a logistics services & transport company for Industrial Projects, Oil & Gas and Mining activities in Mauritania.

**Yeoh, Michael**

Founder & CEO of the Asian Strategy and Leadership Institute (ASLI), a leading independent Think Tank in Malaysia and Asean. Founder and Chairman of the World Chinese Economic Forum and the Asean Leadership Forum.

**Yi, Xiaozhun**

Deputy Director-General at the World Trade Organization since 2013. Former Assistant Minister and China's Vice Minister of Commerce in charge of multilateral and regional trade negotiations and cooperation.

**Yurgens, Igor**

Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development. Member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights.

**Zagnoun, Abdellatif**

General Director of Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion (CDG). Former Director General of the Customs and Indirect Taxes Administration and Vice-President of the World Customs Organization (WCO).

**Zinsou, Lionel**

Co-President of the Fondation AfricaFrance pour une croissance partagée. Former Prime Minister in charge of economic development, evaluating public policy and promoting good governance in Benin. Former CEO of the Private Equity firm PAI and Chair of the French-African Foundation for Growth.

**Montbrial (de), Thierry**

Thierry de Montbrial is Executive Chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign academies including the Russian Academy of Sciences. He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international companies and institutions. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the Ecole polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'analyse et de prevision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director (1973-1979). He has authored twenty books, several of them translated in various languages. He is a Commandeur of the Légion d'honneur and a Grand Officer of the National Order of Merit and has been awarded many other state honors by the French and foreign governments. He holds nine honoris causa doctorates. Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole polytechnique and the Ecole des mines, and received a PhD in Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.



OPENING SPEECHES  
FULL VERSIONS





## His Majesty the King Mohammed VI

King of Morocco

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to send this message to the participants in the tenth annual meeting of the World Policy Conference, which has been convened in Marrakech.

Placed under my patronage, this important meeting in the Ocher City offers eminent figures from a wide range of backgrounds the opportunity to discuss major regional and global issues. It also contributes to improving governance in terms of thinking, decision-making and control. The aim is to promote the advent of a more open world which respects diversity.

In-depth reflection and constructive debate will certainly lead to the emergence of new ideas and fresh solutions that will further improve our countries' development models.

The undeniable progress that Africa has made has not gone unnoticed. In fact, it has been followed with growing interest by the international community.

Needless to say, the path to prosperity is a lengthy, complex process. We can say, however, that citizens' main aspirations - especially Africans' - can be fulfilled only through inclusive human and economic development programs that are based on a regional or continental vision.

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As a convinced son of Africa, I plead, once again, for the need to support the Continent, which has managed to shape its own destiny thanks to the bold medium and long-term structural reforms undertaken in various sectors.

It is our responsibility to foster innovative strategies and ambitious policies which should not only be based on the accomplishments that have already been made, but which should also draw inspiration from successful initiatives at global level. These strategies and policies should be adapted to our diverse social, economic and cultural realities.

In this regard, it will be necessary to streamline our institutions, promote good governance and significantly improve the way public funds are used. Today, Africa's tremendous assets in terms of human capital offer an exceptional opportunity to achieve progress. Being part and parcel of a constructive drive to transform the Continent's economy, young Africans, far from being a handicap, are a major asset in this regard.

Through the development and implementation of sound educational, vocational training and health policies, we should be able to ensure better integration of these young people into the socio-economic fabric of our countries. This would result in stronger, inclusive and sustained growth that would create jobs and boost productivity.

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

There is an abundance of natural resources in our Continent that are yet to be fully exploited.

In this regard, bringing about a paradigm shift in the farming sector and establishing bridges and synergies with industry would also create jobs.

This transformation of African agriculture should happen at all levels, from primary production to agro-industrial value chains. This should help us make the most of the Continent's enormous agricultural potential - particularly arable land - and offset the socio-economic difficulties faced by agricultural stakeholders, which are mostly due to relatively low outputs.

This leads me to mention the concept of "Green Revolution" – a revolution we want based on a large-scale overhaul of technology and production methods suited to the African context and consistent with the requirements of climate change.

It is gratifying to see that Morocco's commitments in terms of accelerating agricultural growth and achieving sustainable development in Africa are helping to meet food needs of Africans on a continental scale.

As for Africa's industrial sector, it is still not competitive. The two main challenges facing Africa's industry are the development of innovative activities and the training of a skilled workforce.

Alongside private investment, new forms of financing and partnerships must gradually be developed in order to encourage the growth of transformative projects and speed up their implementation.

Finally, there is no ignoring the fact that we urgently need to solve, definitively and pragmatically, the issue of the lack of infrastructure on our Continent. We all know that where there are roads, connectivity and networks, development takes hold and precariousness ceases to exist.

Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is high time the strategic priorities of the international community were recast by revisiting Africa's contribution. Given the recent developments and the clear progress made by Africa, it is of the utmost importance that our Continent be front and center of a redesigned world stage, and that its voice be heard at global level.

Africa is open to multi-dimensional partnerships covering the institutional, political, economic, social and environmental spheres as well as other areas relating to the prevention of radicalization and the fight against terrorism.

As they capitalize on the potential for North-South cooperation as well as on each other's experiences, policymakers can build stronger, more realistic and - above all - more equitable cooperation relations. This is what would give a revamped North-South partnership its full meaning.

There is no doubt in my mind that by being united, cohesive and pragmatic, Africa will be able to hold its rightful place in such a process. I am pleased to note, in this respect, that there is a common desire among all African countries to achieve greater integration.

Such a goal requires that all stakeholders - public as well as private - avail themselves in a pragmatic way of all the opportunities that arise, and that they face up to challenges and threats together.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today, the era of a passive Africa suffering from a complex environment is over. A proactive Africa is replacing a submissive Continent.

In that light, Africa's potential and its assets are better harnessed when firm growth benefits all segments of the population.

The Continent has resolutely embarked on a path towards prosperity. Today, Africa is rapidly changing as it builds on its own model as well as on a vast array of partnerships. An 'Africa of options' - instead of an 'Africa of constraints' - is taking shape.

However, to lay the groundwork for the future of young African generations, efforts must be properly guided and objectives firmly pursued.

Over and above classical South-South and North-South partnerships - which have become more dynamic and more numerous - I invite you to consider new forums and mechanisms for exchange and partnership, in order to ensure a brighter future for our populations.

Thank you.

## Emmanuel Macron

President of France

My greetings to all the participants in this World Policy Conference, which is celebrating its tenth anniversary this year, and my congratulations to its President, Thierry de Montbrial, for having established, in the international landscape, this French-speaking forum, which makes it possible to discuss, inclusively, the key challenges of our time.

Warm greetings also to the Moroccan authorities, who are solid partners in this undertaking, as this is the third time that the WPC is taking place in Morocco, under patronage of His Majesty the King, Mohammed VI. Morocco's openness to the world, and in particular to Africa, is growing every year, intertwining with France's efforts to build bonds of more intense integration between Europe and the African continent.

I could easily take on the WPC's goal as my own – thinking about ways to maintain reasonably open global governance, capable of absorbing shocks while also facilitating desirable changes – as my own, for it is indeed in that direction that I wanted to take action during the first months of my term.

I focused, of course, on the urgent matters, calling together the protagonists of the crisis in Libya, for example, or hosting, on 28 August, the African and European leaders most directly concerned by migratory flows on the road to the Central Mediterranean.

However, these innumerable short-term challenges will only multiply if we do not deal with the underlying problems, if we do not tackle long-term challenges. I will list three of them:

- Development, to which, in line with the target I have set, we will dedicate 0.55% of our national revenue within five years' time, paying particular attention to the effectiveness of our aid: more innovation, intelligence, local partnerships and greater responsibility on the ground. I would like Alliance for the Sahel, which we launched with the European Union, the World Bank and UNDP, to be an example of this heightened ambition.

- The challenge of education and health, which it is important that we do not lose sight of, despite the acute crises we are currently experiencing. I call on the international community to meet in February 2018 in Dakar to rebuild the partnership for education that France co-chairs with Senegal. I also call on it to double up its efforts in favour of health, at a time when, in the Indian Ocean region, we are seeing the return of diseases that we thought were forgotten like the plague.

- The third challenge is that of climate, for which France and Morocco have mobilised successively, with the success of COP21 in Paris in 2015 and COP22 in Marrakesh last year. Let there be no mistake about it: the battle is not won despite our efforts, and I will try to mobilise the international community next month in Paris around concrete solutions by putting public and private funding to work.

With all these challenges, we need to pay attention to our own tools, to the rules and institutions that enable us to reject hunger, disease, ignorance and war. Multilateralism is a valuable asset, now under threat, and I count on all of you to defend this global public good.

I know how attached the World Policy Conference's participants, who come from five continents, are to this. I know that they share these objectives to address both pressing geopolitical challenges and longer-term issues, in a cooperative and effective manner. That is why I would like you to keep me informed of your deliberations and share with me your recommendations.

I hope that the international dialogue on the organisation of our planet will continue, and I know that I can rely on the World Policy Conference to produce better ideas, better policies and to bring the debate forward.

An excellent ten-year anniversary to the WPC: it serves a valuable purpose.

## Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman, WPC

The World Policy Conference that begins today is the tenth.

As fate would have it, the first one, which began in Evian in October 2008, took place just a few days after Lehman Brothers went bankrupt, an event that has come to symbolise the deepest financial crisis the world had seen since the 1930s. The subprime crisis put an end to the epistemological error of thinking that the science of economics had reached a degree of perfection comparable to that of the exact sciences.

Back then, more than one Nobel Prize winner believed that any country could win the sweepstakes – growth, full employment, price stability and balanced trade. It would soon be merely a matter of engineering, such as, for example, building a plane. Fortunately, as governments helplessly floundered looking for a solution, the small community of cool-headed central bankers, with their experience and pragmatism rooted in history, thwarted disaster. A decade has gone by and the global economy is showing new signs of life. Economic and financial governance has made substantial strides. But memories of ordeals and missteps quickly fade when normality and the lure of easy profits return. It becomes very tempting to ease up on regulations again. But we are not safe from the return of financial calamities.

Since the first WPC, the world has also seen the outbreak and dramatic failure of the ill-named "Arab Spring". Catastrophic policies based on American neo-conservative ideology led only to

chaos, the intensification and spread of Islamist terrorism by groups like the self-proclaimed "Islamic State", the massive growth of refugee flows and, around them, parasites who feed on collective misfortune. These disaster's by-products include the rise of nationalism, even in Europe – although it should be pointed out that it also stems from other causes, directly related to poor governance and the Union's over-hasty expansion after the fall of the USSR.

History has at least three lessons to teach us: countries that toy with other States' political regimes do so at their peril; each nation matures in its own way and at its own pace; and keeping the world reasonably open assumes that the main stakeholders will play by the rules. That is probably the most basic point of what is called "global governance" – a point that applies to every scale. Since the end of the Cold War, the Middle East has been one of the world's regions where the game rules have been flouted the most blatantly. Restoring structural balance there will only be possible if the main stakeholders – including all of them without any ideological preconditions – share the desire to restore rules.

From a global geopolitical standpoint, the main phenomenon in the past 10 years has been China's self-assertiveness. Its ambitions are now out in the open.

Under the strengthened rule of the Communist Party and its uncontested leader Xi Jinping, the world's biggest country intends to overtake the United States by the time the People's Republic commemorates its centennial in 2049. Meanwhile, it will look out for its national interests as scrupulously as the United States does for theirs. It will strive to turn the world game rules spelled out after the Second World War to its advantage, which will ruffle some feathers. Mainly in response to China's rise, under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's authority, the world's third-ranking economic power is gearing up to fully reclaim all the attributes of power. Everyone is aware that in East Asia, the immediate future hinges on North Korea, with the other main players: China, the United States, Japan, South Korea and Russia.

I have just mentioned Russia. At the first WPC, Dmitry Medvedev and Nicolas Sarkozy, the presidents of Russia and France at the time, finalised an agreement on Georgia, a hot spot in the post-Soviet context.

Since then, the crisis in Ukraine has considerably heightened tensions between Russia and the West. Some have failed, or not wanted, to understand that the end of the Soviet Union was also that of the Russian Empire. But the thud of an empire's fall continues to reverberate over a very long period of time, especially when it reopens wounds that have remained unhealed since the end of the First World War.

That is why the past decade has seen the emergence of a new kind of cold war, nudging Moscow into Beijing's arms and spurring the Kremlin to go it alone in the Middle East. Meanwhile, Iran is also looking towards China with growing interest. Naturally, the People's Republic intends to exploit these favourable circumstances in order to advance its project of new silk roads and, in particular, gain a foothold in the Middle East.

Today's world is harder to figure out than yesterday's. Risks are increasing, often with immediate economic consequences. I am thinking, for example, of the calculations reinsurance companies need to make in light of the very wide range of hypotheses involving North Korea. Nobody can afford to ignore scenarios that have an extremely slim chance of occurring but whose consequences, if they do, would be colossal.

All of this is reminiscent of the strategic rationale during the actual Cold War.

In my opinion, the greatest medium- and long-term threat is the world's break-up into inward-looking, overtly competing blocs that, perhaps, may turn on each other one day, as some interwar statesmen theorised.

At the opposite end of that view, which reminds us of the 20th century's darkest days, the WPC seeks to foster a kind of global governance revolving around a UN system gradually made more legitimate and efficient, with regional organisations that are considerably stronger and better structured than they are today.

From that perspective, over the years the WPC has continuously stressed the importance of medium powers and the need for each State to include the structural stability of the international system and its components in formulating their own national interests. That is no easy task, given the weight of the past and the inclination of peoples, when times get tough, to dredge painful episodes of their past back up to the surface of their consciousness, reinterpreting them and fuelling nationalism when, on the contrary, more openness and tolerance are needed.

