



# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

**11<sup>th</sup>** Edition,  
Oct. 26-28, 2018  
Rabat, Morocco

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# WORLD POLICY CONFERENCE

ELEVENTH EDITION  
OCTOBER 26-28 2018  
RABAT, MOROCCO





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# Foreword



The World Policy Conference (WPC) aims to foster a more open, prosperous and equitable world. But that requires continuous efforts to understand the reality of the forces in play as well as their interactions and to think about how inter-State relationships can be peacefully organised at every level, while respecting each nation’s culture and basic interests.

In October 2008, the first WPC took place at Evian against the backdrop of the end of the caricatural ideology of liberal globalisation. Many economic and political crises have taken place in the almost 11 years since then, but none has spun out of control on a global scale. For that, we can be thankful. However, without being too pessimistic, there is reason to worry about the steady erosion of global governance. China is aware of the need for a world order based on rules, but wants to rewrite them in its favour. The United States is increasingly going its own way, taking a narrow, hard-line view of its national interests. Donald Trump weaponises trade and currency to further his aims. He is reaping the short-term benefits while failing to see that America’s foes or competitors will in due course adopt his methods, turning the tables on him and on liberal order. He has made insults a tenet of foreign policy, never missing a chance to turn up the volume. He ignores one of the most basic precepts of any government, i.e., that easing tensions is in its interests. If Trump behaves that way, little wonder populism and “illiberal democracy” are on the rise in Europe and elsewhere. Not to speak of authoritarian regimes, starting with China. Some add fuel to the fire by imitating him. Others capitalise on fear. Must we resign ourselves to thinking that when push comes to shove, the digital revolution will pave the way to dictatorship, either directly or through anarchy?

If the world order is in jeopardy, it is also because many countries, North and South, East and West, feel insecure about their identities. But the idea of national interest is meaningless in a divided country. The main paradox of globalisation is that, on the one hand, it implies an increasingly broad view of the national

interest, in other words one that encompasses greater solidarity, while on the other hand, it tends to fracture political unity, rather than cementing it. The liberal democracies often look helpless in this context. Consequently, they risk losing their legitimacy in the face of illiberal democracies. Elites are rejected today because they are blamed for the systemic problems of contemporary democracies. Some people think democracy can be saved by promoting its participatory form. But not everybody can be Switzerland. And anyway, who wants it, besides Switzerland? If the idea of “collective intelligence” means anything, it is not that good solutions to the thorniest issues can emerge from any assembly formed by chance. That goes for international relations, the understanding of which requires maturity and a thorough knowledge of others.

Which brings us back to the WPC’s purpose. The participants in the 11th edition, in Rabat, praised the quality of the talks and speakers. The WPC primarily brings together leading figures who hold or have held senior economic or political positions. It is not a club of experts or journalists, although excellent experts and journalists take part in it. Its connection with Ifri is historic and does not mean it fits the traditional mould of a “think tank conference”. It is more like a club such as the Trilateral Commission or the Bilderberg Meetings — while avoiding the pitfall of secrecy — created during the Cold War. That is how I designed it.

Returning to the idea of collective intelligence and the conditions of its relevance, the WPC must pursue the goal of continuously improving the quality and composition of the community it constitutes. That will allow it to be increasingly capable of fleshing out good ideas, which the future world’s architects can turn into actions, provided they have the courage.

**Thierry de Montbrial**  
Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
9 February 2019



Friday, October 26

08:30 – 09:45: *Opening session*

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC  
**Amadou Gon Coulibaly**, Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire  
**Message of General Michel Aoun**, President of Lebanon  
**Message of His Holiness Bartholomew I**, Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenial Patriarch

09:45 – 11:45:

*Plenary session 1: Major economic challenges in the next five years*

Moderator:

**Jeffrey Frieden**, Professor of Government at Harvard University

Speakers:

Part 1

**Kemal Dervis**, Senior Fellow in the Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution, former Head of the UNDP, former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey, former Vice President of the World Bank

**Marcus Noland**, 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

**Il Sakong**, Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics, former Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit, former Minister of Finance of the Republic of Korea

**Qiao Yide**, Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation (SDRF)

Part 2

**Karl Brauner**, Deputy Director-General at the WTO

**Patrick de Castelbajac**, Head of Airbus Strategy and International  
**Suzanne Hayden**, former Senior Prosecutor for the US Department of Justice, PMI Impact Expert Council Member

**Itoh Motoshige**, Emeritus Professor at the University of Tokyo, Professor at the Gakushuin University, Member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, Japan

11:45 – 12:15:

*Plenary session 2: Conversation*

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC with  
**Jean-Paul Agon**, Chairman and CEO of L'Oréal

12:15 – 12:45:

*Plenary session 3: Conversation*

**Jim Hoagland**, Contributing Editor, The Washington Post with  
**Jean-Yves Le Gall**, President of the Centre National d'Études Spatiales (CNES), President of the International Astronautical Federation (IAF), Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency (ESA)

13:00 – 14:45:

*Lunch debate*

**Olivier Blanchard**, Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, former Chief Economist of the IMF

15:00 – 16:00:

*Plenary session 4: Migrations and the future of multiculturalism*

Moderator:

**Sean Cleary**, Founder and Executive Vice Chairman of the Future-World Foundation and Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd

Speakers:

**Jean-François Copé**, Former Minister of the Budget, Mayor of Meaux, Lawyer at the Paris Bar  
**László Trócsányi**, Minister of Justice of Hungary  
**Bogdan Klich**, Senator, Minority Leader of the Polish Senate, former Minister of Defense and Member of the European Parliament  
**Jim Hoagland**, Contributing Editor, The Washington Post

16:00 – 17:00:

*Plenary session 5: Preparing children and youth for jobs in the 21st century*

Moderator:

**Brian A. Gallagher**, President and CEO of United Way of America/United Way Worldwide

Speakers:

**Juliette Tuakli**, Member of United Way Worldwide Leadership Council, CEO and Chief Medical Officer of CHILDAccra, Ghana  
**Eduardo de Campos Queiroz**, CEO of the Maria Cecilia Souto Vidigal Foundation, Brazil  
**Chittaranjan Kaul**, Director of the Centre for Learning Resources, India

17:00 – 17:45:

*Plenary session 6: Religion and politics in China*

Moderator:

**Richard Cooper**, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University, former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, former Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

Speakers:

**Franciscus Verellen**, Director of the EFEO Hong Kong Centre, former Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient  
**Jean-Pierre Cabestan**, Director of Research at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), Professor and Head of the Department of Government and International Studies at Hong Kong Baptist University

17:45 – 19:15:

*Plenary session 7: Middle East*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Renaud Girard**, Senior reporter and war correspondent, Le Figaro  
**Odeh Aburdene**, President of OAI Advisors, Member of the Council on Foreign Relations  
**Mona Makram Ebeid**, Egyptian Senator and former Member of Parliament, Distinguished Lecturer at the Political Science Department of the American University in Cairo  
**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, former EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process  
**Itamar Rabinovich**, President of the Israel Institute (Washington and Jerusalem), Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History at the Tel Aviv University, Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution

20:00:

*Cocktail & Dinner*

Debate with

**Laurent Fabius**, President of the Constitutional Council, former Prime Minister, France

Saturday, October 27

08:30 – 10:15:

*Plenary session 8: The consequences of Trump*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Michael Fullilove**, Executive Director of the Lowy Institute, former Adviser to Prime Minister, Australia  
**Rozlyn Engel**, former Senior executive in charge of the Office of Macroeconomic Analysis in the U.S. Treasury Department, Non-resident Scholar in the Geo-Economics and Strategy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
**Ichiro Fujisaki**, President of Nakasone Peace Institute, former Deputy Foreign Minister, former Ambassador to the United States, Japan  
**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of the International and Strategic Studies at Peking University  
**Ryu Jin Roy**, Chairman and CEO of Poongsan Group, Vice Chairman of the Korea-US Economic Council, Vice Chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries  
**Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the Management Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, Russia  
**Hubert Védrine**, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

10:15 – 10:45:

*Plenary session 9: Conversation*

**Thierry de Montbrial**, Founder and Chairman of the WPC with  
**Carlos Ghosn**, Chairman and CEO of Renault-Nissan-Mitsubishi, Chairman and CEO of Renault, Chairman of Nissan Motor Company and Mitsubishi Motors

10:45 – 12:00:

*Plenary session 10: The North Korean issue*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Tsakhia Elbegdorj**, former President of Mongolia  
**Wang Jisi**, President of the Institute of the International and Strategic Studies at Peking University  
**Douglas Paal**, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
**Yim Sung-joon**, Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea  
**Hosoya Yuichi**, Professor at the Faculty of Law of Keio University, former Member of the Advisory Board at Japan's National Security Council (NSC)  
**Georgy Toloraya**, Director of Asian Strategy Center at the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

12:00 – 13:00:

*Plenary session 11: One Belt, One Road*

Moderator:

**Ronnie C. Chan**, Chairman of Hang Lung Properties

Speakers:

**Leung Chun-Ying**, Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief

Executive, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China

**Shiv Vikram Khemka**, Vice Chairman of SUN Group, Executive Chairman of The Global Education & Leadership Foundation, India  
**Bayu Krisnamurthi**, former Vice Minister of Trade of Indonesia

13:15 – 15:00:

*Lunch debate*

**Mustapha Bakkoury**, President of the Moroccan Agency for Solar Energy (Masen)

15:15 – 16:15:

*Plenary session 12: The future of the euro*

Moderator:

**Jean Pisani-Ferry**, European University Institute, Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa chair, and Senior Fellow at Bruegel

Speakers:

**Ashoka Mody**, Charles and Marie Robertson Visiting Professor in International Economic Policy at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**, President of Bruegel and former President of the ECB  
**Olivier Blanchard**, Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, former Chief Economist of the IMF

16:30 – 19:00: *Parallel workshops*

*Workshop 1: Finance and economy*

Chair:

**Jean-Claude Trichet**, President of Bruegel and former President of the ECB

Speakers:

**Qiao Yide**, Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation (SDRF)  
**Jean-Claude Meyer**, Vice-Chairman International of Rothschild & cie  
**Jeffrey Frieden**, Professor of Government at Harvard University  
**Daniel Dăianu**, Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania, Member of the European Council for Foreign Relations, former Finance Minister of Romania  
**Itoh Motoshige**, Emeritus Professor at the University of Tokyo, Professor at the Gakushuin University, Member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, Japan  
**Bertrand Badré**, Founder and CEO of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group

*Workshop 2: Energy and climate*

Chair:

**Nobuo Tanaka**, Chairman of The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, former Executive Director of the IEA

Speakers:

**Olivier Appert**, President of the French Energy Council and of the French committee of the World Energy Council  
**Leila Benali**, President of the Arab Energy Forum  
**Richard Cooper**, Professor of International Economics at Harvard University, former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, former Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs  
**Tatsuo Masuda**, Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business (NUCB) on energy-climate nexus, Auditor of SOC Corporation in Tokyo, Chairman of Fair-Court Capital in London, Strategic committee member of Eilon House in Singapore

**Ladislav Paszkiewicz**, Senior Vice President-Strategy & Climate at Total SA

*Workshop 3: Africa*

Chair:

**Nathalie Delapalme**, Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

Speakers:

**Uri Dadush**, Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center and non-resident scholar at Bruegel  
**Elisabeth Guigou**, President of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures, former Member of the French National Assembly and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly  
**Mostafa Terrab**, Chairman and CEO of OCP Group  
**Othman El Ferdaous**, Secretary of State to the Minister of Industry, Investment, Trade and Digital Economy, in charge of investment, Kingdom of Morocco  
**Juliette Tuakli**, Member of United Way Worldwide Leadership Council, CEO and Chief Medical Officer of CHILDAccra, Ghana  
**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-chair of SouthBridge, former Prime Minister of Benin  
**Hailemariam Desalegn**, former Prime Minister of Ethiopia

20:00:

*Cocktail & Gala Dinner*

Hosted by:

**Nasser Bourita**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco

Sunday, October 28

08:30 – 09:45:

*Plenary session 13: Young Leaders*

Moderator:

**Patrick Nicolet**, Group Chief Technology Officer and Group Executive Board Member of Capgemini

Speakers:

**Mathilde Pak**, Economist in the Structural Policy Analysis Division of the Economics Department at OECD  
**Marco Janmaat**, Founder and Director of VR Owl, Netherlands  
**Natasha Franck**, Founder and CEO of EON Group, United States  
**Tarek Ouertani**, Head of Marketing at ProGlove, Germany  
**Hermine Durand**, Head of Division at the French Nuclear Safety Authority

09:45 – 11:00:

*Plenary session 14: Some basic European strategic issues*

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

**Josep Borrell**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation of Spain, former President of the European Parliament  
**Karin Kneissl**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria  
**Michael Lothian**, Member of the House of Lords, former Conservative Member of Parliament  
**Nicolas Véron**, Senior Fellow at Bruegel and at the Peterson Institute for International Economics  
**Jean-Louis Bourlanges**, Member of the French Parliament, former Member of the Court of Auditors and of the European Parliament

11:00 – 12:30:

*Plenary session 15: Some impacts of a connected world*

Moderator:

**Virginie Robert**, Chief Editor of the international desk, Les Echos

Speakers:

**François Barrault**, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, Chairman and Founder of FDB Partners  
**Chang Dae-whan**, Chairman and Publisher, Maekyung Media Group, Member of the Global Commission on Internet Governance, former acting Prime minister of Korea  
**Patrick Nicolet**, Group Chief Technology Officer and Group Executive Board Member of Capgemini  
**Tobby Simon**, Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG), Member of the Trilateral Commission, Founder and President of Synergia Foundation  
**Francis Gurry**, Director General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

12:45 – 14:30:

*Lunch Debate*

**Hailemariam Desalegn**, former Prime Minister of Ethiopia and  
**Lionel Zinsou**, Co-chair of SouthBridge, former Prime Minister of Benin

14:45 – 15:45:

*Reports from parallel workshops*

15:45 – 17:45:

*Plenary session 16: Final debate*

Moderator:

**Thomas Gomart**, Director of Ifri

Speakers:

**Assia Bensalah Alaoui**, Ambassador-at-large of HM the King of Morocco  
**Stuart Eizenstat**, Partner at Covington and Burling LLP  
**Donald Johnston**, Chair Emeritus of the McCall MacBain Foundation, former Secretary General of the OECD  
**Tadakatsu Sano**, Attorney-at-law at Jones Day, Former Director-General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs  
**Bernardino León Gross**, Director General of the Emirates Diplomatic Academy in the UAE, former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Head of the UN Support Mission in Libya  
**Pierre Morel**, Director of the Observatoire Pharos, former EU Special Representative for Central Asia and the Crisis in Georgia  
**Artem Malgin**, Vice Rector of MGIMO-University  
**Manuel Muñiz**, Dean of the School of Global and Public Affairs at IE University and Rafael del Pino Professor of Practice of Global Transformation  
**Fathallah Oualalou**, Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center, former Minister of Economy and Finance, Kingdom of Morocco

17:45: *Envoi*







# Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman, WPC



Government is not only guided by reason. Government is not only guided by emotions. There must be a balance; there must be some sense of measure. Instead, what we see before us is polarisation: the triumph of reason, as expressed by the technological revolution, is indirectly exacerbating the most destructive passions and the most malevolent misappropriations of the aspiration for the divine. More than ever, I believe in the value of the mission which the WPC has made its own these past 10 years. Ever greater attention must be paid to all the commons of humanity, starting with the climate and the environment. We need to identify these areas of common heritage and learn to manage them collectively. The practices through which democracy is brought to life need to be reinvented in order to better combine dignity and efficiency. By actively conveying this message, the WPC hopes to contribute, albeit modestly, to the sustainable development of a reasonably open world that allows human beings – whatever their beliefs – to better experience both the reality and the mystery of their existence.

\* Full version page 118



# Amadou Gon Coulibaly

Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire



The African continent is now home to 60% of the world's unused arable land and abundant mineral and energy resources, including renewable ones. Our continent is home to six out of the ten most dynamic economies in the world in terms of growth, including Côte d'Ivoire. The African continent's fundamentals are solid for a continuation of its growth trajectory. By 2050, according to the United Nations, one in four people will be African, the population of young Africans under 15 will be of about 850 million and our workforce will be the largest in the world. [...] Africa has solid foundations for becoming a pillar of global growth and prosperity. To this end, it is the responsibility of African leaders to put in place policies and strategies to take up challenges, in a world that is constantly changing, in a world that is less and less predictable. Indeed, as several prominent figures have said, the recent example of Asian countries, particularly China, with its GDP per capita multiplying by 56 over the past 40 years, and the emergence of nearly 700 million people from poverty, shows that it is possible.

\* Full version page 118



# Message of General Michel Aoun

President of Lebanon



Today more than ever, the peoples and States of the world urgently need to learn how to see, in the midst of almost universal chaos, the meaning of and respect for the truth, namely, that we do not live separate from one another. The recognition of the unity of the human family in its diversity and plurality and the attention paid to the unified dignity of each person must be given impetus in the responsibility to protect every human being. Conversely, it is indifference or the lack of intervention that causes real damage. Methods need to be developed to prevent or resolve conflicts, not only through the means available to diplomatic action, but above all, and perhaps before anything else, by giving attention and support to dialogue, the desire for reconciliation and transactional justice. By launching last year my initiative at the United Nations to make Lebanon a world centre for interreligious and intercultural dialogue, and by launching this year at the same forum a multilateral convention to establish the Human Academy for interaction and dialogue in our country, Lebanon wanted to show once again its mission in this region of the world, the cradle of all dreams and legitimate expectations, which for some has become a space fated to experience endless conflict.

\* Full version page 119



# Message of His Holiness Bartholomew I

Arcbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenial Patriarch



The rise of populism around the world is alarming. An ideology without substance, a politics of pandering and partisanship, it is nothing but the cynical taking up of a timeworn concept in international relations: “divide and conquer”. But this diagnosis of contemporary society also attests to the malaise and anxiety of the human being. In the wake of the various political, industrial, economic and technological revolutions that have succeeded each other since the 18th century, globalisation, the fruit of modernity, was supposed to usher in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world. Global interdependence was expected to bring about more equality, freedom and even democracy. But by using the failures of globalisation as a scapegoat, populism fuels hatred of others. Unfortunately, in this whirlwind of excess and violence, religion is often used for disruptive and divisive purposes, pitting people against each other to the point where dialogue is no longer possible.

\* Full version page 120



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# Major economic challenges in the next five years



MODERATOR:  
**Jeffrey Frieden**  
Professor of Government  
at Harvard University



**Kemal Dervis**  
Senior Fellow in the Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution, former Head of the UNDP, former Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey, former Vice President of the World Bank



**Marcus Noland**  
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

There was a short period when multilateralism was truly international, and it is probably true that if in the period before that, the United States, Western Europe and Japan had taken a more, let us say, generous or open approach to the overall world economy, we would have had a true multilateralism, which in fact we never had. Now, we are in a much more multipolar world, although the US and China are by far the two big dominating giants. The question is, will a new multilateralism come, this time with China playing an important role and with the developing countries and the emerging markets playing a much more important role than before? The question is not: have we lost multilateralism? We never had it in that sense. [...] My second point is more on the economic side. About two years ago, people were talking of the world economy slowing down. Larry Summers, Robert Gordon and many others, had a very pessimistic view of the world economy. [...] Today, secular stagnation or the rise and fall of American growth are no longer la mode. There is growth in the world economy. It is fairly widespread and led by the United States and China, but it is much more widespread. [...] Will the new technologies continue to bring widespread growth or not? I think they will. [...] What is not clear, is whom it will benefit and what will happen with income distribution. [...] Income distribution both in terms of across the world, across borders, and also in terms of within country income distribution should be more balanced. I think the real challenge for the next five years is to manage to discover a path, a set of regulations and a type of multilateralism that achieves that.

