

## JIM BITTERMANN

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Welcome to this panel, which I think may develop a few sparks as we go along here. I have got my thinking cap on right here. This is my first World Policy Conference, so I wanted to thank Thierry for inviting me to what has been a very interesting experience. We have heard a lot of interesting remarks all the way along the line and I would like to thank you all for joining us for this panel of the consequences of Trump. Let us see how far we can get before we get as divided as the American political scene is these days. From the first few days here in Marrakesh, it seems that we have been talking around a subject that we are now going to talk about directly. It is the elephant in the room and when I say elephant, I mean Donald Trump. He has always been the orange haired spectre behind each one of these panels and we hear the impact he is having around the world.

I think this morning it will be interesting to see if we can analyse that impact a bit. As I reflected on the subject, I thought that maybe I should look at it geographically, when you look at a geographic frame where has Trump had some kind of impact, some consequences from his three-year old Presidency? Well, it is just like everywhere. The Chinese trade war; decoupling; India, the way that Modi was encouraged to go after Kashmir; what we see happening in Syria right now and putting American armed forces in jeopardy along the way; what we see in Iran, the JCPOA; Saudi Arabia more weapons and American soldiers, American mercenaries I should maybe say, on their way; in Israel, the way that Netanyahu has been inspired and Trump's son-in-law has come up with a rather one-sided Middle East peace plan; the encouragement of Brexit in Europe; the discouragement of NATO in Europe; the encouragement of populism in Europe. Everywhere you look, and you can include South America, Mexico and Canada, NAFTA, Japan and threats of tariffs, North Korea, South Korea. You name it, everywhere you look there has been some affect from Trump.

As Thierry mentioned in his opening remarks, you see the shadow of the Whitehouse everywhere, so we have panellists from everywhere who I think will be able to let us know about what they see as some of the consequences of Trump. We have Renaud Girard, who is the esteemed senior reporter and war correspondent for *Le Figaro* in Paris. Motoshige Itoh, who is on the Japanese Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, and who is well-known in Japan as the father of Abenomics. We have Jean-Claude Gruffat, who is my colleague on the American Hospital Board in Paris, and he described himself the other day as a French banker in the United States and an American banker in France, he does both. We have Josef Joffe, who is publisher and editor of *Die Zeit*. The Chinese representative on the panel is Qiao Yide, who is Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of the Shanghai Development Research Foundation, an independent Chinese think-tank. Finally, last but not least, John Sawers who is Executive Chairman of the Newbridge Advisory Council, a senior advisor at Chatham House and more important perhaps, he is the former head of British Intelligence MI6.

We have a pretty complete panel and we decided at lunch yesterday, it was so interesting, and we were so taken with our lunchtime conversation that we decided we would try to keep up our brilliant remarks for you today and approach this panel somewhat differently. I have asked each of our panellists to summarize in three words their impressions of the first three years of Trump, what would they say and how they would react. Renaud, your three words please.

### **Renaud GIRARD**

The global consequences of Trump's three years in office in three words? I would say *the unprecedented rapprochement* between Russia and China.

### **Jim BITTERMANN**

Ok, Moto.

**Motoshige ITOH**

I just want to emphasise one thing about what I call the globalization trilemma: globalization, democracy and national sovereignty. Those three are very much related and they may be a very convenient way to look at what is happening now.

**Jean-Claude GRUFFAT**

Jim, I will give you two versions and you can pick the one you want. The first is unpredictable, erratic, versatile, that is the individual. Then on the policy side, a very consequential Presidency.

**Jim BITTERMANN**

Maybe you can explain that a bit later on.

**Josef JOFFE**

In French, *plus ça change*, meaning that there is a lot more continuity between Trump and his predecessor Obama than meets the eye and that will continue even if we have a Democratic administration in 2021.

**Qiao YIDE**

The first of my three words is ignorant in trade and the global supply chain. The second is stubborn, or you say persistent. The last is unpredictable.

**John SAWERS**

It is not so much a view from Britain as the view from me, but I think the first striking thing about Trump is his approach to business and his deregulating side. I think we should acknowledge that as a significant shift from his predecessor. Therefore, deregulating is the first. The second, and you have described his approach to the world, is disruptive. The third, I think you have to say that he is damaging, damaging to the global public goods.

**Jim BITTERMANN**

I would say it is all in all a kind of negative assessment of the Trump three years. A few could maybe be positive, but not particularly positive for Mr Trump. I do not know how many Trump voters we have on the panel.