The most basic driving forces behind globalisation are scientific and technological – primarily, the digital revolution. One of the contemporary world's paradoxes is that fear is fuelling nationalism



just when reason must guide the search for new forms of governance — or, if you prefer, the game rules — in two opposite directions: one towards increasingly vast spaces (such as for climate and the environment), the other towards ever-smaller, geographically self-centred communities. Steeped in their history, states must work on striking a new balance between those opposing trends. In the short term, of course, the relation between Spain and Catalonia or the United Kingdom and Scotland springs to everyone's mind.

It is the third time in 10 years that we meet in Marrakech, in this beautiful country that gazes out in four directions: Europe to the North, Africa to the South, the Americas to the West, the Middle East and beyond to the East. I believe that in its continuous realistic but also humanistic quest for better global governance, the WPC has a potential comparative edge in the North-South axis that encompasses Europe and Africa — obviously without excluding any of the other continents — because our goal is to contribute to keeping the world reasonably open. With that aim, which is geopolitical in the broadest sense of the term, in mind, I would like to express my thanks to the Kingdom of Morocco for hosting us with such generosity and elegance.

We wholeheartedly wish to further deepen a partnership that has been continuously growing in importance over the years.

It is now time to conclude. Ladies and gentlemen, we have the privilege of living in an age that pales in comparison with those that have come before us since the dawn of humanity. The present is never but the clash between two tectonic plates: the past, with its countless remnants and, in particular, the occasional resurfacing of memory; and the future, whose breathtaking changes are almost already here. Speculations, more or less well grounded but updated in people's minds, mingle with wild-eyed dreams. On the one hand, our beliefs are rooted in the deepest recesses of humanity's consciousness; on the other, the most far-fetched imaginings, such as man being totally supplanted by machines he created himself while awaiting his apotheosis. Today these two tectonic plates, past and future, are on a collision course, which can lead to the best or the worst-case scenarios. The WPC belongs to those who believe that humanity can still choose its path, provided we always seek a balance between the two slopes of the present, and never give in to hubris.

### His All Holiness Bartholomew I of Constantinople

Archbishop of Constantinople-New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

Allow me to introduce our discussions with a quotation: “The world in which we live today needs the values of religion, steeped in the virtues with which we must arm ourselves to come into the good graces of Our Creator, God Almighty, and which strengthen in us the propensity for tolerance, love and cooperation bearing the seal of human charity and piety.”

We owe these words to His Majesty, King Mohammed VI, Amir Al-Mouminine, known to the world for his openness, wisdom and desire to build bridges across the Mediterranean, while courageously and determinedly fighting religious fundamentalism. That fundamentalism feeds not only on disenchantment with the world, the failings of “happy modernity,” and opposition to globalisation. Religious identity has transformed throughout the 20th century, and its manipulation, if not its instrumentalisation for hegemonic purposes, has twisted the very nature of its vocation: to help bring about peace, reconciliation and dialogue.

The international scene is in the throes of profound change. Identitarian conflicts are combining with the rise of social injustices. Concurrent to this, the perception of inequalities is growing. In this context of insecurity, religion can play a positive role, provided that it becomes capable of taking back ownership of the nature of its message. A message misappropriated. A message violated. A message ensnared in the warmongering of fundamentalism. While it is true that there are many misunderstandings about religious fundamentalism out there, religion has without a doubt been used as a means for political ends or for personal interests that are inherently contradictory to it.

We must therefore note the imperative need for dialogue in order to respond to contemporary conflicts, beyond the religious or non-religious nature of these conflicts. Dialogue is not a negotiation. Nor is it a controversy. There are no winners or losers in it. It is a characteristic of each being, through which the relational quality of the human being is formed. To understand what is happening in our world today, we need to think about the role of religion in humanity. What some call “the return of religion” in a “post-secular” world is, in fact, the reactivation of an essential

dimension of humanity, which, even though it is powerfully linked to identity, is not necessarily identity-based but metaphysical and spiritual.