On trade policy, Donald Trump is a protectionist. He has protectionist views going back to the 1980s. He ran on a protectionist platform and while there is some uncertainty about the administration's goals and how far it is willing to push confrontational tactics in their pursuit, I do not think there can really be an argument about the overall thrust of that policy. The goals are reducing trade deficits, both globally and bilaterally, renegotiating or abrogating "disastrous" trade agreements, and rebuilding the manufacturing base by tearing up global supply chains and bringing production back to the United States. The tools are aggressive use of US anti-dumping and countervailing unfair trade practices statutes and particularly concerning, the use of national security statute 232, with a focus on China. The use of 232 is particularly worrisome, because the statute is very broadly written and its use by the United States practically invites emulation from other countries. Renegotiation of existing trade deals, most importantly NAFTA. Criticism of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism on sovereignty grounds and a preference for bilateral talks over WTO or regional initiatives. The bottom line is the Trump administration is focused on undoing past deals and instituting border restrictions. It remains unclear whether this protectionism is a means to an end. That would be optimistic interpretation, that this is an elaborate tactical manoeuvre that will ultimately generate a more open system or rather, the protection is an end in itself. [...]



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SESSION 1 • FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26 • 09:45 – 11:45

## Major economic challenges in the next five years



### Il SaKong

Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics, former Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit, former Minister of Finance of the Republic of Korea



### Qiao Yide

Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation (SDRF)



### Karl Brauner

Deputy Director-General at the WTO

We live in an economically highly interconnected world. Therefore, any global challenge will have to be dealt through global community level policy coordination and cooperation endeavours. So, my first point is that the most serious problem for the global community in the next five years seems to be, “global leadership gap” or “global leadership deficit” caused by the withdrawal of the US global leadership, while no other country or a group of countries tries to fill the gap. Consequently, the global economy for the next five years may suffer from “Kindleberger trap-like risks” created by insufficient provision of global public goods, most importantly free trade environment and financial stability. [...] More specifically, there is a high likelihood of financial crises, big or small, to occur especially in emerging economies and usual policy-induced recessions may be inevitable in advanced economies when there is not enough monetary and fiscal policy maneuvering space for most of these countries. [...] The G20 countries agreed in 2009 to designate the G20 summit as their premier forum for their international cooperation for a balanced and sustained global growth. It is therefore urgent for the G20 countries to join forces to resuscitate the G20 summit process to fill the global leadership gap and adequately face the global economic challenges of the next five years.

I guess everyone agrees now is the critical time to define the future direction for the world economy in the next five years. In this regard, China can continue to make a contribution by following three aspects. First of all, China should keep a steady economic growth. In the past several years, China has made a contribution of 30% of global GDP growth. [...] The growth rate in China has been between 6.5% to 7%, but last quarter it was 6.5%, which is the lowest in almost eight years. That is a big challenge for China. The second aspect of China's contribution is to keep financial stability internally and externally. In the past ten years, the leverage ratio in China went up, particularly that of non-financial institutions. That ratio is almost 160% of GDP, which is one of the highest. The good thing is that the ratio has stabilised now and China should do more in this regard. Externally China should let the marketplace play a decisive role in deciding the level of the exchange rate. The most important, as you mentioned, is how China deals with trade escalation with the US. Everybody knows that the trade war was not initiated by China, but in this regard, I guess China can do more. In 2001, when China entered the WTO, the GDP of China represented 5% of world GDP and now it is 15%. In this sense, China can do more in terms of reducing tariffs and opening up more to foreign investment. [...] Of course, no dispute can be resolved by only one side, it has to depend on both sides. We will see what happens in the future.

I must confess we are in crisis mode. We are about to lose one of the features that distinguishes the WTO as an international organisation, from other international organisations. We have a well-functioning dispute settlement mechanism. When you join the WTO as a state, you subject yourself to this compulsory dispute settlement, so if a state wants to sue another one, there is no way out. You cannot prevent that litigation from taking place. It has been very successful over the past 23 years. [...] Now, all this is in danger, because the appeal function in this system is losing heads. We have seven members of the appellate bodies normally; right now, we only have three. There are four vacancies and the US blocks them from being filled. [...] The Americans were not happy, they were disappointed in their expectation of having massive liberalisation and targeted protection; the protection was too weak. They also criticised this institution, the appellate body (AB), for developing the law. The Americans attacked it as overreach. [...] They introduced a number of ideas by which they would make sure that this would not lead to an extended transfer of sovereignty away from the US. [...] If we could really get together and create a spirit of cooperation, then reforms would be possible. On the technical level in the WTO right now, there is a strong spirit of cooperation, but whether this extends to the higher political level must be seen in the future. If we do not manage reform then we will go back to the rule of the jungle, which for me would be a regression of civilisation. The WTO is about rule-guided globalisation and we would replace the rule of law by the deal of the day and that would be very bad.



## Major economic challenges in the next five years



**Patrick de Castelbajac**

Head of Airbus Strategy and International



**Suzanne Hayden**

former Senior Prosecutor for the US Department of Justice,  
PMI Impact Expert Council Member



**Itoh Motoshige**

Emeritus Professor at the University of Tokyo, Professor at the  
Gakushuin University, Member of the Council on Economic  
and Fiscal Policy, Japan

Airbus has the privilege of being part of the Europe that works, and our success has had the base over the last 40 years of the free-flow of people, goods, services, assets throughout Europe. We have got 14 000 employees in the UK, which to give you an idea, means 80 000 trips across the Channel by Airbus employees every year. We have got over 2 000 suppliers, so it is an absolutely integrated component of what we do. There is 15 billion euros of trade going across the Channel on a yearly basis. [...] Therefore, frictionless trade is absolutely key, because we live in a very competitive world. [...] We are now going to have to build roughly a quarter of a million administrative documents per year. We were in a place when we were exporting across the Channel, we had a form filled once a month with a dozen pieces of information. Now, such a form will have to go across the border with every part, with 54 data points. [...] If we have one week of delays, we cannot recover that week because we are running at full capacity. One week of delays means that we will lose one billion. [...] Today, no firm knows what will happen after March 29th. Today, none of them know if they will have to invest in certain systems, which systems to do what, what the delay will be, how you manage your production, your sales, your aftersales, your support. [...] I am extremely worried by the level of readiness of our governments on the issue and also some industries and businesses, which I think listen a bit too much to the flow of information saying it will be okay. [...] This uncertainty and the possible consequences forces us to revise our view on what we will do in the UK tomorrow.

When I talk about the global effects of illegal trade, I am here to say that it absolutely taints every country. It weaves countries together unwittingly, unwillingly, in alliances that are woven by the efforts of unscrupulous criminals and organised crime groups, and preys upon the weaknesses of the infrastructures and legislation. It promotes greed and corruption and ultimately affects the financial systems, reputations and economic stability. [...] Just some basic thoughts when I am talking about illegal trade of trafficking and the impact on the economy. There is little hard evidence on the totality of the scale of amounts, because obviously countries, industries, look at a specific thing that is most pressing to them at the time. Governments particularly, tend to focus on the thing that is most harmful to them at any given time in terms of trade, whether it is drugs, wildlife, nuclear trafficking, fissile materials, etc. However, criminals are not so discriminating. [...] As has always been the case with law enforcement, the bad guys have more money, more tools, more guns and sometimes more influence, [...] The one thing that I will leave you with is part of the potential solution: public-private partnerships. We now see industries that are stepping up, and they are not just looking at their discrete interests, “this is my product and the thing I am concerned about;” instead they are looking to forge relationships with civil society, NGOs and governments for the greater good, the bigger issue of combating trade.

Let me just come back to the macroeconomy which may be a very important aspect of the issue we are discussing and the Japanese experience will probably provide some kind of implications for that. [...] What came out at the beginning of this session and was mentioned in the previous session, was a very serious supply side problem, what Larry Summers called “secular stagnation”. If you have a very stagnant supply, you cannot do anything. You may be able to stimulate the economy by stimulating the money for a while, but what happens now is that it is maybe stimulated too much, with too much debt and too high prices for stock and there may be more risk of just falling down. However, the demand situation is very important when it is very stagnant and that is what we experienced after the crisis of 2008 and the Japanese experience was a typical case. [...] Abenomics is a very, very unorthodox expansionary policy, combined with an inflation target and we found that it was successful. To just get out of the very serious lack of demand, you may need some kind of very unorthodox method, similarly for the EU and the United States. The problem we have is we were successful in changing the trend, however the inflation rate is never going up to 2% and the potential growth rate is very low at 1%. That just implies the supply side is not catching up. What happens now is that we have abundant demand, so that was the contribution of the previous macroeconomic policies, but then what happens is whether we are prepared for a sudden drop in demand. Unfortunately, there are many issues that we can think of as a source of disturbances in the next couple of years.



MODERATOR:

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



**Jean-Paul Agon**  
Chairman and CEO of L'Oréal

An international company is a company that is based somewhere and sells its products everywhere in the world. A global company is a company that is already based everywhere in the world. However, if I may, I would like to say that I think L'Oréal is even at a third stage, that personally I call the “universal company”, which means that we want to be the company for everyone, everywhere in the world, for every consumer everywhere in the world. It means that, and it is a strategy that we have called “universalisation”, we want to be global, while respecting the differences. Beauty is something very cultural and in order to be relevant to every consumer in every country in the world, you really have to adapt to all these different countries. For example, even if the brands we have are global, the products that we offer are very relevant to Chinese in China. By the way, most of them are made and formulated in China, produced in China, by Chinese for Chinese. It is the same in America, Brazil, Russia and everywhere. I think that is the ultimate form of the global company, which is really universal, with R&D facilities everywhere in the world, manufacturing of course everywhere in the world and teams everywhere in the world, in order to be relevant everywhere in the world. I think that is an important evolution. [...] Most of our competitors are Dutch, American, Japanese or German. Not yet Chinese, but probably some day we will have some Chinese competitor. In a way, there too, I am not too worried. I think that competition is healthy. The more competition you have, the more you have to innovate to do better products and fight for consumer satisfaction, so I think that it is a healthy game and we want to win the game as much as we can.



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



**Jean-Yves Le Gall**  
President of the Centre National d'Études Spatiales (CNES), President of the International Astronautical Federation (IAF), Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency (ESA)

In fact, since last year, we have had a number of changes because of what is made in the US. In space you have six large space powers: the US; China; Europe; Japan; Russia; and India, but the US is definitely the biggest space power. Last year a new administrator was appointed at NASA, Jim Bridenstine, and the Trump administration tried to change a number of points in the US space policy. I would like to emphasis two points, which are in my opinion quite important. The first one was a new interest in going to the Moon, but to go to the Moon not to come back to the Moon, because you have probably seen many movies on the Moon, with the Moon landing 50 years ago, the last one being First Man, which is a very good movie. The idea is to come back to the Moon but with private initiatives and this is why NASA is now contemplating a so-called Deep Space Gateway, with private companies that could be interested in going to the Moon. This is the first point, the Moon. The second point is you know that in the US today there are five forces in the army: the US Air Force, the US Navy, the US Army, the Coast Guards and the Marines. President Trump wants to add a sixth one and it is a view, because in fact the US are very active in the field of defence assistance, which is developed for space. We have a budget for NASA which is USD 20 billion, a budget for the DoD which is roughly the same, but there is obviously a political will from President Trump to create a sixth force and we will see if he does it. These two important factors are shaping the new landscape of space policy worldwide today.



MODERATOR:

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



**Jean-François Copé**

Former Minister of the Budget, Mayor of Meaux, Lawyer at the  
Paris Bar

Until the Second World War, especially in Europe and specifically in France, we had a model which was called “assimilation”- the English said “aggressive assimilation”, which is not a good word, we are not aggressive. But at that time, when you were immigrating to France, you would choose a French name, speak in French without any accent and the religion stayed at home, when you were in a public space, you were totally adopting the French Republican values. After the 1960s, we have totally abandoned this model of assimilation to the multicultural one, which is to say: everybody has their own culture and the regional culture from abroad is a culture that can prevail over the common laws of the country that welcomes you. And this was the beginning of the problems, especially when you add to it the religious problems, and of course the rising of the Muslim radical Islamist influence, which is very present in our debates, again with the question of the burqa, because you have maybe heard what happened at the United Nations this week, the position of the community of the UN against France and the law that I have personally passed as a congressman to ban the wearing of burqa, which is totally opposed to the French Republican laws and the way we respect the rights of women. This kind of question shows how it is difficult for traditional parties who want to lead the country and want to act to give structural answers to the populist and extremist parties. So this is exactly what is at stake today and we have to give answers because it will soon be too late.

SESSION 4 • FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26 • 15:00 – 16:00

## Migrations and the future of multiculturalism



**László Trócsányi**

Minister of Justice of Hungary

When discussing multiculturalism, refugees and immigration, it is very important to take into consideration the theory of circles of responsibility. Migration is a phenomenon with which we are familiar; beyond that, however, we need to look as well at the society, into which these people are settling. There is a philosophy behind things, and behind the way we see migration today. In Central Europe, the view on migration is a bit different from that elsewhere in Europe: in Central Europe, there is a certain sense of responsibility that is very strong towards the Balkan countries. The distinction needs to be made between the words “refugee” and “migrant”. Today, there is an overlap between the two, and politicians often use these two words interchangeably. We need to dialogue until a solution is found, we need to go on-site, we need to help on the ground, and we need to hold a variety of meetings; this is essential. We need to organise different types of solidarity, in different ways. Hungary has often been labelled populist. Anyone can become a populist at some point if they don't agree with something. When someone has a different idea or vision and wants to participate in the dialogue, that person is often labelled as populist. The States need to be given their freedom; Europe's values need to be demonstrated in practice. That is why the Schengen Agreement is very important.



**Bogdan Klich**

Senator, Minority Leader of the Polish Senate, former Minister of Defense and Member of the European Parliament

It is good that you are speaking about the problems of migration and populism here in Morocco, in a successful country, in a country that was able to accommodate more than 50 000 migrants from Sahel, during the last three years and was able to collaborate fruitfully with Spain and some other countries, and some other countries, concerning the protection of European borders. [...] The problem of migration is one of the main reasons for the expansion of populism in Europe. [...] Now, in some countries of Central and Western Europe, we have the re-emergence of very dangerous political tendencies, which are populism and nationalism. There are regions, like Catalonia for example, where those two tendencies go together, reinforcing each other. [...] Freedom House experts emphasised that illiberalism had not become the main tendency in 2017, but the effects of illiberalism, what Viktor Orbán presented as a concept of illiberal democracy, were visible so strongly one or two years ago. [...] Those tendencies visible in Central Europe are also visible in some countries in Western Europe, in which populists have either won or are ready to win elections. We can see the results of the German election to the Bundestag; 12.6% for AfD and 12.4% in Bavaria. We can see ruling parties in Italy, which do not undermine the institutional framework of constitutional, democratic regimes, but they can do it because the source of Western and Central European populism is the same.



**Jim Hoagland**

Contributing Editor, The Washington Post

By most estimates, the world today has more people moving across borders, being displaced, than we have had since World War II. This is for diverse causes such as poverty, war, economic advancement, climate change and increasingly a growing population imbalance driven by demographic changes. This is occurring at the same time as the upheaval in communications and the social media revolution. And through social media, people can directly mobilise people. You can turn politics, you can turn government into a kind of plebiscite which is one step away, as we have seen in the United States, from an invitation to mob rule. Migration comes to us both as a result and a cause of the fundamental and economic change that is occurring but is poorly understood. The migration pressures that we have seen have driven populist victories, but I am not sure we have seen populism and populist parties come up with solutions to the pressures that created their victories. The pressures of today will seem small compared to the pressures of tomorrow, unless we begin to take action to prevent the new migration waves that are likely to come, particularly from Africa and the Middle East, where strife is still apparent. The combined effect of these changes, including the social media, is political polarisation. We need to begin to construct media literacy as a component of civil education, to make people understand what they can and cannot trust on social media. This is the generation that will have to reinvent or at least redesign democracy, taking into account the pressures of a world in constant movement.





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MODERATOR:

**Brian A. Gallagher**  
President and CEO of  
United Way of America/  
United Way Worldwide

SESSION 5 • FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26 • 16:00 – 17:00

# Preparing children and youth for jobs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century



**Juliette Tuakli**  
Member of United Way Worldwide Leadership Council, CEO  
and Chief Medical Officer of CHILDAccra, Ghana



**Eduardo de Campos Queiroz**  
CEO of the Maria Cecilia Souto Vidigal Foundation, Brazil



**Chittaranjan Kaul**  
Director of the Centre for Learning Resources, India

Health in Africa is critical for the preparation of youth for the future. Nothing is more painful to witness than the young with access to education, unable to learn because of their suboptimal health. It is painful because it is preventable! Over the past decades, both educational and health services in Africa have become considerably attenuated. In contrast, there has been enormous investment in hard infrastructure such as roads and buildings. In Ghana, hospital buildings have been constructed and even fully equipped despite a lack of trained health personnel to staff these facilities. Adjacent communities desperate for basic primary health care are frustrated and cynical ; recognizing that their needs have not been considered adequately by the Government. Education that reflects both the country's needs and future job market is critical. Africa's population is young with 65 percent under 25 years old. Poor education, poor health and an inability of many Governments to prepare them adequately does not bode well. Private educational and health facilities further accentuate a widening economic inequality in many African countries. Girls are significantly disempowered by cultural traditions especially as they approach puberty. A strong emphasis on female retention in schools at this age in addition to investment in STEM and preschool education can mitigate adverse outcomes for girls in communities - early 'marriage', higher fertility rates and huge pressure on available medical resources. Research confirms that education reduces fertility rates and raises the age of marriage.

People in general do not have the knowledge that was just mentioned about the importance of early childhood development. People know intuitively that they have to take care of children, but they do not know the impact if they do not have an attachment, if they do not read with and for the children. This has a huge impact if we do not take care of these children, especially the vulnerable ones. We were talking about migration in the last panel. We are talking now about many children, many young people not working and not in school and scientists show that without a concrete basis, this child is going to leave school and is not going to have good jobs. This is pretty much happening in Brazil, Latin America in general, Africa and many other countries around the world. [...] I am trying to build, sensitise, build capacity and mobilise public, private and social leaders in a way that Congress in Brazil, for example, passed a law in 2016 for early childhood development that was signed by the President. We are not just talking about early education between brackets, we are also talking about the development that happens in the family, in the community, which is really important. [...] Health, education and social development must work together to help the families, especially the vulnerable ones. [...] If we do not invest in that field, the country and the society are going to pay with migration, with dropouts, use of drugs and many other things.

Children encounter two key characteristics in the world around themselves today: relentless change and little to hold on to. To prepare for such a world, they need to be able to see it as it is, rather than as the political, social, technical and financial demagogues would like them to believe it is. That requires learning what I call the science of presence, the ability to deal with shifting sands. At the same time, the epidemic of mental health challenges that young people are living through suggests that they need to learn the religion of connection, the ability to discover meaning in togetherness, community and dialogue. The technology to do this has existed for centuries and is practiced in pockets even today. We need to wake up to the need to make it more widely available. Our work seeks to help by making teachers and their leaders more aware of the difference their being can make to the children and the society at large. They learn how to demonstrate pedagogical, institutional and community leadership in their respective work-spaces. By bringing focus to the real processes of learning, such an attunement also makes it more likely that children will learn to challenge the narratives of divisive demagogues, an unfortunately pervasive feature of our times. Having long term goals like this helps us navigate skilfully through the short-term challenges of bringing up our children.