In this sense, though the functions of religion may seem obvious to us, they are no less crucial for the existence and co-existence of human beings: a. Religion ties in with the concerns of each human being and helps us develop answers to existential questions about life, the meaning of life, truth and eternity. b. Religion is connected with the identity of peoples and civilisations. It is for this reason that we must not only know and recognise the religious traditions of others, but also appreciate them. This knowledge is a prerequisite for dialogue. c. Religion has contributed to enabling humanity's major cultural and civilisational ventures. d. Lastly, religion is an essential factor in the peace process. As Saint Paul wrote: “For God is not a God of disorder, but of peace.” (1 Co 14, 33)

This is also what the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, in June 2016, reiterated regarding the importance of interreligious dialogue: “Frank inter-religious dialogue contributes to the development of mutual trust in promoting peace and reconciliation. The Church is fighting to make the ‘peace from on high’ more tangible on earth. True peace is not achieved by the force of weapons, but only by love that ‘is not self-seeking’ (1 Co 13, 5). The balm of faith must be used to cover over and heal others’ old wounds and not to stir new hatred.” (Prov. 17)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Friends,

Morocco has been a fore-runner in interreligious dialogue, at the head of the fight against fundamentalism. As you know, the Mediterranean Basin experienced in centuries past peaceful coexistence between Jews, Christians and Muslims. This experience clearly demonstrates, should it still need to be demonstrated today, that believers of different religious traditions can live together around a common project: the unity of humanity and peace.

Among the major religious institutions, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople has a unique place, through its history. Throughout the profound and often traumatic upheavals that it has had to face in two millennia, our Patriarchate has always been able to remain active, proving beyond doubt that it is possible to survive and pass on a testimonial of civilisation through the ages. By its sheer existence, the Orthodox Church helps to give meaning and hope to a frightened world, which is now seeking its way.

The legitimacy of religions today depends on their ability to assert a clear stance on the protection of human freedom and dignity as founding principles in building peace. No challenge, whether personal or international, will find resolution in solitude and isolation. We need one another, because we are relational beings, communitarian beings who, as we move closer together, become true contributors to peace.

We can only rejoice in the fact that, in this country, a new edition of the World Policy Conference is taking place. By inviting us to express these few thoughts at the opening session, its organizers — and here we would like to warmly thank Professor Thierry de Montbril for his friendship — stressed the fundamental importance of religion in reflecting on world affairs, or, to phrase it otherwise, about international issues. The Ecumenical Patriarchate which we have the honour of representing thanks them, while wishing them every success in their undertakings.



### United States - The Washington Post - 22/11/2017

So did the startling visions of change outlined in the cozy confines of Silicon Valley that were also on the agenda here on Africa’s Atlantic shoulder when France’s Institute of International Relations held its annual World Policy Conference this month. The usual suspects — global balance-of-power politics, the European Union’s woes, President Trump’s foreign-policy brutishness, Brexit — shared pride of place with the Internet of Cars (the on-wheels version of the Internet of Things) and the vulnerability of the 5,000 military and civilian satellites now in orbit.

### France - Les Echos - 04/11/2017

Pour les experts réunis à Marrakech à l’occasion de la World Policy Conférence, le protectionnisme américain est un risque pour l’économie mondiale. « Ce regain de protectionnisme est le résultat de l’échec des Américains à s’adapter à une productivité stagnante et à des salaires bas », estime Masood Ahmed, président du Center for Global development.

### Lebanon - L’Orient Le Jour - 09/11/2017

Le bilan de la première année du mandat du président Donald Trump a été au centre d’un débat sortant des sentiers battus, lors des travaux de la 10e édition de la conférence sur la gouvernance mondiale (World Policy Conference, WPC) qui s’est tenue à Marrakech, à l’initiative de l’Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI, basée à Paris), sous l’impulsion du fondateur et directeur de l’IFRI et de la WPC, Thierry de Montbrial. Des intervenants de renommée internationale, d’horizons très diversifiés, se sont prononcés sur ce bilan, exposant des perceptions plus nuancées et peu reflétées dans la grande presse ou les médias traditionnels.

### France - Europe 1 - 6/11/2017

Patrick Pouyanné était l’invité vedette du dîner débat organisé dans le cadre de la World Policy Conference créée par l’économiste Thierry de Montbrial, qui fête son 10e anniversaire. Nous l’avons rencontré après son intervention. “Total est une société qui travaille dans beaucoup de parties du monde, la Russie, le Moyen-Orient ou l’Afrique, où la géopolitique est importante”, explique Patrick –Pouyanné. “Nos interlocuteurs sont des Etats. C’est intéressant pour nous de participer à ces débats. On a toujours besoin d’être à l’écoute de ce qui se passe dans le monde”, ajoute-t-il. Un monde secoué par les crises et de plus en plus incertain. Comment piloter une entreprise mondiale dans ces conditions?