## Religion and politics in China



MODERATOR:  
**Richard Cooper**  
Professor of  
International Economics  
at Harvard University,  
former Chairman of the  
National Intelligence  
Council, former Under-  
Secretary of State for  
Economic Affairs



**Franciscus Verellen**  
Director of the EFEO Hong Kong Centre, former Director of the  
Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient



**Jean-Pierre Cabestan**  
Director of Research at the French National Centre for  
Scientific Research (CNRS), Professor and Head of the  
Department of Government and International Studies at Hong  
Kong Baptist University

After several decades of religious renewal, China witnessed a sudden change in the past two years. The 19th Party Congress in October 2017, which changed the constitution and indefinitely extended the term in office of President Xi Jinping, adopted severe anti-religious measures, including the Sinicization (read Marxification) of religion, supervision by the CCP United Front Department, patriotic re-education of the clergy, and exclusion of minors from religious education and worship. One million Uyghur Muslims have been detained in internment camps in Xinjiang. International relations and sovereignty are important dimensions of Chinese religious policy today, especially bringing foreign religious organisations under the authority of the Communist Party and regulating the religious activities of foreigners in China. Cases in point are the recent agreement between Beijing and the Vatican, concerns over US sponsorship of Protestant movements, and claims that Xinjiang Muslims maintain links to Islamist groups abroad. The capacity of religious communities to propose alternative societal models answers the dreams of many but poses a threat to the CCP. Today a well-off middle class is asking whether there can be more to a meaningful life than ideology and materialism. Given their power of mobilisation in the age of social networking, this is a question of major concern to the state.

The Chinese Communist Party has always had a complicated relationship with religious organisations and religions as a whole since the regime promotes atheist. Since the beginning of reforms in China forty years ago, there has been both a relaxation of control on religious activities and a religious revival. However, a very important distinction needs to be made between freedom of faith, which is well-accepted by the Party and freedom of religious organisations, which is tightly restricted and controlled. Another distinction is made by the CCP leadership, and Xi Jinping in particular, between religions that are presented as Chinese or mainly Chinese, Daoism and also Buddhism, which entered China in the first century BC, and Western religions, including Islam, Christianity and Catholicism. The way those various religious organisations are managed is very different, the former group of religions enjoys clearly more freedom than the latter. The place occupied by religion in China needs to be put in perspective: it is for example much smaller than in Muslim countries or even in the United States. Moreover, contrary to the West, including to Muslim countries, many Chinese embrace several religions at the same time. The fact that among the elites and the counter-elites in China you have more and more Christians is both an issue for the authorities and a factor of potential political change. In Asia, there are precedents to that: the role of Christian churches in Taiwan or South Korea's democratisation is well-known and constitutes a real *bête noire* in the eyes of the Chinese Communist Party.



# Middle East



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



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



**Odeh Aburdene**  
President of OAI Advisors, Member of the Council on Foreign Relations

This year, I will look at the Middle East from the outside. The most striking thing I see is the West's strategic impotence. That will be the title of my talk: the West's strategic impotence in the Middle East. [...] In Yemen, the West is strategically powerless to end a humanitarian disaster brought about by the March 2015 intervention of its Saudi and Emirati allies against the northern Houthi rebels, who control the capital, Sana'a. [...] In Palestine, the West has failed to bring about the two-state solution it has been promoting for 30 years. The two-state solution has never been further out of reach and Israel's West Bank settlements are now so extensive that it is hard to see how a viable Palestinian state can still be created. In Libya, where Egyptian, Emirati, Turkish and Qatari interests are so important that it can be considered part of the Middle East, the West is incapable of managing the chaos it created. [...] The consequence of those mistakes is that the region's major opportunistic power, Russia, immediately stepped into the gap and replaced the West. Besides having two sovereign bases in Syria, Russia managed the feat of bringing the King of Saudi Arabia, its enemy in Syria, to Moscow in 2017. Russia has also improved its relations with another key American ally: Israel. Russia is also a force to be reckoned within Egypt, where it will build a nuclear power station. In conclusion, I think the decline of the West's influence in the Middle East is bad news for the region because, like it or not, it has had some very good ideas for that part of the world. Remember the 1991 Madrid conference. Remember Arafat and Rabin shaking hands on the White House lawn in 1993.

In the past, we heard a lot about hegemony, but the way the Middle East is structured today you have several major regional powers. You have Turkey. You have Iran. You have Saudi Arabia. You have Egypt, and of course, Israel. None of these powers, based on the current alignment, could never be the hegemonic of the Middle East. It would remain unstable but no one power would dominate. I think that none of these powers really wants a war going on. I do not think that Netanyahu wants to go to war. I do not think the Iranians want a war that would be devastating to them and the Turks realise that a war would also weaken Turkey, because of the Kurdish situation. An American-Russian cooperation is in the interests of the region. I hope they can cooperate to make the region more prosperous and secure. I would like to talk, when we talk about the region, we always talk about politics, but I think that economics are far more dangerous than the politics. The economics are more complicated, and I just want to give you one example. Today, we have 400 million Arabs, by the year 2050 we will have 800 million Arabs and by the year 2085, according to projections that are realistic, you would have 1.4 billion Arabs. How are we going to feed these people? How are we going to create jobs for these people? How are we going to keep the area stable? Where are we going to get enough water? These are the issues that I think most of us do not talk about and these are the issues that I think will determine whether the Middle East will be more chaotic, more dangerous, more violent. What happened in 2011 and the various uprisings were mainly economic but also came from repression and mismanagement.



# Middle East



**Mona Makram Ebeid**

Egyptian Senator and former Member of Parliament, Distinguished Lecturer at the Political Science Department of the American University in Cairo



**Miguel Ángel Moratinos**

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain, former EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process



**Itamar Rabinovich**

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

Asia, Africa, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Middle East and the Nile Basin are all geographic entities of which Egypt, a country of 100 million citizens and the biggest army of the region, is either part or which are on its periphery. This geographic position makes Egypt at the crossroads between two continents and several geopolitical regions. This multitude of areas and positioning is an advantage and an opportunity for Egypt, just as much as it is a handicap and difficulty. The advantage is that the country can take advantage of this multiple belonging, in order to diversify its relations and establish itself as a meeting point. The handicap is that Egypt's neighbourhood has so many contradictions and differences of interest that an alliance with one can be interpreted as hostility towards another. The challenge for Egypt is to balance its policy between the various partners and geopolitical areas that surround it. This is the challenge that President Sisi of Egypt is facing today. With several countries in North Africa, Egypt shares the difficulty of reconciling their African Arabism, it shares with those of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean the difficulty of reconciling their Arabism with their Mediterranean identity. Today, Egypt is torn between its multiple identities, between swathes of its identity that derive from its geographical position and its identity markers that derive from its socio-economic political history. This tension is amplified by neighbourhood turbulence.

I have never been confronted with such a situation in the Middle East. Never, ever, I would say before the Madrid Peace Conference, we can compare with today, we have never had such confusion, chaos and lack of hope for the generations that live in the Middle East. [...] The international community never misses an opportunity to miss an opportunity in the Middle East. Why are we in such a mess today? [...] Can you imagine that after 25 years we have to start from square one? We have to get a real legitimacy to engage on both sides. Then, there is the role of third-parties. My experience, not my will, has demonstrated to me that the United States alone cannot facilitate the deal. [...] We have to invent a new way. Why do not we use energy, for instance, as a catalyst? Why do not the South Eastern Mediterranean countries instead of fighting for demarcation of the oil and gas reserves, create something like a European high authority that can share and coordinate the use and exploration of energy? That would produce something different. Why not invent new proposals so that Israelis and Palestinians can find a way? We have to start to have this reconciliation in the Arab world. [...] Why do not the Arabs decide by themselves to say “we are adults and we want to have a better future for our children, the future generations”?

I was also the peace negotiator with Syria at a different time. The Syrian crisis was actually the focal point of Middle Eastern politics for several years and not just the Middle East. Waves of refugees rattled Europe in 2016 and 2016, and affected elections in Europe and Brexit, and the shockwaves reached all the way to the American elections at the end of 2016. refugees, terrorists, thousands of Isis recruits who were European citizens trained in Syria and Iraq, fought there and came back to Europe and some of them are actually in sleeping cells of terrorism. I hope we will not hear from them again the way we did in Paris and Brussels, but they are there. It is not a local crisis, it was a major international crisis and a terrible humanitarian tragedy with half a million killed, many wounded and maimed, almost six million refugees out of Syria and almost half of the population displaced inside Syria. [...] Turkey is a major interested actor. Largely the Kurdish question, the preoccupation, not to say obsession of Mr Erdogan, is not to have an autonomous area in Syria, certainly not to have a Turkish contiguity along the Turkish border and possibly connected to Iraq. After making this massive investment in keeping Assad in power, Iran wants to benefit, and it has whetted the appetite of the Iranians who want to use the presence in Syria in order to continue to build their regional hegemony, in an effort to build a second Lebanon against Israel. [...] Where does it leave us? It leaves us with a situation whereby the Syrian crisis, as distinct from the Syrian civil war, is far from being over. The normalisation of Syrian life, statehood, and politics will take several more years and the region and the world will have to continue to live with a Syrian problem that needs to be better managed in the future, than it has been in the past. Thank you.



# The consequences of Trump



**Michael Fullilove**  
Executive Director of the Lowy Institute, former Adviser to Prime Minister, Australia



**Rozlyn Engel**  
former Senior executive in charge of the Office of Macroeconomic Analysis in the U.S. Treasury Department, Non-resident Scholar in the Geo-Economics and Strategy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The President lacks the patience, discipline and interest to implement his will. The truth is, President Trump is not really interested in solving policy problems; he is interested in being seen to win. His style is to make a bold and unexpected move, declare victory and move on. Few believe that not having an Iran nuclear deal is a better way of preventing the Iranians from acquiring nuclear weapons than having one. Few really believe that North Korea will denuclearise, but that is to miss the point about President Trump. He is not interested in having victories; he is interested in being seen to win. Therefore, the deep state's resilience and the President's lack of interest have combined to limit the damage that Mr. Trump has done. He has put American interests in jeopardy, he has damaged international society, he has run down America's prestige, but he has not yet done irreversible harm. However, let me finish on this point. There are two reasons we should be a little nervous. First, Mr. Trump has not yet faced an externally-generated crisis. Most of his problems have been internally generated. Sooner or later he will face an externally-generated crisis. We remember that President Obama came to office right in the teeth of the global financial crisis. Can you imagine if we had a similar crisis now and our last line of defence in the Oval Office was Mr. Trump? Secondly, he could be goaded into making the kind of catastrophic error he has not yet made, such as starting an unnecessary war. Those are the reasons to be nervous.

Regarding the domestic economic policy front, the Trump administration does deserve some credit for spurring strong growth in the US through a number of policy steps that they have taken. Just yesterday we saw the third-quarter GDP report from the US; it was at 3.5%, and that is a relatively strong number that came on the back of a 4.2% second-quarter reading. Therefore, there is really no question that in the short term there has been a pretty strong growth spurt in the US. We could talk about the stimulus that went into that, but there is also something to be said for things like corporate tax reform, deregulation and a number of things the administration has done to be pro-business and pro-growth. [...] The World Economic Forum recently moved the US to the top spot on its global competitive index. I say that because you need to give the Trump administration credit where it is due; otherwise it just looks very partisan. I may talk about places where they have not been successful, places with a lot more smoke and a lot less fire. Regarding the spending cuts and the personal income tax deduction, those have been expansionary policies at a point in the cycle where it was not really necessary to spend that kind of money, and very likely there will be a significant amount of debt as a consequence and very little growth to show for it. The US just ran a USD 780 billion deficit in the last fiscal year at a time when it was growing at a very high rate. What happens when we hit a recession is a very concerning prospect, because in recessions that will just get worse.



# The consequences of Trump



**Ichiro Fujisaki**  
President of Nakasone Peace Institute, former Deputy Foreign Minister, former Ambassador to the United States, Japan



**Wang Jisi**  
President of the Institute of the International and Strategic Studies at Peking University

Regarding US-China, the manner of the Trump administration is something more than we expected. However, it is true that there are elements that have to be set sometime, like IPR. I thought we had gone through that in the 1970s and 1980s, and Japan was told a lot – we called it foreign pressure. We wondered why the Chinese were not told this. Was it too big to complain? I am not trying to defend everything Mr. Trump has been saying, but there is some truth in that as well. However, there is some concern that maybe Mr. Xi and Mr. Trump only want to hear what they want to hear from the surroundings, so that is something we have to be concerned about. [...] A lot of people think that America has been a stable partner that has moved, but I do not take that view. Maybe Americans would like to challenge me on that, but look at what happened in 1971 and 1972. Mr. Nixon suddenly changed the gold-dollar policy and his policy on China. We were shocked, because we were blindly following the US when Britain and France were already supporting Beijing. During the 1990s, when North Korea was doing some bad things, Mr. Clinton wanted to give a light water reactor to North Korea. What happened? Korea and Japan followed, and Mr. Bush came out and said it would not happen. Mr. Bush started the Iraq War. France and Germany said no, Japan and UK followed the US. Mr. Obama came out and said that that was wrong. Now Mr. Trump is saying that everything Mr. Obama did was wrong. The next leader may change the music again.

In viewing US-China trade war today, we should go beyond trade deficit and focus on China's industrial policies, as reflected in the Chinese government document Made in China 2025, which are more fundamental in the China-US competition. It is hard for neither side to make big concessions. US-China relations are undergoing increasing difficulties and are definitely deteriorating. Trump is actually controversial in China. He is not viewed as friendly to China, of course. But some Chinese like him. Why? Firstly, some Chinese people think Trump represents some kind of political correctness, and those people do not like multiculturalism. They express reservations about immigration to China from Africa and some Islamic countries, and they are afraid of Islamic extremism as reflected in China's Xinjiang region. The second group which likes Trump, ironically, may be seen in China's foreign policy communities, and they say that Trump is helping China. He is damaging the US in the world, making way for China's rise. He is doing a lot of harm to the US's image in the world, so China now has more strategic opportunities. The third grouping of people who admire Trump say he is a leader who delivers, who fulfils his promises, and who gives the US an economic advantage. Some people even say that Trump's pressure on China may help accelerate China's economic reform and opening up to the outside world, so that kind of pressure is not necessarily bad. China must take the advantage of competing with the US and use the opportunity for addressing its problems like IPR violations and excessive government interventions in economy.



## The consequences of Trump



**Ryu Jin Roy**

Chairman and CEO of Poongsan Group, Vice Chairman of the Korea-US Economic Council, Vice Chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries



**Igor Yurgens**

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



**Hubert Védrine**

former French Minister of Foreign Affairs

I am not that worried about trade issues the US has with China. The Chinese will blink in the end and there will be some kind of agreement. I am also cautiously optimistic that he may come back to the TPP; at least he wants to listen and talk. Do not believe everything he tweets, but look at what he does in the process and at what kind of actions he takes. That is what is important. Regarding the upcoming US midterm elections, it will be a do-or-die election for Donald Trump; if the Republicans win both the House and the Senate, he will have a very good chance of becoming a two-term president. Should the Republicans lose the House and win the Senate, as most people are predicting, he will be handicapped – the Democrats will be controlling the budgets. One thing is for sure – he will not be able to build that big wall on the US-Mexico border if the Democrats win. Should he lose both the House and the Senate, he will be in real trouble and could possibly face impeachment, depending on the outcome of the Muller investigation. [...] It is not about whether I like Trump or not. I still believe America is the greatest country in the world, and yes, America and the world will survive Donald Trump, whether it takes two more years or four more years.

Russia sees Trump as both a cyclical and a historical phenomenon. Similar change from Carter to Reagan symbolized the cyclical change from the policies of social justice to those of economic efficiency. Traditionally in foreign policy and bilateral relations Republicans were easier for the USSR and Russia than Democrats. Same happened two years ago. But the historical aspect of Trump consists of the existential change of the role of the USA in the world. Trump's protectionism has a geopolitical root. If China's strategy "Made in China 2025" is successful, the US economic and political future is gloomy. Internally Trump represents the fear of losing white dominance in the United States by the middle of the century due to demographic evolution. By the same token Trump is a great catalyzer of the return to the bipolar world – authoritarianism vs liberalism. China, Russia, Vietnam, Iran, Turkey in the foreseeable future can not be liberal democracies. However, in a way it is a more balanced international system than the unipolar world if we manage to negotiate a global security system like we did in Helsinki in 1975. Trump is the obstacle on the way to benign global governance. Protectionism, demagoguery, populism are not the way forward but are the retrograde movement. By moving backwards we exhaust the planet and civilization we live in. New enlightenment, new convergence of religion and science, of socialism and capitalism – these are the problems we have to address at forums like World Policy Conference.

Mr. Trump is not at the root of all of America's geopolitical violence, but he exacerbates it on all levels. His behaviour, his words and his way of being President clearly exacerbate the climate of confrontation in the country which, some say, has never been that divided since the Civil War. [...] How far will things go with China? I think they can go pretty far, both commercially and economically. I do not rule out the possibility that one day there may be an actual showdown, in particular concerning free movement: i.e., the question of Chinese territorial waters. [...] As things currently stand, a President like Trump could take the entire global dollarised, digitised economy hostage, using Swift. His aim is to create a civil war, to overthrow the Iranian regime. [...] With the United States exiting, even if California still remains on board, and even if there are many companies and many researchers committed, other parties feel uninhibited, and this has exceedingly serious implications for ecology, and for everything else. [...] I think he can trigger a ripple effect, a spread of this type of violent attitude, not just verbal. [...] I am convinced that the United States will one day return, not to the theory of multilateralism, but to the practice of international cooperation, once it has seen the relative failure of the "every man for himself" motto during Mr. Trump's term, on the Chinese question and other issues. They will come back to it, in their own way, by deciding to direct it. But that's not just yet. I believe the main question is: how will all those who are worried, shocked and helpless organise during the period between now and the time when the United States will once again become a partner in international cooperation?



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



**Carlos Ghosn**  
Chairman and CEO of Renault-Nissan-Mitsubishi, Chairman and CEO of  
Renault, Chairman of Nissan Motor Company and Mitsubishi Motors

Thinking about political obstacles cannot help us, but what helps us is the fact that we are different companies and cultures, with different strengths and weaknesses, allowing us in a certain way to avoid blind spots. The French and Japanese are very different, with different cultures and understandings of the world, and there are different strengths in each culture. That is the beauty of the alliance – when you are facing an unknown situation, whatever the political situation might be, or when you are facing an unknown technology where you do not know where it will lead you, the fact that different cultures are looking at the same phenomenon with different eyes allows many more opportunities and chances to get to the right answer. That is how we are looking at it. I do not think we will avoid the risk, but when facing the risk, you will probably get a much better answer than if you were looking at it from only one angle. I am limiting myself when I say Renault is a French company; it is not only a French company – it is a French company with a global reach. Nissan is not only a Japanese company – it is a Japanese company with a global reach. Therefore, Chinese, American, Russian and Indian people work in the company, but what is also important is the culture of origin, which will stay with it for a very long time.



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MODERATOR:

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

SESSION 10 • SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27 • 10:45 – 12:00

## The North Korean issue



**Tsakhia Elbegdorj**  
former President of Mongolia



**Wang Jisi**  
President of the Institute of the International and Strategic  
Studies at Peking University



**Douglas Paal**  
Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for  
International Peace

I had the chance to meet many people from the North Korean leadership circle, and also professors, security experts and even defectors from North Korea. I thought for some time that change could happen in North Korea. Mongolia had a similar political establishment, and now it is a free and liberal establishment, but the kind of change we made in Mongolia will never happen in North Korea in the face of this dictatorship, and I do not believe that North Korean society will change in the face of the current leadership. Regarding the North Korean nuclear issue, there are three major factors, the first being that many people think that the North Korean leader is the only leader there, but he has very experienced elder leader team which has seen more than 10 American administrations. That is the experienced team he has. Secondly, he has the second largest economy and power in his backyard. Thirdly, North Korea as a regime has a great ability to hide things, and I know that many people think that North Korea can be rid of the nuclear bomb, which I do not believe.

China is very happy in terms of security, with the recent thaw in tensions between the US and North Korea and the improvement in North-South relations. However, many in Chinese policy circles question whether Kim Jong-un is very sincere in his commitment to denuclearisation. Therefore, if North Korea does not quickly dismantle its nuclear facilities, there may be more dangers of a military conflict that will impair China's security interest. After all, China's top concern is stability, and North Korea's political survival is very important to China. Meanwhile, there are suspicions in China toward both the US and North Korea, and most Chinese in policy circles say that the US, rather than North Korea, is the major source of instability. They note that the US is targeting North Korea only superficially, and the real long-term target is China. Look at THAAD, for instance; the Americans say that it is directed against North Korea, but most military specialists in China are saying that THAAD is intended against China, and there are even suspicions that North Korea could reach a tacit understanding or some kind of agreement that they could keep some of their nuclear devices if they were not threatening the US. Therefore, the worry in the long run is that the nuclear weapons kept by North Korea could be turned against China, because it is closer to China, and along with the improvement of US-North Korea and North-South relations, China might lose some leverage. The Chinese are very suspicious that a deal between them could be made at the expense of China's security interests.

Fast forward to where we are today, and we have gone from a position of absolute opposition to the continuation of the so-called comprehensive, verifiable, irreversible denuclearisation of North Korea to something that has a new name but in reality is an acknowledgement that we have a new member in the club. We will not give them a pass, but like Israel and India, there is a new nuclear power in the world and North Korea is it. The question is now on what terms, what we want them to do to reduce their capacity to make more weapons, whether closing Yongbyon facility down or some others. We have gone from having very unrealistic expectations to having much more modest expectations of what can be achieved through bilateral negotiations. [...] The South Korean President has been soldiering on in all of this with his own purposes to establish more and more linkages, trying not to transgress the lines drawn by the UNSC resolutions but increasingly doing so. Therefore, at the end of this situation we have China as a big winner. South Korea's leader is a big winner politically; that may not be sustainable in a democracy. North Korea is a big winner in this, and Trump, at least for the moment, is seen by Americans as having gone from threatening fire and fury to having a love affair with the North Korean leader. It is actually selling with the American people that he has brought peace, so it is a four-way win out of a very messy situation.



# The North Korean issue



**Yim Sung-joon**  
Senior Advisor at Lee International IP & Law Group, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea



**Hosoya Yuichi**  
Professor at the Faculty of Law of Keio University, former Member of the Advisory Board at Japan's National Security Council (NSC)



**Georgy Toloraya**  
Director of Asian Strategy Center at the Institute of Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Despite Kim Jong-un's stated commitment toward denuclearization of North Korea, which appeared in the joint statements at the two Summits with President Moon and President Trump, we don't know when and how Kim plans to give up his nuclear weapons and ICBMs. He seems to create an appearance of willingness to denuclearize, but none of the agreements indicate any roadmap on establishing a process for denuclearization. Kim Jong-un's negotiation style and tactics, known as brinksmanship and a "salmi-slicing tactic," have not changed. [...] South Korean conservative experts believe that Mr. Kim's real intention is not to disarm but to use denuclearization negotiations as a vehicle to make the Korean peninsula safer only for North Korea, by removing the US military presence and getting rid of the international sanctions so it can improve its economic development. [...] President Trump deserves credit for his active outreach to North Korea, although not on his own initiative, and commitment toward a peaceful resolution of the North Korean nuclear issue. [...] Unlike their hailing President, the bureaucrats and experts in Washington seem to have felt frustration, disappointment and even shock at the poor results of the "historic" summit in Singapore.

What the Japanese Government is doing is not to isolate or contain North Korea but try to persuade North Koreans to come back to the original position of the agreement, which the North Korean Government itself accepted. That is why it would be possible to see that the Japanese position is tough – because the international community has been retreating from the position to which it agreed in 2005, 2006 and 2008 in the UN and also in the six-party talks. Japan can also play a very significant role in the process of reconstructing North Korea once the rapprochement and peace talks are advanced. The Japanese Government agreed in the Pyongyang Declaration that once a peace treaty was concluded, Japan would provide economic assistance to North Korea as a kind of war reparation. Japan started economic assistance to South Korea in 1965, at the time of the treaty between Japan and South Korea, and that is why Japan was willing to provide an equal amount of economic assistance to North Korea. It means that North Korea can get a huge amount of economic assistance from Japan, and this would be an essential foundation for the reconstruction of the North Korean economy. That is why, at some point, North Korea would be willing to invite Japan to join in talks on the reconstruction of the country.

I have been watching Korea for more than 45 years, and it has always been like a pendulum, swinging from extreme tension to some kind of détente, but these days, the amplitude of this pendulum is stunning. I knew the former leader Kim Jong-il comparatively well, and he compared his negotiations with the US to a chess game. I believe that the current leader, his son Kim Jong-un, prefers poker, nuclear poker, and the stakes are much higher these days. However, now we have the most peaceful and promising period in the Korean situation for many years and if this situation persists, I would give the Nobel Peace Prize to President Trump, President Moon and Kim Jong-un. I do not know if it can be divided into three, but now we have the most peaceful period, and that satisfies almost everyone apart from conservatives who want to push North Korea down by sanctions and pressure. [...] There is one more thing about North Korea, about them cheating and breaking their obligations. One rule I have acquired over years of dealing with North Koreans is that you should understand they will fulfil the obligations they have taken on themselves, not those you think they have taken, and usually there is a misunderstanding that they must do this or that – if they have not agreed to doing it, they will not. Therefore, you should be very objective and not disrupt negotiations. The longer they go on the better it is for both regional cooperation and the international order.



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MODERATOR:

**Ronnie C. Chan**  
Chairman of Hang Lung  
Properties



# One Belt, One Road



## Leung Chun-Ying

Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief Executive, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China



## Shiv Vikram Khemka

Vice Chairman of SUN Group, Executive Chairman of The Global Education & Leadership Foundation, India



## Bayu Krisnamurthi

Former Vice Minister of Trade of Indonesia

Regarding Belt and Road, I have two basic points. One is that the BRI is not limited to the 60plus countries that are found along the traditional Belt and Road. For example, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer and the US Secretary of Commerce also actively participated at the Belt and Road Summit, held in Beijing in May last year. Over 100 countries were represented in Beijing for that occasion. Secondly, there are five connectivities. Much has been said about the successes and failures of the international and regional infrastructure projects, but there are actually five connectivities under the BRI – policies, facilities, trade, capital and people-to-people connectivity. I will return to these a bit later. The basic premise of the BRI is that the world is highly connected, and although it is already highly connected, it can be better connected through more focused international cooperation. In the past, we have overlooked certain parts of the world in terms of connectivity, we have overlooked certain parts of connectivity, and we have overlooked certain ways of enhancing connectivity, so it is time, in this increasingly globalising world, to have focused actions. [...] Let me just conclude by saying this. 'No man is an island.' What I would like to say instead is that no man should be an island.

The West, from the Russian perspective, in the last 15 years and especially since sanctions in 2014, has really pushed Russia eastwards and to a much more Sino-centric view of the world, and that has meant that Russia today sees BRI as a tremendous opportunity to encourage growth within Russia, to create greater connectivity with Asia, and a viable strategy to engage with the East, rather than its predominant strategy which was always to engage more with the West. [...] India, on the other hand, has a much more cautious view of the BRI. The Chinese have invested USD 62 billion in something called the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the largest single BRI project, and it goes through disputed territory, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. [...] While BRI has had no appreciable investment in or connectivity with India, makes India feel that this is a strategic encirclement, a containment strategy, for India's growth over the next 20 to 30 years, and this has made India nervous. [...] The truth lies between those two extremes, and from my point of view, I welcome the BRI as a chance to bring necessary infrastructure to the planet. It is great to see someone taking leadership on that. The question is: Under what rules will that investment be made? Will it be made on the basis of a multilateral, rules-based system, or will it be a purely Sino-centric system where all disputes are resolved in Shenzhen and Xiang, as they are at the moment?

Thank you Ronnie and of course congratulations to Thierry and the WPC for this excellent conference. We need to see OBOR as an infrastructure development initiative at its core. Whether or not we use land or sea, this is the first such initiative of this scale, which is why 60 countries, including Indonesia, have already welcomed it. [...] An initiative we call the Maritime Corridor Development is part of developing infrastructure within Indonesia. Therefore, we welcome these infrastructure developments. However, the question is whom this infrastructure serves, and I believe that BRI needs to serve the Sustainable Development Goals – poverty reduction, food security, energy security, employment creation and so on. I would like to underline food, energy and maybe water security. Many of the countries involved in BRI have big needs in these areas. We face climate change, and in Indonesia we also need to have disaster preparedness as a part of infrastructure development, as well as post-disaster rehabilitation in terms of earthquakes, tsunamis and so forth. [...] If the BRI can be implemented by China and other countries, this will create a new multilateral setup, not only dealing with agreements, diplomacy or negotiation, but it will be bound by physical infrastructure, and that will create a different ballgame in terms of multilateralism.



MODERATOR:  
**Jean Pisani-Ferry**  
European University  
Institute, Tommaso  
Padoa-Schioppa chair,  
and Senior Fellow at  
Bruegel

## The future of the euro



**Ashoka Mody**  
Charles and Marie Robertson Visiting Professor in  
International Economic Policy at the Woodrow Wilson School  
at Princeton University



**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
President of Bruegel and former President of the ECB



**Olivier Blanchard**  
Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for  
International Economics, former Chief Economist of the IMF

The main point is that the warnings came very early, in March 1971, very soon after the original proposal on monetary union in October 1970. Nicholas Kaldor, who was one of the great economists of the 20th century, was the first to say that the single currency would amplify economic divergence among member countries. [...] Through the rest of the 1970s, Robert Marjolin, a name known to this audience, one of the great Eurocrats of the post-war era, a key catalyst of the Treaty of Rome, was very opposed to the monetary union because he said that the nation-state was still alive. Because the nation-state was still alive, the idea that there would be compromises that would allow the creation of some kind of political structure within which compromises could be made and a political union created was simply not going to happen. Therefore, he opposed the monetary union even though he was deeply pro-European. Indeed, the rest of the story is that Kaldor's ghost and Marjolin's ghost have been stalking the Eurozone. You see this great divergence that occurs – Italian per capita income today is marginally lower than it was in 1999, at the time of the start of the monetary union. France, since the start of the crisis in 2008, has barely grown, whereas Germany has continued to grow. This is exactly what Kaldor had predicted, that the divergence would increase, and because the divergence has increased, Germany is trading less with France and Italy, one of its principal trading partners at the time of the Euro, and has increased its trade with China in particular, but also with non-Euro European countries like the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland.

I will be positive, and I think I can prove my points. First of all, when we started the Euro, scepticism was generalised. The expectation was that the new currency would be non-credible internationally and domestically. But we have delivered stability internationally. The value of the Euro is today approximately at the same level vis-à-vis the Dollar as when it started. [...] On resilience, I already said that the currency proved its resilience in the worst financial circumstances since World War Two that could even have been the worst since World War One. We were 15 countries in the Euro area on September 15th when Lehman Brothers collapsed; the 15 countries are still there. Even more, four new countries came in after Lehman Brothers. [...] Regarding popular support, we were told that there was no real popular support for the Euro, that the opposition to the euro was augmenting considerably. This is not the case at all, at least according to the surveys that are publicly available, particularly the Eurobarometer. Asked in the last published survey whether they trusted the EU, 42% of the EU responded positively, with only 34% trust for national institutions. [...] Regarding divergences inside the Euro area, I will go back to a very good analysis by the IMF. It was said that the Euro would permit a formidable rapprochement between the various member countries, including on the criteria of GDP per capita.

The Euro has real problems that Jean-Claude Trichet did not emphasise but Ashoka Mody over-emphasised. They can be alleviated but not eliminated. For most members, although perhaps not all, the Euro is the least bad of monetary and exchange rate arrangements. The basic problem of the Euro is the original sin. Robert Mundell stated conditions for an optimal currency area, and it is clear that the Euro just does not satisfy those conditions. Countries have different shocks. Labor mobility across countries is low. Wage and price adjustments are too slow. Little can be done about the first two. The focus should be on improving the third. This requires improvement on three fronts. At the euro level, higher average inflation, to allow countries which need to depreciate to do it without requiring decreases in nominal wages. This is the job of the ECB. At the euro level, respect of the macroeconomic rules of the game. Countries with current account deficits must depreciate, i.e. have lower inflation than the average. But also, countries with current account surpluses must appreciate, i.e. have higher inflation than the average. Germany is not playing by these rules. At the national level, we need more trust between social partners to allow for a faster, less painful adjustment of wages and prices. While trust is not built in a day, and there is no magic recipe, trilateral discussions at the national level can improve the outcome.



# Young Leaders



**Mathilde Pak**  
Economist in the Structural Policy Analysis Division of the Economics Department at OECD



**Marco Janmaat**  
Founder and Director of VR Owl, Netherlands

Gig economy platforms use digital technologies to match workers with customers, on a per task (“gig”) basis. They can be physical and local or online and worldwide. They can be routine and without specific qualification, or they can be high-skilled and require professional diploma. Gig economy platforms are intermediaries in the labour market. [...] There are two key features of gig economy platforms’ business model. First, they develop trust-building mechanisms, such as the curation entry and exit to the platform; reputation rating; customer support and insurance; and intermediation of payments. Second key feature, they rapidly match the supply of workers to fluctuations in demand by resorting to digital matching algorithms; self-employed contractors and surge pricing. [...] Gig economy platforms have reduced the prevalence of market failures in the services market. And level playing field should be promoted by applying the regulations to all providers on equal footing and harmonising social contributions and value added tax across providers. [...] Strong product market competition would limit the risk of the emergence of dominant players by promoting mobility between platforms by limiting abusive clauses that prevent switching and multi-homing and the possibility to transfer reputation ratings across platforms. [...] Strong product market competition would also limit the risk of dominant players in the labour market, but improving working conditions for platform workers will additionally require adapting labour market regulation, rules on collective bargaining, social protection and training.

VR Owl, my company basically does two things. Firstly, we build VR and AR applications for companies and we help to implement them in the organisation, and secondly, we have built an urban planning tool which allows us to generate 3D maps from geographical data and translate them into VR. Therefore, we can show people their future environment, [...] Basically, what AR allows us to do is, we put in the glass, and instead of seeing our phone or looking at a screen, we could literally just open our hands and literally display the digital information on them. We could literally decide that we want to have our TV this big tonight, and place it on the wall. Starting to think in terms of these constructs brings in a lot of elements. Who owns this digital space? What if you were walking in the street and you received a whole stream of ads in your face? These questions live, on the one hand, inside the technology world. How will we shape this world? How will the AR world look? Regarding governance, how will we regulate this? There is still quite a gap there, and in the future, I hope we will be able to bridge it.



# Young Leaders



**Natasha Franck**  
Founder and CEO of EON Group, United States



**Tarek Ouertani**  
Head of Marketing at ProGlove, Germany



**Hermine Durand**  
Head of Division at the French Nuclear Safety Authority

The Internet of Things (IoT) also introduces new challenges at the intersection of policy, big-data and environmental product stewardship. How should and will policy solutions shape the future of IoT? How can we harness the power of IoT technology for sustainability and improvements in global environmental policy? It is one of the most important things that policymakers, entrepreneurs and technology companies need to get right.

We had a closer look at manufacturing in the automotive sector and saw that all operators have one thing in common – they all wear gloves, and this is where ProGlove comes in, because we made those gloves smart. We made those gloves into an industrial IoT feature. There is a module on top with a small computer, a camera, a tracking device, motion sensors, optical, acoustic and haptic feedback options, and even a textile trigger at the side of your index finger. When you push this trigger, you can actually see that the engine has been released, so IKEA, BMW and all types of grocery stores use it to identify objects and to make sure they assemble the right part at the right time. [...] Regarding regulation, there are also issues with this new technology. We have a technology attached to the worker, and the unions, of course, ask what we are doing with this data and about privacy issues. What about the privacy of a worker? I want to give you an example of an enquiry at an earlier stage of our company, where a big US manufacturer asked us what could be tracked with our glove. They imagined their workforce just like a football team, with the players on the field, and when they did not perform, they wanted to exchange them. This is a boundary that we do not want to address. We think that we can address problems in the industry while giving anonymised data to the process owner, but it is up to regulation to define how much traceability the company owners can use to optimise their processes.

The French Nuclear Safety Authority is in charge, on behalf of the State, with regulating nuclear safety and radiation protection in order to protect workers, patients, the public and the environment from the risks involved in nuclear activities. The aging of French nuclear power plants is a challenge for the operator but also the regulator. At the same time, nuclear safety inspectors only have access to very basic tools to help them do their job. Going digital is necessary to improve the regulation of nuclear power plants for the benefit of citizens but must be undertaken carefully. IT should be used to optimise information flows (even have full access to the operator's data), better exploit the huge amounts of data owned by the regulator (as an example, ASN owns more than 20 000 inspection reports) and create new tools to save time (like automatic generation of documents). Better nuclear safety regulation can bring better protection of the public and the environment. Beyond that, digital transformation can also help improve nuclear social acceptance, for instance by involving citizens in the collection of radioactivity measurements and opening the data to the public. However, the key condition to get digital transformation bring such benefits to the regulator and the citizens is to ensure full security of information systems, which is a major challenge today.



## Some basic European strategic issues



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



**Josep Borrell**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation  
of Spain, former President of the European Parliament



**Karin Kneissl**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria

Migration is a matter of strategy for Europe, in three respects: 1) From a political standpoint, it has made its entry into national-level political debate in a way that has a lot to do with the rise of populism, which is being used as a flag bearer and even as an excuse to begin deploying regressive methods that assail the principles fundamental to the right of law and European values. This will have consequences for European construction. 2) From an economic perspective, we need migrants and a workforce, while the economic growth experienced by Africa will not be sufficient to absorb the growth of its population. 3) From a social standpoint, how can we guarantee equal opportunity for new citizens who are just arriving and experiencing major difficulties with integration? To conclude: migration is not limited to a period or a circumstance. It is not a matter of effective management, but of strategy for the future. It will not pass; it will amplify. There must be responsibility and solidarity all at once. There must be agreements with the countries of origin so that those not entitled to asylum can return home quickly and efficiently. Otherwise, thousands of people will disperse into the underground economy, which will then undermine the foundations of our society.