### Morocco - Le Matin - 03/11/2017

Placée sous le Haut Patronage de S.M. le Roi Mohammed VI, la dixième édition de la World Policy Conference offre l’opportunité de débattre des grands enjeux régionaux et internationaux. Cette rencontre internationale de grande envergure contribue également à améliorer la gouvernance dans ses dimensions de réflexion, de décision et de contrôle, afin de promouvoir un monde plus ouvert et plus respectueux de la diversité, souligne-t-on du côté des organisateurs. Elle offre également l’opportunité d’une réflexion approfondie dans le cadre d’un débat constructif pour l’émergence d’idées nouvelles et de solutions susceptibles d’améliorer encore le modèle de développement des pays. La cérémonie d’ouverture de cet événement a été marquée par un message royal adressé aux participants, dont lecture a été donnée par le conseiller du Souverain, Yassir Znagui.

### Russia - МГИМО - 03/11/2017

3 ноября в г. Марракеш, Марокко, открылась Х юбилейная Конференция по вопросам мировой политики World Policy Conference. В этом году МГИМО выступил в качестве организатора круглого стола «Россия: обзор 20 последних лет» (Russia in twenty years). В экспертной дискуссии принимают участие президент ИМЭМО РАН А.А. Дынкин, заведующий кафедрой дипломатии А.Н.Панов, проректор А.В.Мальгин, главный экономист ЕАБР Я.Д.Лисовский. Модератор круглого стола — председатель Правления Института современного развития И.Ю.Юргенс.

### Albania - Albanian Daily News - 04/11/2017

Prime Minister, Edi Rama took part in the 10th edition of the “World Policy Conference”, which kicked off Friday in Marrakech of Morocco. PM Rama was invited to be part of the panel “The Future of South-Eastern Europe”, together with Serbian PM Ana Brnabic, where he talked about the importance of regional cooperation and the role of Albania in it, as well as the challenges of Albania’s EU integration. Bringing as an example the relations between Albania and Serbia, which are now normalized, PM Rama underlined that the best future for the peoples of the two countries, what the governments must choose, is neighborly relations and reciprocal cooperation for the common good of citizens.

### Portugal - O Jornal Económico - 29/11/2017

Há dias, um artigo de Jim Hoagland no Washington Post, com o título “The fourth industrial revolution is upon us”, chamava a atenção para o facto da rutura tecnológica do século XXI ser diferente das três anteriores. As sociedades tiveram anos para se adaptar à mudança provocada pela máquina a vapor, a eletricidade e o computador. Agora não há tempo para adaptação. Hoagland escrevia de Marraquexe, Marrocos, por ocasião da World Policy Conference do Instituto de Relações Internacionais de França.

### United Kingdom - Radix - 01/12/2017

As the exciting World Policy Conference recently held in Marrakech by Thierry de Montbrial has shown, the most striking political phenomenon in the Middle East today is not ideological in nature. It’s the return of the nation. To strengthen their respective nation states, we see powers collaborating with each other in spite of their cultural, ethnic and religious differences.

### Serbia - PTB - 03/11/2017

Двоје премијера разговарало је са Тијерием де Монбријлом, оснивачем и председавајућим Конференције о светској политици о изазовима са којима се сусреће Западни Балкан и Југоисточна Европа као и о заједничкој будућности у ЕУ. Премијери су се сложили да је потребно наставити и продубити сарадњу на основу заједничких интереса и циљева о европској будућности региона. На панелу је посебно истакнуто да је пут сарадње и помирења који су након више од шест деценија покренули Александар Вучић и Еди Рама, пример одговорне политике и позитивних промена. Србија је дубоко посвећена овом процесу и продубљивању сарадње и разумевања са Албанијом.

### China - Chinese Headlines - 06/11/2017

2017年11月3日讯世界政策大会将于3月3日至5日间在摩洛哥马拉喀什市举行。蒙古第四任总统查·额勒贝格道尔吉收到了邀请。他将出席有关安全、未来技术、能源、水资源和环境问题的会议。来自世界各地的200多名决策者、研究人员和科学家正在前去参加今年的第十届会议。在此之前，我国曾于2008年参加了这个颇具声望的会议。来源：蒙古信息网

### Lebanon - An Nahar - 04/11/2017

"World Policy Conference" حضرت الملفات الساخنة والتحديات التي تواجه العالم مرة جديدة في أعمال مؤتمر السياسة العالمية الذي ينعد على مدى ثلاثة ايام في طبعته العائرة في مراكش برعاية العاهل المغربي "Conférence

### Korea - MK News - 19/12/2017

국제통화기금(IMF) 수석부총재, 총재 권한대행 등을 맡아 글로벌 경제질서를 주도했던 존립스키. 그는 지난달 5일 세계정책컨퍼런스(WPC)가 열린 모로코 마라케시에서 매일경제와 만나 세계 경제가 순항하고 있지만 마냥 낙관만 하고 있을 수는 없다고 말했다. 그는 "뉴스 헤드라인은 더할 나위 없이 좋지만 그 이면을 잘 봐야 한다"고 말했다. 그는 논란이 되고 있는 한미 자유무역협정(FTA) 재협상 문제에 대해 "실제 협상에 들어가면 미국 내에서도 손해를 보는 측에서 반발이 나올 수 있기 때문에 전면적인 수정이 이뤄지기 어려울 것"이라고 전망했다.