It is not only China's foreign policy, but also its economic investment policy which, in the end, becomes a geopolitical strategy as well. In Southeastern Europe, China's activities consist of taking aim at crucial infrastructures: ports, airports and railway. [...] We made no mistake about China's potential, but to make progress together, we will need well-enforced rules, transparency, openness in the awarding of public contracts, in particular intellectual property and risk-sharing. I am convinced that Europe and China can agree on one essential principle together – the need to set out a methodology that respects all of our interests – and that this initiative will be able to develop the reconstruction of effective multilateralism in response to the challenge we are facing together.



## Some basic European strategic issues



**Michael Lothian**

Member of the House of Lords, former Conservative Member of Parliament



**Nicolas Véron**

Senior Fellow at Bruegel and at the Peterson Institute for International Economics



**Jean-Louis Boulanges**

Member of the French Parliament, former Member of the Court of Auditors and of the European Parliament

The UK is leaving the EU with Brexit, but it is not leaving Europe. We are an inextricable part of Europe, but we are an island, and the problem arose there. We have never felt at ease with the constricts of the EU. We could have lived quite happily with the Europe des Patries of General de Gaulle. We could have made progress in the Economic Community, which is what we originally joined, but we were always uncomfortable with the drive towards ever-closer union and eventual integration, and that is where the crisis arose. [...] Our future role in Europe. First of all, regarding security, in the face of current global insecurity, it is already necessary to envisage a coordinated European response, and I use the word 'European' because this is not about the EU. [...] We should already be preparing to ensure, if anything, that the UK and the nations of the EU can share the maximum of intelligence most effectively to combat international terrorism. This is an urgent matter of cooperation. The next area where we will need to co-operate is in facing the cyber challenge. [...] Another vital area will be on the defence front, with all the various elements that this must encompass. The world around Europe becomes ever more fraught, and it is a dangerous fantasy to believe that the European military capacity could step up to the plate without a substantial British component involved as well. [...] Add to that our acknowledge expertise in the field of special forces, which will increasingly become the weapon of choice in any land war, and Britain's role will become even more relevant.

The euro has a bad press, and panels about it are generally about all the problems. [...] The story of the eurozone crisis is a story of policy mistakes and learning, but it is also a story of survival. In mid-2012, the most critical moment in the whole sequence of crises, even the most level-headed observers could not take it for granted that the Euro would not break up. The crucial moment of decision was the European summit of late June 2012, when the eurozone countries decided to hang together rather than hang separately, and I view that as the turning point of the entire sequence of crisis. Basically, survival creates legitimacy as of itself. But it is not only that; the eurozone construct is now much stronger than it was at the beginning of the crisis. There are two main differences. One is the creation of the European Stability Mechanism, which is a big pot of money, about EUR 500 billion— which is far from negligible – in lending capacity, so that is pretty easy to understand. The other thing, which is slightly more complicated and more of a halfway house, is the banking union, but that also makes a big difference. Those who remember the negotiations of the Maastricht Treaty remember that banking supervision was very actively discussed at the time, and in the end it was ruled out because it was considered politically impossible. Therefore, from this perspective, the establishment of the banking union, the single supervisory mechanism at the ECB, means that the whole financial system in the eurozone eventually comes under a single point of oversight. The banking system, the vast majority of the system, is really a big gap being plugged, compared with the initial discussions around the creation of the euro.

The political game thus plays out between: 1/Progressivism, which has had its wings clipped; 2/A reformist conservatism that is looking for a middle path; 3/An ultra-reactionary conservatism that has no qualms, on the claim that it wants to preserve anything, to shake everything up. Reactionary conservatism is very strong, but is held back by the fact that it is revolutionary and scares people. The euro is an unquestionable success from the political standpoint. Everyone is rallying around the euro. All those who previously stood in opposition to the euro have accepted it. We are seeing some dilution in the anti-European discourse of some of the populist movements. Concurrent to this, from the electoral standpoint, all the forecasts show that the populist movements will likely hit a ceiling at 20-25%. They will most likely not be able to form a counter-majority in the future European Parliament. The second key characteristic of the future Euro-Parliamentary map is the end of the EPP-PES condominium. Because both the right and the left are being deeply reshaped by electoral trends. The left is split between a social democracy in profound crisis and anti-European populism. On the right, the EPP is deeply divided. It is having a great deal of trouble locking up the right's space. It will keep Viktor Orbán's party in its numbers, but its main objective will be to recover the Polish right. If Poland joins the pro-European side, the Hungarians will become what they always meant to be, that is to say the most intelligent of the marginal and the most marginal of the intelligent! We have not reached that point yet. The EPP will have trouble remaining as powerful as it was yesterday, and the condominium it traditionally formed with the socialists will no longer be the only one in charge of the Euro-Parliamentary space.



## Some impacts of a connected world



MODERATOR:

**Virginie Robert**  
Chief Editor of the  
international desk, Les  
Echos



**François Barrault**

Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, Chairman and Founder of FDB  
Partners



**Chang Dae-whan**

Chairman and Publisher, Maekyung Media Group, Member of  
the Global Commission on Internet Governance, former acting  
Prime minister of Korea

The big revolution technology has brought is instant access to knowledge and information anytime, anywhere. Knowledge has been an asset discriminating poor and rich for centuries. [...] You share your car, your home, your apartment, your office, and you share information and experiences, and regarding what it means for business? It creates then new reflexes and questions: should I own a car or a flat or should I just use it according to my wishes in a peer-to-peer platform. [...] There will be three parallel revolutions in the next 18 months that will change our lives even more. First of all, the speed of communication will be multiplied by 10. [...] The power of the new Quantum Computer will also set new Moore's law standard and the capacity of storage will be infinite, cheap or free and secured. Finally, the next generation of algorithms will aggregate all programmes in the cloud at the speed of light. [...] We need to remember that the Internet, which was the biggest industrial revolution ever, changing our lives and creating trillions of dollars in stock market value, was built without any governance. [...] These data belong to entities that we do not control and that monetise them on our back. This enriches mainly Anglo-Saxon pension funds and the very happy investors of the beginning. [...] I think the real debate has to do with access to digital technology by the whole population, on the same level as water, food and education. [...] Before talking about ethics, I feel it is crucial that we re-establish this economic balance, which is, moreover, totally concentrated.

I suggest the creation of an "ideal city", coming from Plato, which means that everybody has a digital twin which you can join with and suggest your own ideas. It is possible to realise such a future city in three-dimensional cyberspace. Many urban problems will be simulated in the virtual city to find the most suitable solution. Achieving this requires a digital platform, and many countries, such as Estonia, Finland and Andorra, are doing this. The smart city can be a key to global governance as it can solve global problems that the nation cannot. Let us look at a small town in Switzerland, Zug, where an initial crypto-currency offering was implemented. New jobs surged, and while the city population remains at 30 000, 40 000 jobs were created due to the creation of a virtual city with a digital platform dealing with global crypto-currency transactions. North Korea can become a smart city testbed since it does not have any regulations on the expansion of fourth industrial revolution technologies. North Korea is the most suitable site for implementing the ideal city. Moreover, Korea has the experience in the proper technology for exporting a new city construction model. We have engaged in a lot of construction activity in Dubai, Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia, and South Korea has lots of experience in building new towns, even in Iraq and Iran. The ideal city will not only solve the underdevelopment problem in North Korea, but it will also be able to contribute to global peace and prosperity.



# Some impacts of a connected world



**Patrick Nicolet**  
Group Chief Technology Officer and Group Executive Board Member of Capgemini



**Tobby Simon**  
Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG), Member of the Trilateral Commission, Founder and President of Synergia Foundation



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

We see a clear imbalance about what we do related to the importance of data, and this will fundamentally influence the geopolitical relationships. I would propose, to be practical, three areas where we might want to focus. The first is the redefinition of trust through technology. Trust is fundamental to all human interactions. Part of this trust will be in technology. The citizens trust technology more than they trust their government: how is it you let foreigners sleep in your own bed just because a platform (Airbnb) is telling you it is okay to do so, but you would not leave your door open trusting the police to keep your place safe? The second topic is around ethics. It is a fundamental concern with the development of AI, and I am not even speaking of other transgressive trends such as transhumanism. How is it that we had an extensive debate when biotechnology arrived, and here, we are not having it? This creates fundamental questions about how you are going to design the technology and solutions going forward. Finally, we need to address the question of the governance and I will take one example: cybersecurity. A cyber-warfare is ongoing as we speak. All our companies and corporations are currently being attacked, and it is something new, in a context of little to no-regulation, and we must protect ourselves. Microsoft's General Counsel, Brad Smith has launched Tech Accord, an initiative to develop common rules of engagement, a Geneva Convention for the cyberspace.

What is the challenge? It is quite evident. The future is quite unlike the past, and the capacity to manage current global events has not kept pace with the growth in the complexity and danger of those events. The biggest challenge at the national level for politicians and policymakers worldwide is the need to balance the enormous benefits of global openness and connectivity with national priorities and policies, for example the need to protect local jobs and industry. [...] Cyber-attacks could trigger massive outages in a hyper-connected world. [...] It is a signal, and the messaging is quite clear; in a hyperconnected world, there is the potential ability to attack or disrupt an industry, a government or critical infrastructure anywhere in the world. [...] Social media allow information to be transmitted around the world at breakneck speed. While the benefits of all this are obvious and documented, our hyper-connected world could also witness the rapid spread of fake news or fake narratives either intentionally or unintentionally, resulting in misleading or provocative positions with serious consequences. [...] Global leadership and governance in a hyper-connected world has become distributed and collaborative. [...] I reiterate that global governance is not about leaders charting their own course anymore. It is about helping networks solve problems with the best and most current thinking available. Collaboration is the new competition, and the more valuable our contributions are, the greater our influence will be in a hyper-connected world.

Regarding the impact of the connected world on governance, the greater the connection, the greater the dependence that is created, and the greater the dependence, the greater the vulnerability and risk. We have seen that, and we see the risk to privacy which is playing out in the policy and governance discussions on the protection of personal data. The risk to business assets is playing out in terms of how we deal with cyber-espionage. The risk to integrity of data is playing out in the fake news area. The risk to security is playing out in the cyberwarfare area. We can say about these risks that they are qualitatively different from the risks of the past, and they are qualitatively different for several reasons, first of all because they are international in character, and that is just an obvious thing, but it is not necessarily the case with risk frameworks of the past. The second is that they are occurring at an accelerated speed, and the third is that they are very radical, a product of the accumulation of knowledge. Sherlock Holmes says that knowledge begets knowledge as money begets interest, and that is what is happening, of course, with the degree of knowledge in the world. [...] We face a situation which is a perfect storm in many respects – new risks of a different nature, which are stressing and disrupting the governance institutions we have known, because they were designed for walled cities, different situations, and difficult to move forward, because this is also the area where we have huge differences and the area of competition. Therefore, we have to radically rethink our governance models to deal with new forms of risk.



MODERATOR:  
**Thomas Gomart**  
Director of Ifri

# Final debate



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



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



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

Allow me first to respond to Thierry’s opening address invitation to us all, to consider all forms of common good to humankind. What is more common to mankind than the “human dimension” itself? [...] Two main threats: 1/The potential breakdown of the ecological and environmental order; 2/The “technological disruption”, whose outcome would be the collapse of human civilization and the paralysis of Humanity at large. To avoid the first one, the post-carbon revolution has urgently to take place on the global level. Hopes are stemming from some initiatives, like IORA blue economy, [...] As for the second, rapid answers to secure better all technology systems should be provided to prevent this dreadful prospect. The tremendous rapidity of technological change is already a source of anxiety. The rising inequalities and disparities, in that respect may mean massive “digital refugees”. Emerging identities, result of hybridization and cross-fertilization, are becoming the majority with many implied benefits. [...] Rachid Guerraoui. A Moroccan elected this year in the « Collège de France », where he delivered his first lesson on 25th October on « The Algorithm in search for lost universality ». Ilham Kadri, a Moroccan woman who has been appointed CEO of the world’s largest chemical firm: the belgian Group Solvay. [...] The Nobel Peace Prize provides us with a very good news in that respect. It has been attributed to two personalities from the third world, totally engaged against sexual violence and its use as a weapon in conflicts. [...] A proof that our “humanity” - our common shared public good - ultimately prevails and is still kicking and alive.

President Trump is a truly transformative president in nine ways. 1/ He has transformed the Republican Party from a free-trade, internationalist, engaged party into a protectionist, anti-immigrant, America-first, populist party. [...] 2/ He has transformed American politics more broadly. The moderate middle of American politics has collapsed, and the willingness of Republicans and Democrats to find areas of compromise is almost non-existent. [...] 3/ He has transformed global politics as well by skilfully playing an anti-immigrant, nationalist, populist card. [...] 4/ He has transformed in an unprecedented way the relationship of the American presidency with key US institutions that had previously been thought sacrosanct. [...] 5/ In a transformative break from the tradition that presidents respect, even if they might disagree with international agreements reached by their predecessors, he has withdrawn from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement, from NAFTA and from the Paris Climate Change Agreement. [...] 6/ He is transforming US relations with our key European allies. [...] 7/ He is transforming US policy in the Middle East, which has always been, and rightly so, strongly supportive of Israel’s security, but which also tried to be balanced by earning the trust of Palestinians. US funds have just been cut off to the Palestinian Authority. 8/ He has transformed decades of bipartisan American trade policy, showing a deep distrust of multilateral trade agreements. [...] 9/ Emboldened by his success in bludgeoning other countries into submission, he is transforming our relations with China in ways that will shape the 21st century profoundly. This confrontation is more than just a trade dispute – it is a clash between a rising world power and an established one.

The discussions at this World Policy Conference were much influenced by the global impact of President Trump of the US, as well as the evolving possible hostile relationship between the US and China. The following 6 points are intended to capture the essence of many interesting discussions. 1/Consequences of Trump. As accomplishments he has already inflicted serious and lasting damage on the global role of the USA, the post war multilateral architecture and on the shape of global geopolitical evolution. He has reduced America’s influence as leader of the western world and as the opponent of autocrats and non democratic regimes. 2/Future of international trade without the USA. Is the possible ? Perhaps. 3/Escape from the North Korea dilemma without denuclearization.The current strategy of sanctions has failed and new approaches must be taken. 4/Pessimistic conclusions from the Energy and Climate change break out session. Governments have failed to arrest the obvious challenges to the biosphere of climate change. Will new technologies emerge accompanied by necessary adaptation for survival? 5/A major educational challenge of the 21st century illustrated by the dearth of necessary intellectual skills in the USA. Technology is moving so quickly that millions of jobs of the future are not yet identified. How to prepare students for these uncertainties ? 6/China and the US, a tense relationship. China will soon be the largest economy in history. In that position will replace the west, and especially the US, in setting the rules and standards for commerce and finance?



## Final debate



**Tadakatsu Sano**  
Attorney-at-law at Jones Day, Former Director-General of the Trade Policy Bureau and Vice Minister for International Affairs



**Bernardino León Gross**  
Director General of the Emirates Diplomatic Academy in the UAE, former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Head of the UN Support Mission in Libya



**Pierre Morel**  
Director of the Observatoire Pharos, former EU Special Representative for Central Asia and the Crisis in Georgia

Anti-globalization, populism. One significant issue we discussed at the Seattle conference was the so-called Investor-State Dispute Settlement, whereby global companies can raise any kind of complaint or claim directly to a host government. [...] In the TPP negotiations during the Obama Administration, the U.S. had from the beginning strongly urged the inclusion of this clause in the TPP. As you know, under the Trump Administration, the U.S. finally pulled out of the TPP, giving as one reason that it included an ISDS clause. What a surprising development! [...] The US vs China. [...] In fact, this war is about hegemony, in particular in the field of cyber-technology, cyberspace, AI and so forth. [...] Maybe we could appreciate the benefits of the EU's approach when we are addressing these kinds of questions in cyberspace. [...] North Korea. For the time being, the real winner seems to be Chairman Kim Jong-un. President Trump is not having any success in that sense, even though he says he protected the mainland by stopping the further development of ICBMs with nuclear weapons. [...] When North Korea raised the issue of a peace treaty, the US in particular was not ready to commence discussions about that kind of agreement with North Korea, China and so on. [...] But Japan, Korea and other neighboring countries are not safe at all.

I just came from Bahrain. Yesterday, I was at the Gulf Security Conference. I sensed a climate of concern. [...] The reforms are coming to a halt. In other words, the conservatives in Saudi Arabia are using this situation (Khashoggi's murder) to impose a conservative agenda against reforms. This is a major concern. In the Gulf, everyone agrees that returning to radical Wahhabism is destructive for Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries. [...] The friends of the Gulf say it without any cynicism: "We respect this vision you have in the West. Of course, the people behind this totally heinous assassination must pay. But be careful, because there are international players who do not share this concern and who will use this situation, this possible problem between Western countries and Saudi Arabia to try to play these cards again in the Gulf". [...] The obsession with Iran remains very strong. The idea of an Arab NATO, of this military alliance of the Gulf countries with Egypt and Jordan, is stronger than ever. I don't know if they will be able to pull it off. Perhaps Turkey, with this pressure, is pushing in that direction. [...] The climate in the Senate is very negative towards Saudi Arabia. General Mattis spoke very intensely about the need to reach a peace agreement, to stop the war in Yemen. He said very clearly: "On the agenda for the coming weeks, there is Yemen. The war in Yemen will be central". He even listed some parameters: respect for borders, autonomy, a political role for the Houthis in Yemen, withdrawal from Iran, concern for the weapons that Iran is allegedly exporting to Yemen, a central role as well for the United Nations. Which, coming from an administration that has not been exactly pro United Nations and pro global governance, is an interesting message.

What we can try to define as identity evolves over time depending on the context. We cannot deny this. This is a historical reality and even a need that must be recognised today. However, it should not be essentialised, or reduced to a single dimension. This is where the danger becomes very real, because it can feed conflict and confrontation and elimination – radical, if need be. [...] This just goes to show how serious the matter is, and that in the end, this trivialisation is affecting a population of about 4 million inhabitants (3.5 million on-site and 1.5 million refugees). These refugees did not go to the capitals or to our borders. No, they have been suffering these conditions for the past four years, mainly in Ukraine, some in Belarus, some in Russia. This is a situation to which we have become accustomed, in a way. The conflict in Ukraine has challenged the security order in Europe, with all its strengths and weaknesses. The region has gradually lost all norms, all laws. It is time to find a way to define the rules. [...] I am referring to the unilateral withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty just announced by the United States. [...] More generally speaking, for all the others it is seen as an opening of sorts. We know full well that this kind of abolition and refusal leads Chiefs of Staff to elaborate plans. The situation needs to be addressed on a five- to ten-year horizon. A Chief of Staff, a Minister of Defence will think: "I can no longer ignore this dimension". So armament programs are prepared in response. [...] Everyone is against unilateralism officially, but everyone is starting to practice it. What we have not achieved is a kind of multilateralism where everyone, in essence, would look at each other. We have multi-unilateralism. If we want to continue, we can. We know where it will lead us. I think the few examples I mentioned are reminders to try to react.