### Grece - CNN Greece - 04/11/2017

Η σημασία του διαθρησκευτικού διαλόγου για την επικράτηση της ειρήνης και της καταλλαγής μεταξύ διαφορετικών λαών και πολιτισμών ήταν στο επίκεντρο της ομιλίας που πραγματοποιήσε ο Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης κ.κ. Βαρθολομαίος κατά την έναρξη της 10ης διεθνούς Συναντήσεως του «World Policy Conference», η οποία ξεκίνησε τις εργασίες της χθες στο Μαράκεξ του Μαρόκου.

### Japan - NIKKEI - 03/11/2017

ニヤ州について「同情するが、支持はできない」と語った。アルバニア人が9割を占める隣国コソボもセルビアから独立した過去を持つが、欧州連合（EU）と足並みをそろえてスペイン政府を支持した。シンクタンクの仏国際関係研究所がモロッコのマラケシュで3日から開催している「世界政策会議」で表明した。

### Mongolia - New.MN - 03/11/2017

Мароккын Вант Улсын Марракеш хотноо энэ арваннэгдүгээр сарын 3-5-ны хооронд зохион байгуулагдах “Дэлхийн бодлого” хуралдаанд (World Policy Conference) Монгол Улсын дөрөв дэх Ерөнхийлөгч Ц.Элбэгдорж уригджээ. Тэрбээр уг хурлын аюулгүй байдал, ирээдүйн технологи, эрчим хүч, ус болон байгаль орчны асуудлаарх хурлуудад оролцох юм байна. Энэ жилийн 10 дахь хуралдаанд дэлхийн олон орноос 200 гаруй бодлого тодорхойлогчид, судлаачид, эрдэмтэд хүрэлцэн ирж чуулна. Энэхүү нэр хүндтэй хуралд манай улсаас өмнө нь 2008 онд оролцож байжээ.



### Qatar - Gulf Times - 04/11/2017

FM calls for a mechanism to avert crisis - HE the Foreign Minister of Qatar Sheikh Mohamed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani has reiterated that dialogue and engagement is the best way forward to solve the Gulf crisis. He was speaking during a lunch debate at the World Policy Conference in Morocco yesterday. HE Sheikh Mohamed began with explaining why the Middle East was an important region. “For ages the Middle East was the source of civilisation, the route of languages, the origin of different faiths and the international trade hub connecting East to West and West to East where the people could connect and engage. And the keyword was the coexistence and engagement of people of different backgrounds and ethnicities.

### Serbia - Alor.rs - 03/11/2017

Region Jugoistočne Evrpe, ili kako ga još nazivaju Zapadnog Balkana, ne samo da se pojavljuje kao region koji ima odlične ekonomske rezultate i polako se ekonomski reformiše u region na koji može da se računati, već i kao region koji se politički reformiše i ima pozitivne stvari da pokaže i Evropi i celom svetu”, rekla je Brnabić nakon učešća na uvodnom panelu Konferencije o svetskoj politici (World Policy Conference - WPC), koja se održava u Marakešu.

### Romania - Basilica.ro - 03/11/2017

Importanța dialogului interreligios pentru stabilirea păcii și concilierii între diferite popoare și culturi a reprezentat punctul central al discursului Patriarhului Ecumenic Bartolomeu la începutul celei de-a zecea ediții a Conferinței pentru Politică Mondială (World Policy Conference), care și-a deschis lucrările vineri dimineață la Marrakech, Maroc.

### Italia - L’Osservatore Romano - 06/11/2017

La legittimità delle religioni oggi dipende dal loro atteggiamento chiaro rispetto alla protezione della libertà e della dignità umane, come principi fondatori nell’istituzione della pace»: lo ha ribadito il patriarca ecumenico Bartolomeo, arcivescovo di Costantinopoli, intervenendo alla decima edizione della World Policy Conference, che si è svolta a Marrakech, in Marocco, dal 3 al 5 novembre. «Nessuna sfida, sia essa personale o internazionale, troverà soluzione nella solitudine e nell’isolamento. Abbiamo bisogno gli uni degli altri, poiché siamo esseri di relazione, esseri di comunione che, a seconda di come ci rapportiamo, diventiamo dei veri attori di pace», ha detto il primate ortodosso.

**Youssef Amrani**

Africa today is a priority in our foreign policy. It is a continent with a lot of perspective as far as growth and economic development are concerned, and Morocco is working now in Africa to create opportunities and jobs for young generation. [...] Unfortunately, because of the crisis, the Maghreb is not moving. We are not creating jobs because if the Maghreb Arab Union was working, we could create jobs and promote growth. Today we need political vision, we need leadership and we need commitment to be able to move towards building up regional integration. But at the level of the rest of Africa, our business people are very successful, they are creating job, promoting growth and working to respond to the expectations of the young generation in Africa.

**Edi Rama**

The EU has played a great role for all of us in both ways. Firstly, simply by existing, because it is a project of peace and security, although this is not anymore obvious for many people in Europe since Europe today has a generation that, for the first time in Europe's history, has never faced a war. But for us, this project is very much attractive exactly because we have been through war and we know what war means. On the other hand, Europe has to realise that it needs the Balkans as much as the Balkans need Europe.

**Patrick Pouyanné**

Fundamentally, I think that the agreement [with Iran] to put the difficult question of nuclear aside is of interest for many countries. It does not mean that we solve everything with Iran, but at the time when we try to convince North Korea to accept a nuclear agreement, it could be difficult to convince this country to believe and trust other countries. A nuclear argument cannot be enforced if, at the same time, another one is thrown in the bin.

**Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj**

Mongolia is located between China and Russia. Historically, Mongolians were the protectors of the Silk Road during Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan. Mongolians actually built the largest land empire which ever existed on earth. The Silk Road connected Europe, Asia and Persia, which thank to the Silk Road were at the height of their development during that time. Of course, the 'One belt, One road' system is a new version of the Silk Road. There is also a sea dimension; it will not only go through land. Mongolia is located between China and Russia, and because of that, we are really looking forward to benefit from that great initiative.

**Richard Burt**

Trump calls the Iran nuclear deal the worst deal ever negotiated. But there, his bark is worse than his bite. He has not torn up the deal handing it to Congress. He has told he wants the Congress to handle it, so in that way he sort of dodged a very controversial issue. But I am talking more about his approach to trade deals. He has pulled out of the TPP, the big Asian multilateral trade agreement, the Paris environmental accords, etc. He clearly does not like multilateral international deals. He is much very much more focused on bilateral, 'US first' negotiations.

**Ana Brnabic**

Serbia sees Kosovo as a very straightforward issue. We kept saying that this is a clear breach of the international law. If you do [recognise Kosovo], then you are opening the Pandora's box and at the end of the day, if you do not have international law and clear standards, then what you get are countries picking and choosing between nations, different people; between who to recognise, who not to recognise; between who has that right and who does not. And now, with the whole situation in Spain, it is becoming clearer than ever.

**Miriem Bensalah-Chaqroun**

I am a woman. Many countries of the area do not focus enough on women. There are a lot of programs but the access to programs is another thing. There is some untapped potential, as the untapped, fertile land of Africa. We need a mind shift, we need to empower women starting from preschool and at home. We, women, need to have a proper environment so we can be empowered and bring more value to our communities.

**Aminata Touré**

I think it's important that we invest in the education of the citizens, because it is the citizens that require accountability towards people who lead them. That has to translate into laws that make it mandatory for government and leaders to be accountable to the people. To come back to Senegal, in 2012, there were several reforms of the legal framework to make it mandatory to declare your assets for new presidents or new ministers. There was also the transparency law regarding public funding. These are at the mechanism that would help Africa to move forward when it comes to governance.

**Assia Bensalah Alaoui**

While it was the youth who really were the engine of the Arab revolts, it actually benefited very conservative forces through the election process, namely the Islamist parties across the Arab world. In Morocco, we had two assets. First of all, we had a determined leadership by His Majesty who had anticipated the reforms and applied them some time before, whether they were political, regarding human rights or the economic transformation of infrastructure. Trying to give to the populations a better life and more stakes in their own societies is really, to my mind, the key to durable security and a better life. We are not there yet of course, the challenges are huge but still, it allowed us to go on smoothly.

**Thierry de Montbrial**

I am convinced that, if the world is to remain reasonably open, we have to strengthen governance at all level. But what does governance mean essentially? It means to have rules of the game that the different actors accept to follow. Those ten last years, we have seen the financial crisis, the so-called Arab Spring that has created more and more disorder, Catalonia... Governance is the key to success, to the viability of an open world. The second lesson is the importance of talk. For instance, this year, we had a debate between the Prime Ministers of Serbia and Albania. [...] Having this sort of debate among actors in the Middle East for instance, or in the Korea Peninsula, would probably change the world. I think that is part of the mission of the World Policy Conference.



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