# Final debate



**Artem Malgin**  
Vice Rector of MGIMO-University



**Manuel Muñiz**  
Dean of the School of Global and Public Affairs at IE University and Rafael del Pino Professor of Practice of Global Transformation



**Fathallah Oualalou**  
Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center, former Minister of Economy and Finance, Kingdom of Morocco

This mixture of the crisis, along with bad relations with those previously considered as Russia's main global partners, creates a tremendous problem for Russian foreign policy, but the key issue and the key decision is in the Ukraine, and this crisis should not be underestimated, as sometimes happened. It is not a frozen conflict; unfortunately, it is going on, it is a low-intensity conflict we somehow got used to. Europe and even the Ukraine got used to it, but it should be settled, and this is one of the main tasks for Russian foreign policy. Our world nowadays tends to be one without great ideas or trends, like we had in the 1990s, at the end of the 1980s or the beginning of 2000. It is a global world but driven by in-country processes, which somehow overflow national borders into the global scene. Look at Trump, at Brexit, at Saudi Arabia, at very strange developments in Iran, at Russia's and Turkey's foreign policies, which range between autarchy and interventionism. These are purely national phenomena, absolutely, which somehow enter the global scene without being a single global trend. It is not one global tendency, and this should make us more attentive to these countries. [...] We have a very mosaic, diversified world with small tendencies, and from these tendencies we may grasp a general pattern. [...] Returning to my country, this kind of crisis has often brought us to this narrow, provincial vision, fortunately because we are not always alone in this vision, and unfortunately because too many countries nowadays are provincial in a strategically global world.

One fascinating thing is that if you look back to 10, 12 or 15 years ago, there was the thesis of the end of history, which was very controversial at the time it was proposed, but there was a certain consensus in the Western world that liberal democracy would move forward and sweep through the world, and open markets would do the same, all of the other regimes were on the wrong side of history, and this would be a slow process of expansion of this system. What comes up in conferences and meetings I attend is that the liberal, rules-based order of open markets, porous borders and multiculturalism is fighting for its survival around the world. That fight is developing on two very particular fronts, one is the external dimension, and within that the siege is taking place in many areas. One is the rise of China. [...] The single most significant case of economic development over the last 30 or 40 years happens to be of a deeply anti-liberal and antidemocratic country that has begun to defend its model even beyond Chinese borders. [...] Therefore, the biggest geopolitical development in the last 40 years seems to point in the direction that a well-run and well-managed autocracy does very well in the space of economic and military development. [...] We will live in a place with more walls and less movement of people and less commerce, and that basically means that we are living the return of history. We are moving back into a world where the fundamentals of political governance, both domestically and internationally, are up for grabs, and we enter this debate without knowing where it will lead.

The trade war is not only commercial. It is above all technological. In my opinion, it will result, primarily, in the strengthening of Asia and asiatism. It will cause China to strengthen its domestic market: which is good for the rest of the world. At the same time, it will strengthen regional trade with its Asian proximity. Between the major countries of Asia, geopolitics will continue to separate, but the economy will continue to bring them closer together. It seems to me that this is a good lesson for our region. It is in this manner that Asia is strengthening its position as a centre of influence for the global economy. The Middle East is a source of tensions, instability and conservatism. It is the cradle of an annuitant economy, strengthened every time the price of oil rises, but which turns its back on real development. However, this Middle East is changing in nature. The very concept of the Middle East, born after the First World War is disappearing. Today, oil is purchased mainly by Asia. The region's trade is mainly with Japan, Korea, India and China. In fact, the Middle East is becoming West Asia: a concept we can see reflected in the directorates of Asian foreign ministries. [...] The world's agri-food future will be in Africa, thanks to its needs and resources in arable land. Morocco, with its phosphates, is willing to participate in promoting this future through bilateral partnerships, with our African brothers, but also triangular relationships with other countries. [...] Morocco aspires, with determination, to open up to modernity and, at the same time, to defend its identity and spirituality.





# 1. Finance and economy



CHAIR  
**Jean-Claude Trichet**  
President of Bruegel and former President of the ECB

Monetary policies are to be less accommodative in the advanced economies, not only in the US but also in Europe when the exit from highly supportive monetary conditions will be confirmed by the end of net purchases of securities at the end of the year. This might have adverse consequences in the emerging and developing world. Conflicts and geopolitical tensions in many regions of the world could also be adverse to sustained global growth. The area of shadow banking and non-bank is of the essence in terms of potential global financial instability. The issue of misconduct is still to be fully tackled. The financial risks associated with crypto-assets are also an open issue. More active work must continue to be done by the international community in disciplining this domain where complacency would be a big mistake. The likelihood of a new systemic economic and financial crisis being triggered by the difficulty to counter the next cyclical recession due to insufficient ammunitions in the advanced economies in both the fiscal and monetary policies fields. We have a high likelihood of a global systemic economic and financial crisis due to the high level of global financial leverage. The global public and private debt outstanding as a proportion of global GDP has continued to augment after the GFC, approximately at the same pace as before the crisis; it is perhaps the most worrying global indicator today.



**Qiao Yide**  
Vice Chairman and Secretary General of Shanghai  
Development Research Foundation (SDRF)

In the next 1-2 years, the Chinese economy will still gradually come down. [...] If the two largest economies are in the phase of going down in the economic cycle, it will drag down the economy of rest of the world. When the economy is on the downside, the financial vulnerability will become bigger. During the next 2-3 years, we should closely watch what is happening in this regard. The second dimension is about the fluctuations of cross-border capital flow. [...] It is very important that we do not only look at the current account or even the capital account. Rather, we should pay more attention to the growth of capital flow, because balance of current account ignores the details of the capital flow. Gross capital flow will now create more financial problems. The last event we should consider is the escalation of the US-China trade war. The longer the war drags on, the bigger its negative impacts, not only on China and the US, but on the rest of the world. [...] I can further point out that there will be a chain reaction after the reduction of investment, which will lead to the decline of employment. Then personal income will go down and the consumption will decrease. That chain reaction will impact on the global financial and economic growth. In my conclusion, I will say that these three dimensions will play some roles, in particular if these factors are overlapping. This will create economic and financial problems down the road in the next 2-3 years.



**Jean-Claude Meyer**  
Vice-Chairman International of Rothschild & cie

There are only two scenarios, none of them optimistic: a soft-landing scenario or a severe financial crisis. A soft-landing scenario could occur if the Fed increases its rates only gradually because inflation is moderate at around 2% and if the trade war is not as tough as anticipated. In that scenario, the stocks could stay nearly as they are in a sort of plateau or be lower by 10-20% in a very moderate way, with a lot of volatility every day, which is the case right now. This is the ideal scenario which would make everybody quite happy. Unfortunately, on the other hand, a much less rosy scenario could lead us to a very deep financial crisis, as many ingredients are there: 1/ we are at the end of a 10-year cycle; 2/ geopolitical risks are huge; 3/ the stock market, particularly in the US, has increased so much, by 330% in 10 years, that it can only fall down, because earnings will decrease due to a declining growth. The nine-year bull run is finished; 4/ the trade war will affect the growth of the US, the growth of China, and of the exporting emerging countries. [...] We are in fact in the fog, which is the worst thing for markets.



# 1. Finance and economy



**Jeffry Frieden**  
Professor of Government at Harvard University

The financial system is in many ways a creature of public policy. International finance is even more politically fraught than domestic finance. [...] We could focus on the narrowly construed problems of international finance. However, I believe that there are even more important challenges that international financial markets and national financial markets face. These are going to come from the evolving political circumstances, both at the domestic and at the international level. Almost everywhere, among some substantial portion of the population, there is a very strong sense that globalisation, including very prominently financial integration, has not helped them. [...] This is the principal challenge that faces international financial actors, both public and private. That is to address this resentment, because resentment in politics turns into politicians and parties that win elections, which could turn into policies that threaten an integrated financial system. [...] Finance and an integrated international economy will come under sustained assault. The best defence, in my view, is to work hard to develop new models of social policies and political representation that go beyond platitudes. These policies need to satisfy the real needs of people whose suffering is not imagined, but real. If that is not done, the axis that has been developing over the last five years, what we might call the Trump-Kuczynski-Bolsonaro-Duterte-Salvini axis, will soon find finance to be a very attractive target, and the target will have no weapons.



**Daniel Daianu**  
Member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania, Member of the European Council for Foreign Relations, former Finance Minister of Romania

Extraordinarily accommodative monetary policies, which were implemented by major central banks in order to avert a financial meltdown have, arguably, ushered in a new financial cycle, which is illustrated by bigger debts and overvalued assets across the world. But structural conditions, too, lie behind very low interest rates. Basically, these conditions refer to the balance between investment and saving. What this new financial cycle will lead to should be a source of concern against the background of trends such as: 1/An erosion of multilateralism as the guiding principle of the international policy arrangements; 2/An “inward-looking syndrome” that is spreading around; 3/In spite of global supply chains and strong interdependencies in the world economy, there is a shift toward emphasizing regional arrangements as well (nota bene: EU’s call for strengthening its “economic sovereignty”); 4/Though banks are better capitalized and less leveraged, it a tough call to say that the global financial system is safer nowadays. Shadow banking has been growing, questionable financial products are in demand anew and a new wave of finance deregulation is underway in the US; 5/New tremors in emerging economies give salience to a big rise in debts; 6/Cyber-attacks can take a heavy toll on financial stability; 7/Brexit is not clear in terms of its denouement and can be pretty disruptive.



**Itoh Motoshige**  
Emeritus Professor at the University of Tokyo, Professor at the Gakushuin University, Member of the Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, Japan

In 1997, we had a very serious financial crisis, and the lesson we learned is that our actions were too small and too late. The political factor was the most important. At that time, it was almost impossible to persuade the politicians to introduce a very big capital injection or bail-out process. Our failure at this time provided some lessons to other countries after the 2008 crisis. Around 2000, in the period of the IT bubble crash, Japan was just on the edge of entering into deflation. For some reason, the Bank of Japan introduced very problematic or controversial policy rate increases. Maybe the Bank of Japan was very unlucky because we had the IT bubble crash and 9/11 the next year. Anyway, it took almost 12-13 years for us to get out of the deflationary trap. [...] Mr. Kuroda introduces the so-called unorthodox monetary policy. It is a combination of the two. One is a very dramatic expansion of the base money, and the other is a very explicit inflation targeting of 2%. That was very successful in changing the mindset of the people overnight. [...] Although that kind of policy can be very effective to get out of the deflationary trap, we could not achieve the inflation level targeted. The original target level is 2%, but we are still around or below 1%, so something is missing here. There are many discussions, but one of the most important things is that we have to think both of the supply and the demand side of the macro economy.



**Bertrand Badré**  
Founder and CEO of Blue like an Orange Sustainable Capital, former Managing Director and Chief Financial Officer of the World Bank Group

The question of trust, as has been said by many others, is central. The problem is that trust is not there. The problem is that it does lead to a misallocation of capital at the global level. We have too much money going where it is not needed. Why do people keep buying negative-rated German or Swiss bonds today instead of reinvesting where it is most needed, in Latin America, Africa and South Asia. That is a real problem. Walls are not the right solution to address this misallocation of capital. It cannot last forever. We have a problem of addressing the regulatory framework. It is not just solvency. It is not just Basel III. It is a combination of all of these. Every day, I am discovering issues in that framework which are atrocious. It is not just the big ones, but even the small ones are terrible. You have these perception issues, which we know. You have too much compliance and you have too much risk aversion. You can be risk adverse for five or 10 years, but not forever. We have to find a way to move there. [...] The privilege of the rich and powerful is to think that they can watch the catastrophe from their balcony. I think we are again at the balcony. We are afraid of the next crisis, but the real one behind is not being addressed. My conclusion is that we have not started the hard work and the window to start this work is shrinking now.



## 2. Energy and climate



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



CHAIR  
**Nobuo Tanaka**  
Chairman of The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, former  
Executive Director of the IEA

Four very interesting revolutions in the energy sector. The first one is the US shale revolution. A second revolution is the solar photovoltaic revolution. The third one is China, and China is moving towards a green revolution by using gas to replace coal. The fourth one is electrification, using electric vehicles, digitalisation, and AI. This will force countries to reappraise their energy security and sustainability strategies. Three revolutions are happening in China, while the US is leading the fossil fuels. This dichotomy is happening in the world energy market. [...] Solar is getting very cheap, and wind is getting cheaper, while the coal and gas increase means that solar will be the cheapest source of energy in 2040. That will definitely make a huge impact in China's energy mix. This is what China is saying about global energy interconnection. This is an electricity version of the One Belt, One Road strategy. [...] The 100% renewable energy companies, RE100 are requesting their suppliers to do the same. This demand side pressure will be a very big one for energy supply. [...] Can nuclear survive? The cost of safety is making the cost of the nuclear light water reactors higher and higher, while solar and wind are getting cheaper and cheaper. How can nuclear continue?



**Olivier Appert**  
President of the French Energy Council and of the French  
committee of the World Energy Council

In the US, total energy consumption as well as oil consumption decreased by around 4%, and refining capacity is almost stable. On the contrary, the total energy consumption of China increased during this same period by 45%. Oil consumption increased by 54% and refining capacity by 66% in just 10 years. [...] It is clear that energy security is the Achilles heel of China. China's oil import dependency ratio rose to 68% in 2017, the highest in its history. Dependency on natural gas imports rose to almost 40%. [...] While the renewable energy increased by a factor of four in the US, it increased by a factor of 30 in China during the same period. [...] The US is now the first producer of petroleum, ahead of Russia and Saudi Arabia. Gas production increased by more than 40% and the US became a net exporter of gas. Thanks to the shale oil and gas energy revolution, US energy dependence has fallen from 29% in 2007 to only 8% in 2017. This is opening wide opportunities for US diplomacy, as it is explained clearly in Trump's America First energy plan. The clear objective is to make America energy-independent, and the energy independence of Obama has been replaced by energy dominance. [...] Therefore, it is not surprising that energy is also at the core of the Trump led war with China.



**Leila Benali**  
President of the Arab Energy Forum

The implication for me or the implication for any energy player in the scene, companies and countries alike, is a race. It is a race to gain leadership in technologies, and beyond that, a race to secure access to the materials and commodities that are underlying these storage technologies. [...] Another trend is a race to capture market share in new markets for crude and gas. I am thinking here about petrochemicals, plastics, polymers for crude and for oil products in general, and transportation for gas. [...] The third race was around the technologies and commodities. All this rosy picture of cost decreases comes at a price, and the price I want to highlight here is the minerals and commodities on which these technologies depend. [...] There is a lot of repositioning of alliances and changes in alliances in today's world. However, it is important to mention that there is a continuous emphasis and a continuous focus on the key fundamentals. These are growth, profitability, and increasingly trying to have a proactive technology strategy, because that is a must for the future. One key area that has been neglected so far, and I would like to finish on that, is system flexibility. [...] There is a growing awareness in the industry that energy storage is of incredible and paramount importance. [...] This questions the large capital investment programmes in the oil and gas part of the industry. That creates another commodity cycle, another cycle of volatility, which is definitely not in the interest of the producers and not in the interest of the consumers.



## 2. Energy and climate



### Richard Cooper

Professor of International Economics at Harvard University, former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, former Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

One quarter of greenhouse gases come from agriculture and changes in land use. When we think about climate change, we have to think not only about energy, but about other sources of greenhouse gas emissions as well. [...] We have invested tens of billions of dollars in research on climate change. We know much more than we did 20 years ago, and one of the things we know is how complicated the earth's atmosphere and oceans are. We are much better informed on individual pieces. In spite of this, we still do not have an accurate overview of climate change and its relation to greenhouse gas emissions. [...] I would just say flatly, as a practising economist for half a century, that we cannot achieve a permanent 1.5 degrees Centigrade by 2030. We should get it out of our heads. We are not going to turn society over around the world over the issue of climate change. It is just not going to happen. What might happen is that we overshoot, and then technological improvements permit us to go back down to 1.5. [...] And I want to remind everyone that we cannot just look at the vehicles that are electric. You have to look behind it to how the electricity was generated. We still generate most of our electricity with fossil fuels, so you have to look at the entire cycle and not just the fact that the car is electric.



### Tatsuo Masuda

Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business (NUCB) on energy-climate nexus, Auditor of SOC Corporation in Tokyo, Chairman of FairCourt Capital in London, Strategic committee member of Eilon House

As for coal, there is a serious problem. China has been performing well in slashing coal consumption at home. However, what China is doing in the name of “One Belt, One Road” is the intensive exports of its coal-fired power plant technologies to countries covered by “One Belt, One Road”. Here is interesting data. About 130 new coal fired power plant projects are in progress under the Chinese initiative in those countries. The state of the art technologies are not necessarily used in those cases. From 2000 to 2016, China led the construction of roughly 240 coal fired power plant projects in those areas as well. China is becoming “green at home” and “black abroad”. This is what is happening. [...] Solar energy is good and photovoltaics could be the champion of renewable energy production in coming years. However, we should not disregard one negative side of solar panels. Solar panels have a lifetime of roughly 20 years. After 20 years, what do we do with used solar panels? If we dump them as industrial waste, it will cause serious environmental pollution all over the world. If we completely recycle used solar panels, a massive cost is involved. Would many countries dare to bear such cost? It is becoming a big problem envisaged in Germany, Japan, and most importantly China as well as many other countries rapidly deploying solar panels. Although they are good for climate purposes, we should not forget the environmental downside.



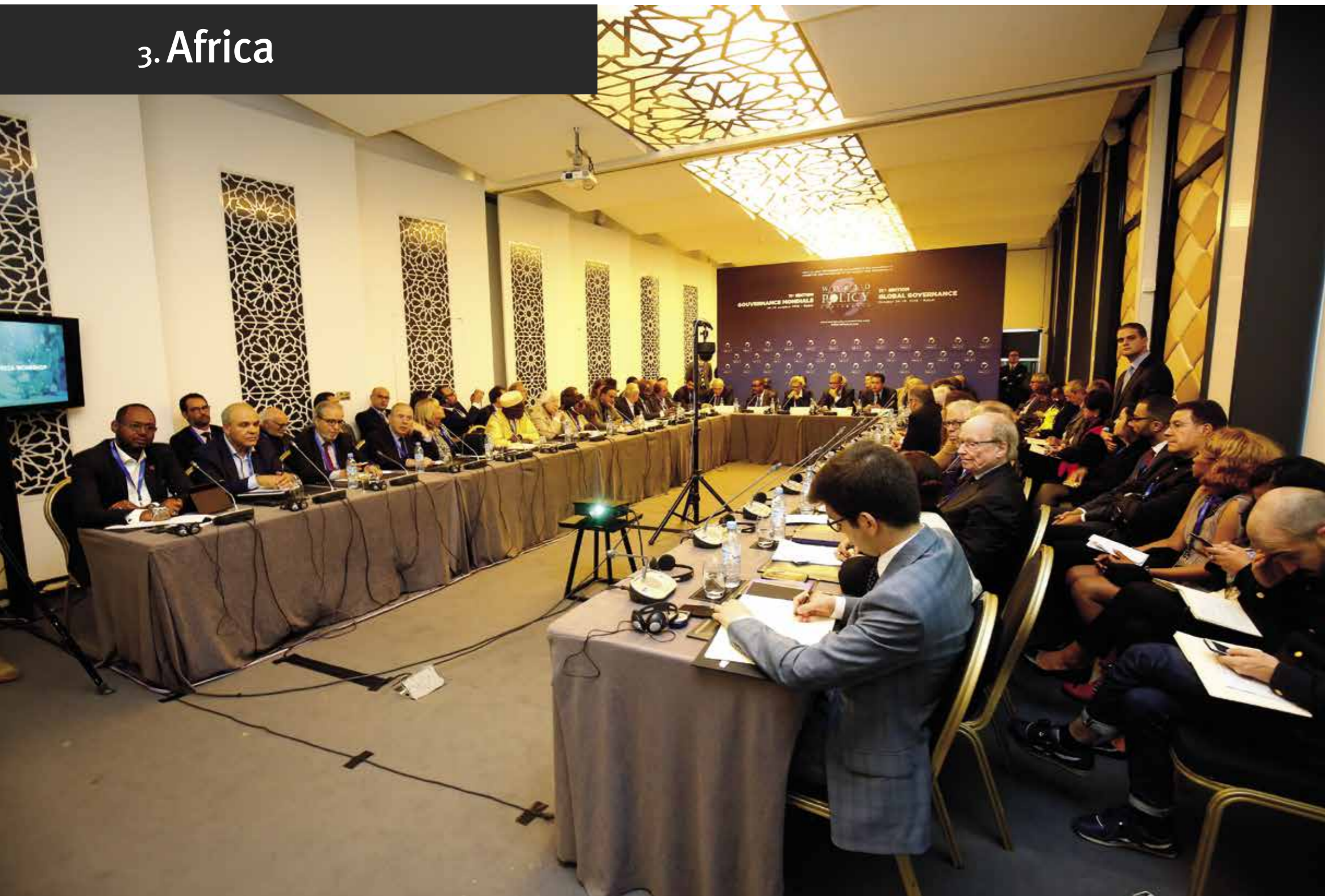
### Ladislav Paszkiewicz

Senior Vice President-Strategy & Climate at Total SA

For us, it is clear that is not just by following one path that we will manage to improve our situation. It is by combining different levers together: 1/Energy efficiency. As an oil and gas company, we consume energy. Reducing our own energy needs, improving our energy efficiency is something that is extremely effective in terms of reducing carbon emissions in the end. 2/Methane. Methane has an impact in terms of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent. We are working with a group of companies to calculate and reduce our methane emissions. 3/Carbon pricing is absolutely key, because if there is no carbon price, there is no way. [...] Gas would replace coal in electricity generation. If gas was to replace coal, we would save about five gigatons of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, which represents about 10% of what is being emitted worldwide today. The objectives would be achieved right away. 4/Biofuels. Demand for biofuels has increased quite significantly. We were the first distributor of biofuels in Europe and we produce biofuels ourselves. 5/There is the issue of getting to net zero emissions in the second half of the century. We see two options. One of them is CCUS, and we spend quite a lot of money – 10% of our R&D programmes – in CCUS. The other one is natural resources like forests, where there are some efforts to be made, and we initiated some programmes through our foundation.



## 3. Africa



CHAIR

**Nathalie Delapalme**

Executive Director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation

In March 2018, a key agreement was signed in Kigali under the aegis of the African Union's acting President, Paul Kagame, to create the CFTA. The deal raises high hopes. It is expected to considerably boost intra-African trade, just 19% today compared to about 70% between EU members. And it is expected to foster the rise of local economies, especially local jobs. Employment is surely Africa's biggest challenge. Today 60% of its population is under 25. In the next 10 years, 750 million more jobseekers will arrive on the labour market. The 2018 Ibrahim Index shows that although Africa's total GDP rose by nearly 50% in the past decade, almost no progress has been made in providing economic opportunities for its citizens. This key agreement attests to the continent's real collective political commitment. But much, if not all, remains to be done for its effective implementation. To date, 49 countries have signed the agreement but only 10 have ratified it—12 short of the 22 required for the deal to become operational. Africa's heavyweights, South Africa and Nigeria, still seem reluctant, putting their interests first. What can be learned from European construction? How can foot-dragging countries be convinced? What obstacles should be lifted, and in what order? How can CFTA dovetail with already existing regional agreements?

**Uri Dadush**

Senior Fellow at the OCP Policy Center and non-resident scholar at Bruegel

This initiative is important for the continent. It also provides a nice counterpoint to the protectionism arising in different parts of the world. [...] We must not make the error in Africa that we made when we created the Middle East and North Africa agreements with the EU, which was to assume that, because you make a free trade agreement, you automatically solve a lot of problems and get a lot of growth. Long experience and many studies have shown that, there is no unconditional convergence. It is not just because you open trade that you converge to the higher income of your partners, whatever that might be. Convergence, international trade liberalisation, only works in conjunction with the strengthening of domestic policies. Frankly, you can do all the trade liberalisation you want, but if you do not have strengthening of domestic policies, if you do not have political stability, if you do not have peace – and in a lot of places in Africa there is no peace – and if you do not have reasonable predictability in the business climate, in terms of corruption, governance, etc., you are very unlikely to get investment in that kind of context, whether or not trade is open. Sometimes, in fact, I have made the argument that if you do not have those kinds of domestic conditions, trade can actually hurt you, because all that happens is that you get a lot of imports, but you do not get the export response.

**Elisabeth Guigou**

President of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures, former Member of the French National Assembly and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly

Europeans and Africans should seize the opportunity of negotiating post-Cotonou agreements. That has been scarcely visible so far, but there is the 2020 deadline. So far, the Cotonou agreement has looked like a sort of tossed salad with all the formerly colonised countries and all the Europeans thrown in together. We must absolutely address the issues of Europe and Africa separately with, in my view, four goals: 1/A political strategy defined and accepted by both sides ; 2/Co-production agreements in well-known key sectors: food, energy, ecology, digital technology, health, education ; 3/A bank or a bank holding company to secure investments and ensure capital mobility, which are very low on the list of existing banks' priorities ; 4/As the IPAMED said that we need a foundation, like the ones in Asia between China, Japan and the countries of South Asia, and between American states. That foundation would bring together experts, researchers, public officials and CEOs to analyse the present, think about the future and ask "What can we do to maximise our chances together?" Lastly, we need to maximise our efforts on the economy but also on cultural dialogue because Europeans and Africans also fear for their identity. If we keep on living with the idea that there is a clash of civilisations, if religion is thrown into the mix and many unrelated things are lumped together, we will never succeed.

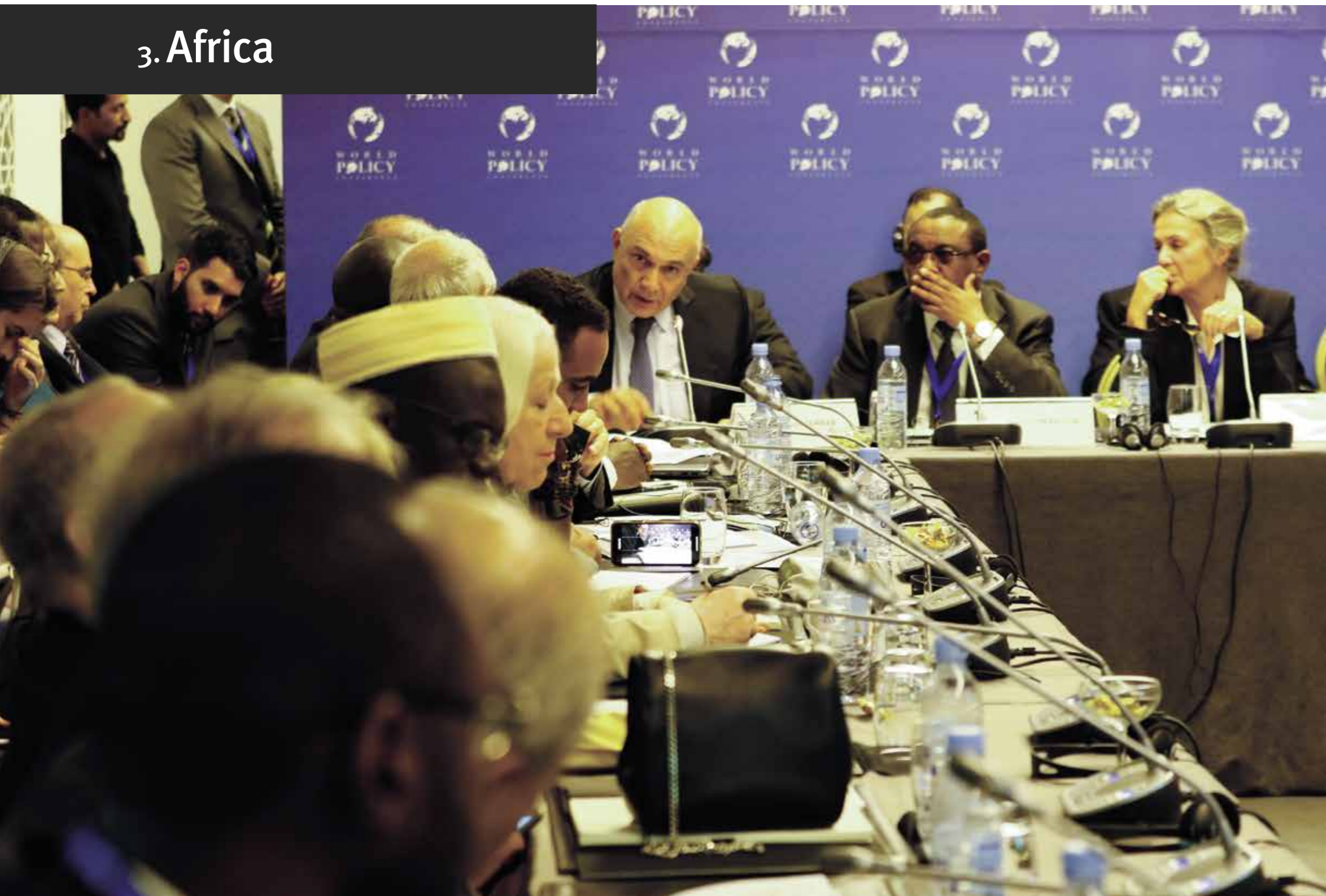
**Mostafa Terrab**

Chairman and CEO of OCP Group

Indeed, we have to ask ourselves what good is free trade if we cannot produce the goods and services that we will trade within the continent. Today we are mainly in extractive industries and trade, and that extractive trade benefits economies outside the continent that have developed the transformation capabilities to be able to consume the raw materials. Africa, to a large extent, has not, so we will certainly not trade natural resources among ourselves. We do not have the capabilities to transform them in the continent, and agriculture, in particular fertiliser, was a case in point. The African green revolution requires fertilisers, and the continent has all the capability to produce its own fertilisers, yet, up until 10 years ago, it was exclusively exporting these natural resources to fertiliser producers outside the continent, having to import back the finished products, sometimes at five or six times the international price. I will not go into detail, but this was the situation, and it was the same for many other goods. [...] We started making fertilisers with African natural resources but also customised to African soil and crops, and here is what happened. We are seeing phenomenal growth in fertiliser consumption in many African countries. [...] This fertiliser is 40% cheaper, and with the right policies the consumption of fertiliser in Ethiopia shifted from the less-adapted one to the right one. We are doing this in many countries, and our latest experiment was in Ghana. This is the key – you need both a trade view and complementary policies to improve value chains and appropriate selective policies on industrialisation in Africa.



### 3. Africa



#### Othman El Ferdaous

Secretary of State to the Minister of Industry, Investment, Trade and Digital Economy, in charge of investment, Kingdom of Morocco

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation conducted a survey on the educational level and sociology of sub-Saharan migrants: it turns out that they are better educated than the average Moroccan. Why are these better-educated people going to Europe? Simply because the conditions you have just mentioned do not exist yet. Here is an example. Shipping a container 1,200 kilometres north from Cotonou to Ouagadougou costs two-and-a-half times more than to ship the same container from Cotonou 12,000 kilometres to Shanghai. Africa's integration into globalisation is based on extraversion. That is still the case for many industries still present in Africa. I think what the Chinese are doing with regard to Europe by launching the Silk Road is the kind of initiative Africa needs. Building a north-south economic corridor, whose first physical manifestation will be infrastructure—I am talking mainly about transport, digital, communication and logistical infrastructure—will allow these people who are better educated than Moroccans to work at home. [...] If we want to build an integrated, non-fragmented market, we must have entry barriers. I see Africa's entry barriers in the area of R&D. Many multinational companies that have launched projects in Africa have come up empty. Why? Because they made no attempt to adapt their products and services to the African context.



#### Juliette Tuakli

Member of United Way Worldwide Leadership Council, CEO and Chief Medical Officer of CHILDAccra, Ghana

We tend not to have strong domestic policies within our countries, particularly as they pertain to our public policies covering health and education of our future workforce. We have increasing inequities in our countries, major security issues and weak infrastructure. There needs to be some degree of secure intercountry political union in order to have a successful outcome for this agreement. [...] We really have to build our domestic policies to have a much sounder social contracts between the state and populations they should serve—these just do not exist right now, and yet are critical. Notwithstanding all that has been said, at the end of the day it will be our failure to invest in our populations, that will be the Achilles' heel of this. [...] I listened to the earlier discussion on the EU and the possible future of the Euro whilst thinking about our CFTA, and it really deepened my concerns: Trust, Unity, Safety and Security are all areas in which we are weakest on this continent. Therefore, having any semblance of the movement of trades, goods, services and people remains a pipe dream. The rules of origin being made simple is very important, looking at what is happening already on the continent, eg. China is our friend but could cause complications later with this. That is all I really have to say. It is not just about education. Our youth are educated; we simply do not have appropriate jobs for them, and this will increasingly become a critical problem with the CFTA.



#### Lionel Zinsou

Co-chair of SouthBridge, former Prime Minister of Benin

We deserve a lot of credit because despite everything, Africa has increased its exports by roughly 15% each year for the past two decades. Africa benefits from extraordinary international trade dynamics, but we deserve a lot of credit for levying taxes on our cacao, coffee and cotton exports because that is the only way to collect them. Young generations resent French colonisation no more than they do Roman colonisation. A time comes when all of that is water under the bridge. But we were left with a continent without credit, savings, taxation, infrastructure, schools or hospitals. That all adds up to many missing things. [...] I strongly believe that the digital modernisation of the informal sector is extremely useful because it is a remarkably productive and efficient sector. It is not just a downgraded formal sector. When all those small businesses have the possibility of storing their data on the Cloud and accessing them on their phones, they modernise the informal sector. That is a huge challenge, but the first step is entitling people to social benefits. We cannot tell them, "On January 1st we are going to start hammering you with taxes to force you to move from the informal to the formal sector." That will never work. We must entitle them, use the appropriate technology, look in detail at how e-commerce is developing thanks to informal transport [...] We need transition periods. In my view, making the informal sector more formal and more productive is the key, the answer to your question.



#### Hailemariam Desalegn

former Prime Minister of Ethiopia

In our Agenda 2063, we stated that we have to integrate Africa, and an integrated, prosperous Africa that is at peace with itself and its neighbours is continuing to be our vision. CFTA is one of the ways that we can integrate our continent; it is very important milestone. We cannot trade what we do not produce. The whole issue boils down to productive capacity, strong and productive human capability and there comes the issue of our youth. We are in trouble if we do not have that productive capacity. If we can't produce then—we cannot trade with each other. More than half of the exports from Africa are extractive, and that is not sustainable—we cannot do that and create jobs for our young people. Therefore, we need to have a productive capacity in different forms. Usually, growth and development are path-dependent. We have to focus on our comparative advantage, which is agriculture, that employs more than 60% of the population in Africa. [...] We should create a conducive business climate and environment for investors coming into Africa. Therefore we have critical governance issue, corruption and illicit practices and multitudes of red tapes that should be eliminated. These burning issues have to be well understood and properly handled at policy level in Africa. Then there will be a huge flow of investment into Africa. We have to look into the above concerns and challenges comprehensively, and our youth should be at the centre of it while analysing them.



LUNCH AND DINNER DEBATES





**Olivier Blanchard**

Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, former Chief Economist of the IMF

These are schizophrenic times. On the one hand, if you look at the real economy, and by the real economy, I mean output and inflation, things are as good as they get. You have to go back very far in history to find a situation in which the economy, the purely economic situation, is as impressive or as benign as it is today. That is an important point, because in the general climate of pessimism, these facts are often just swept under the rug, but that is the reality.

At the same time, if you turn to the politics and the geopolitics which were discussed at great length this morning, I was going to say things are as bad as they get. However, it would be much too optimistic. They can get much worse than where we are. You have this tension between the two. As an economist, you see the world as it is now, as being in fairly good shape, and elaborate on that. Then you see the geopolitics and the politics being terrible. The big challenge for an economist is to think about how these political and geopolitical risks can translate into economics in the relatively short run. I shall do my best in these remarks.





**Laurent Fabius**  
President of the Constitutional Council, former  
Prime Minister, France

There are three major issues: the climate issue, the biodiversity issue and the pollution issue. However, as soon as we stop and think about it, we see that all of this is dialectical and that, for instance, a temperature increase has a dramatic effect on biodiversity and that, in turn, biodiversity, if it declines, has a dramatic effect on the temperature increase. In short, we need to take what the specialists call a “holistic” view of these issues. The IPCC’s report tells us that, just as the risks are global and extremely high, if we want to fight them, we need all players to be staunch believers and to take action. What does “all players” mean? The first players are the citizens who, in their everyday lives, need to be informed of what they can do to try to protect the environment, and in particular, fight the rise in temperatures. There are a number of responses that may appear modest, in the way you equip your apartment, the transport you , etc. But those all have a significant impact. If you take just one thing away from this, remember that the threat faced by the environment and climate is not of the same magnitude as the others. The decisions or conferences held on this topic are thus not of the same magnitude either. In other areas, if you are striving to reach a certain goal and fail to do so, you can try again two or three years later. Whereas, in particular when it comes to climate, if decisions are not made with extreme speed, carbon gas will continue to go out into the atmosphere, and after a while, its effects will be irreversible, because it is something that does not disappear – it stays around for years, even centuries. It is thus a race against the clock, between the action we can take and the aims we need to pursue. The citizens are the first players to address, and they need explanations as to what they can do. [...] We are, to use an expression often heard before, the first generation to be aware of this reality and the last to be able to take action. Afterwards, it will be too late.





### Mustapha Bakkoury

President of the Moroccan Agency for Solar Energy (Masen)

Renewables have one extremely powerful characteristic. Renewable resources, solar, wind, hydro, biomass, geothermal, when available, are generally available to a very large number of people. Consequently, there is no competition to use them. It's quite the opposite. Not to exploit it, not to take advantage of it, would leave everyone on the losing end. Meanwhile, putting it to use does not make anyone any poorer. That is, using a solar or wind project does not make anyone any poorer, in any way. As such, these energies can be an extremely compelling area of cooperation to bring us back to integration, and in this capacity, we are working with European countries on an initiative we call the SET (Sustainable Energy Transmission) Roadmap, which needs to be quickly developed with Spain, Portugal, France, Germany and the European Commission. Taking that very simple idea which others came up with at a time, but which stayed at a theoretical level, our collective ambition today is to make it operational, to develop renewable projects where the resources are best, and to rely on technology, especially transmission technology, to bring it to places of consumption, through collectively designed efforts. This is a prospect that is moving forward very smoothly. It will be presented at COP 24 in Poland, and will probably give rise to its first project, I hope, as early as next year.





### Nasser Bourita

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco

The world needs free, level-headed, untrammelled thinking on international affairs; The world needs open-mindedness to discuss complex issues; It needs intellectual tolerance to talk about sensitive matters; It needs various perspectives to enrich debate and get off the beaten track. Many have understood this but few have followed through. In the profusion of think tanks and international fora, the World Policy Conference has become one of the best. Above all, the World Policy Conference has remained relevant and kept its own identity, ensuring its remarkable longevity. It is an example of what a space of free thought must be: lasting, not fleeting; creative, not redundant; a leader, not a follower. [...] I am not saying anything you do not already know: I believe we are living in a time of tectonic shifts in international relations. Everything is a shortcut: a WhatsApp group is a negotiation forum, a tweet is a national position and a tweet quarrel is a diplomatic crisis! The fundamentals of international relations are shaking. Borders, sovereignty, responsibility, even applicable law—threats and opportunities know no frontiers. This calls for fresh ideas focusing less on formalism and more on efficiency. It also paves the way for a new kind of horizontality determined by comparative advantages and mutual benefit, transcending common divides (North/South, State/non-State players, three-way cooperation, etc.).





**Hailemariam Desalegn**  
former Prime Minister of Ethiopia

Africa is still young, which calls for a policy choice that takes this into account. If our population is very young, dynamic and technologically astute, how we can harness this dividend is one of the main issues to be addressed. [...] While we are giving people technical and vocational skills and making young people employable – we also have to address their political desire to engage in and be part of the process. Many of us relegate young people to the future but they continue to assert that they are equally the current leaders of Africa. This is a big issue which must inform our policy decisions, [...] If we want to serve our people, gender imbalances have to be addressed. We now have gender parity in our cabinet, and similarly in Rwanda because more than 50% of our population are women, and without embracing this section of society, we cannot move forward in Africa. [...] There is a physical infrastructure deficit in Africa, and we have to leapfrog this by going further through the digital economy and using digital technology, which will help us to move faster. [...] Africa contributes far less to global greenhouse gas emissions, but it is the most impacted continent, so climate justice should always be at the core of our policymaking. [...] We do not agree with the policies of certain countries which are backtracking from the Paris Agreement, as this is detrimental for our children and for our future existence. We have to save our planet, and we are setting an example in our countries.

**Lionel Zinsou**  
Co-chair of SouthBridge, former Prime Minister of Benin

Outside of conflicts and refugees – and conflicts are decreasing – outside wars and their effects, migration is happening within Africa. The rush to Europe is a fantasy. [...] Our demographic growth comes from life expectancy, which is rising due to better nutrition, education and health care. Life expectancy in the countries of central Africa is increasing by one year every year. [...] Europeans only look at fertility, but that is a basic mistake of a first-year sociology or economics student. On the other hand, Europeans do not see that 100,000 Chinese lived in Africa 20 years ago and a million and a half today. I think that is very good for mixing. I think it is perfect. But if I were 100% French instead of just half, I would ask myself, “Am I not imagining – a kind of primitive imagination – that I am going to be overrun?”, as though the poor, the wretched of the Earth, were rising up and rushing towards me, instead of looking at the facts, in other words the knowledge that I am gradually disappearing. I am humanly abolishing myself in Africa because I do not see that there are interesting migratory flows worth analysing. There are migratory flows in the other direction, “repats” are streaming back. Our highly skilled young people are coming home, reversing the brain drain. It is increasingly a relationship with Asia and the other emerging parts of the world, which have a population reality. I am happy about those movements but unhappy about my inability to successfully explain them.





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### Amadou Gon Coulibaly

The WPC offers a great opportunity for development actors, political representatives, researchers and leaders to gather and exchange ideas on the current state of the world in order to find common grounds to ensure global peace, security and development.

### Capgemini

The World Policy Conference is an international conference with a mission to reflect upon and come up with solutions to the constant upheavals of today's world.

### Hubert Coudurier

Brilliant input by Jean-Louis Bourlanges at the World Policy Conference on European issues: it's nice to hear someone who is not an upstart for a change! Finally someone to enlighten us with something more than just empty catchphrases.

### Prince Boadu

Amazing time spent in meaningful discourse at this year's World Policy Conference. Thanks to the WPC, OCP Policy Center and all partners who put together such a splendid event.

### Riad Tabet

Congratulations to IFRI, the first think tank in France and second most influential think tank in the world. Thierry de Montbrial and his team can be proud of themselves.

### Vuk Jeremić

Brilliant overview of the current situation in and around Syria by Itamar Rabinovich at the World Policy Conference in Morocco. Many old friends and CIRSD partners, both on stage and in the audience. It was a great privilege to moderate a fascinating discussion on North Korea at the World Policy Conference in Morocco. World's leading experts on the topic from China, US, South Korea, Japan and Russia, as well as my friend and Harvard classmate, former President of Mongolia took part.

### Natasha Franck

The World Policy Conference presents an incredible opportunity to start looking at those new public-private partnerships, how technology plays in that sphere and how to create solutions that support a regenerative future.

### Karin Kneissl

Taking part at the 11th edition of the World Policy Conference, this time in Rabat. We are witnessing a transition from the Transatlantic to the Pacific Age. Discussed China's tremendous rise in economic strength and its growing influence in Southeast Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Excellent meeting with Spanish Foreign Minister Josep Borrell at the margins of the World Policy Conference. Had a frank discussion on current international developments. EU cooperation with Mediterranean neighbours is key for regional stability.

### Nicolas Véron

Inspiring remarks on Africa's challenges by Hailemariam Desalegn at the WPC 2018 in Rabat, Morocco. "Africa is a young continent in more than one sense - my successor at 42 is better able to understand Ethiopia's problems than I am at 53".

### François Barrault

Enjoying Rabat and the World Policy Conference. Excellent conference on global governance. Happy to have talked about influence of technology on our life today and tomorrow.

### Katja Yafimava

Multi-unilateralism is a great term and really captures current reality. Must say the World Policy Conference is full of good insights and well worth following.

### Hayat Essakkati

Thank you so much to the organizers of the World Policy Conference and the OCP Policy Center. It's a delight to have such a wonderfully organized conference in Morocco and amazing speakers and delegates. I reconnected with friends but also made new friends. Thank you!

### Sophie Fay

What is IFRI and the World Policy Conference ? A French research institute ranked second most influential think tank in the world after the legendary Brookings Institution, according to the very serious rankings by Professor McGann from the University of Pennsylvania.

### Tobby Simon

Thank you Thierry, the World Policy Conference, IFRI and OCP Policy Center for the wonderful platform to share and receive insights. Had a great session with Virginie Robert, François Barrault, Chang Dae-Whan, Francis Gurry, Patrick Nicolet and Jean Pisani-Ferry. Bye Rabat! Until next time.

### Jean-Yves Le Gall

Following up on the 11th edition of the World Policy Conference, I would like to give my warmest and sincerest congratulations for the excellent interventions and debates which took place and were, once again, very insightful. [...] Finally, I would like to thank your whole team whose involvement, efficiency and kindness must be recognised and who enabled us to work so smoothly. To sum up, the World Policy Conference definitely is the place to be.

### François Nordmann

I just got back from Rabat and I would like to congratulate you for this year's successful conference and thank you for inviting me. The subjects and the panelists had been carefully chosen and really matched the guests' expectations by both dealing with current events as well as the long lasting trends that we are going through in these "troubled times".

### Alvise Giustiniani

The WPC is an interesting conference which brings together a lot of people with high profile, with highly interesting backgrounds to discuss global issues from different perspectives, because you have academics, you have industry.

### Karl Brauner

The 11<sup>th</sup> edition of the WPC has been a very inspiring experience. I really enjoyed the presentations and discussions which took place during the event. You have the ability to gather people who are not only experts, but also love sharing their knowledge and point of view. The whole conference was imbued with a sense of honesty and sincerity. You managed to create a dense and diversified agenda and you invited panelists who knew how to captivate the audience. The conference venue was very comfortable and the logistical organisation impeccable. You created an inspiring setting. But the WPC's best asset is the host. I really appreciated your way of introducing the sessions and how you managed to put the panellists at ease thanks to your sense of humour. Thank you very much for your invitation and hospitality.

### Bartholomew 1<sup>st</sup>

We can only rejoice that this new edition of the World Policy Conference is taking place, in Morocco. By inviting us to share our ideas, its organisers—and here we wish to thank Professor Thierry de Montbrial very warmly for his friendship—have underscored the crucial importance religion can have in thinking about world affairs and international issues. The Ecumenical Patriarchate that we have the honour to represent thanks them while wishing them, and all the participants, total success in their endeavour.

### Jean-Claude Gruffat

I particularly enjoyed the conversation over the past three days. It was extraordinarily rich, and the quality of the contributions from everybody was remarkable.

### Nasser Bourita

In the profusion of think tanks and international fora, the World Policy Conference has become one of the best. Above all, the World Policy Conference has remained relevant and kept its own identity, ensuring its remarkable longevity. It is an example of what a space of free thought must be: lasting, not fleeting; creative, not redundant; a leader, not a follower.

### Mona Makram-Ebeid

I think the WPC meeting was very timely because not only have they approached all the challenges that exist today, but they showed how this sort of non-governmental organization think tank can help to open people's minds to the current dangers, challenges and opportunities to be able to get to the objectives of the WPC, which is to have a better world, to have a better governance, less corruption around and less violence.

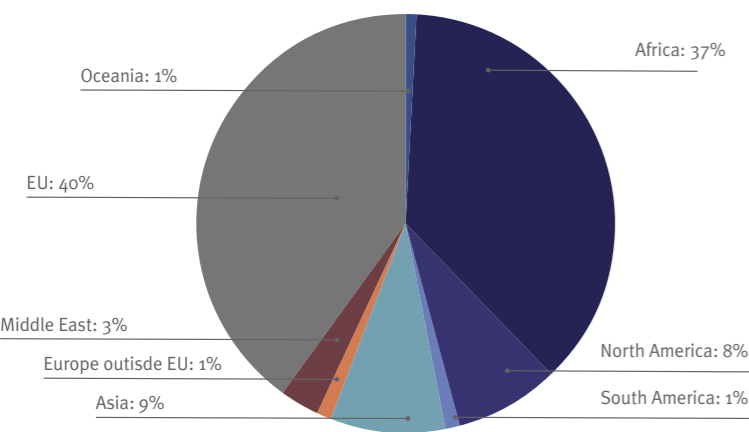
### Leung Chun-ying

I am very pleased to be in Morocco, attending the World Policy Conference for the first time. I have two hopes: one is that my diary will allow me to come back to join you again next year, and the second is that hopefully, at next year's World Policy Conference, I will be able to come with more of my fellow countrymen to share the Chinese narrative with you. I heard China being mentioned in many different contexts over the past day and a half, and I should encourage more of my fellow countrymen to come and share their narrative with you.

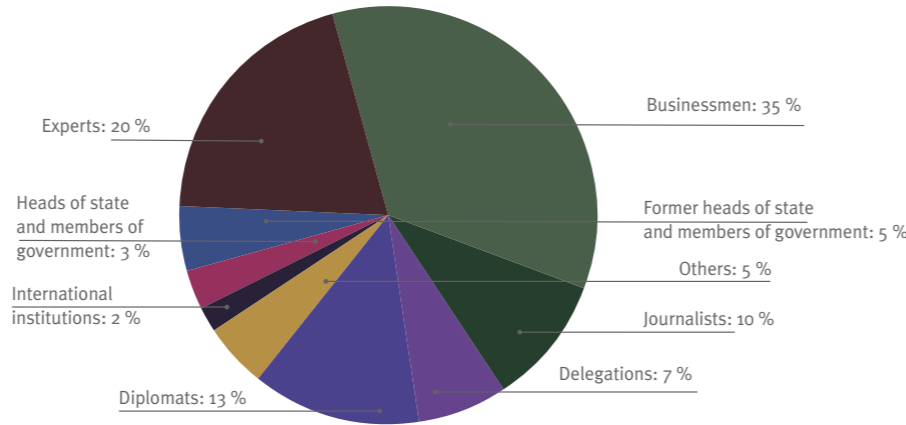




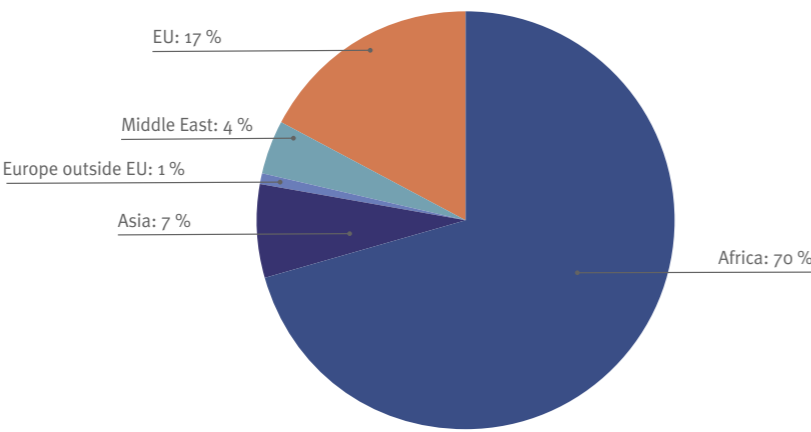
KEY DATA



Participants - Geographical breakdown  
(total: 410 participants from 55 countries)



Participants - Breakdown by function  
(total: 410 participants from 55 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles  
(total: 193 articles)





Abaddi, Ahmed

Member of the Council of Qaddi Ayyad University since 2002, he was appointed Director of Habous and Islamic Affairs in April 2004. Secretary General of Rabita Mohammadia des Oulémas (Mohammadia League of Scholars) since April 2006.

Abbad El Andaloussi, Zineb

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

Abiteboul, Jean

President of Cheniere Marketing Ltd, a 100% subsidiary of Cheniere Energy, Inc., a Houston-based company specializing in liquefied natural gas importation and exportation. . He was among others International Executive Vice President, Gaz de France (now Engie).

Aburdene, Odeh

President of OAI Advisors. Board member of the Atlantic Council and the Scowcroft Center. Prior to that he was a managing partner of Capital Trust S.A., where he 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.

Agon, Jean-Paul

Chairman and CEO, L'Oréal. He joined L'Oréal in 1978 and has worked his entire career in the Group, on all continents. He is a Director of Air Liquide, a member of the European Round Table of Industrialists, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Consumer Goods Forum.

Ait Kadi, Mohamed

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

Ajbilou, Aziz

General secretary of the Deputy Ministry General Affairs and Governance, Morocco.

Alaoui Belrghiti, Ilias

Consultant in influence communication and economic intelligence at Global Intelligence Partners.

Al-Hajeri, Manaf

Chief Executive Officer of Kuwait Financial Center, Markaz since 2004. Former Deputy Director of Investments 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.

Amegroud, Tayeb

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. Founder of GPower Consultants. Former Director in charge of Renewable Projects Development, Planning and Strategy at the Office National de l'Electricité (ONE).

Al-Omeir, Othman

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

Amrani, Youssef

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

Andrews, John

Author and journalist specialising in world politics. He is a contributing editor for The Economist and has been a senior editor for Project Syndicate.

Antil, Alain

Head of the Ifri Sub-Saharan Africa program. He works on Mauritania and security issues in the Sahel. He teaches at the Institut d'Études Politiques of Lille. He has been a research fellow at the Institut de recherches internationales et stratégiques.

Appert, Olivier

President of the French Energy Council and of the French committee of the World Energy Council. He is also General Delegate of the French Academy of Engineering. Previously, he was Chairman and CEO of IFP Energies Nouvelles.

Arbib, Anyss

Senior Banker at BNP Paribas Corporate and Institutional Banking.

Aruffo, Valeria

Regional manager for West and North Africa, EnergyNet.

Aslan, Ali

International presenter, journalist and TV host. He has worked worldwide for global news networks such as CNN, ABC News, Channel News Asia and Deutsche Welle TV.

Azraih, Abdelkader

President of the Rabat-Salé-Kénitra regional Commission on Human Rights at the National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH).

Badré, Bertrand

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

Bakkoury, Mustapha

President of Masen (Moroccan Solar Energy Agency). Former General Manager of the Moroccan Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion. President of the Casablanca-Settat region.

Barrault, François

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

Bassou, Abdelhak

Senior non-resident fellow, OCP Policy Center. Former Director of the Royal Institute of Police. He held several positions within the Directorate General of the Moroccan National Security.

Belarbi, Larbi

Honorary Consul of Japan in Morocco, a member of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council, Chairman of the Academic Committee at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Vice-President of the Moroccan Association of Competitive Intelligence.

Beltran, Jacques

Special advisor to Valérie Pécresse, President of Paris Region, in charge of European and International affairs since 2017. Deputy Director General of the Regional Council of Paris Region, in charge of European affairs, international cooperation and tourism.

Benali, Leila

President of the Arab Energy Forum. International expert in energy, strategies, investments and international relations. She is in charge of energy policy and gas strategy in Saudi Aramco.

Benazzouz, Anouar

General Manager of the National Highway Company of Morocco. Former Chief of Staff of the Minister of Equipment, Transport and Logistics.

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.

Benlafqih, Touria

Founder and CEO, EMPEOPLE. Former Program Director of Enactus Morocco. Previously, she was the administrative and financial assistant of project conducted by the UNDP, related to Climate Change Adaptation in Oasis Areas in Morocco.

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 (AMI).

Bensalah Chaqroun, Miriem

CEO of Les Eaux Minérales d'Oulmès. Former President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises. She is at the head of Holmarcom, one of the largest groups in Morocco and Africa, 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.

Berrada, Mohamed

Arabic literature teacher at the Faculté des Lettres of the Mohammed V University in Rabat. He is a member of the advisory board of the Moroccan literary magazine Prologue.

Biaz, Fatim-Zahra

Entrepreneur and founder of New Work Lab, an innovation lab for entrepreneurs, students and corporations. She develops new creative models in education and has just started a career accelerator, School of Changes.

Biloa, Marie-Roger

Chief Executive Director of The Africa International Media Group and its branch MRB Productions, Media Consultant and Adviser on African Affairs. She also heads the “Club Millennium” in Paris.

Blanchard, Olivier

French macroeconomist, Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, Robert M. Solow Professor of Economics emeritus at MIT. Former Chief Economist of the IMF.

Boadu, Prince

CEO and co-founder of MapTech Logistics Limited, a company that uses the power of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to solve business problems by developing and deploying GIS based applications.

Bönning, Matthias

Managing Director at ISS-oekom. Former Chief Operating Officer and Head of Research at oekom research AG.

Borrell, Josep

Minister of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation of Spain. Former President of the European Parliament.

Bouabid, Brahim

Member of the National Control Commission for the Protection of Personal Data. Former advisor to the Secretary of State to the Prime Minister in charge of the Post and Information Technologies, and adviser to the Minister of Justice, in charge of international cooperation.

Bouabid, Othman

Former Governor, Morocco. 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.

Bouhia, Hynd

CEO of Global Nexus, a private equity fund dedicated to clean energy infrastructure in Morocco. Former Director General of the Casablanca Stock Exchange. Former Economic Advisor of Morocco's Prime Minister.

Boulaknadel, Hassan

Director of Moroccan Foreign exchange bureau. Previously, he was Director of the Moroccan Financial Market Authority (AMMC).

Bourita, Nasser

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

Bourlanges, Jean-Louis

Member of the French Parliament, Representing the Hauts-de-Seine department since June 2017. Former Member of the European Parliament. Former Chief Counsellor and Senior Auditor at the French Court of Audit.

Bourqia, Rahma

Director of National Evaluation Authority in the Higher Council of Education Training and Research in Morocco. Former President of Hassan II University Mohammedia Casablanca, former Dean and Professor of Sociology in Mohamed V University Agdal Rabat.

Brauner, Karl

Deputy Director-General of the WTO. Former Director General for external economic policy in the German Federal Ministry of Economics.

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.

Cabestan, Jean-Pierre

Professor, Department of Government and International Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University. Associate Researcher at the Asia Centre, Paris and at the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China in Hong Kong.

Campos Queiroz (de), Eduardo

Chief Executive Officer of the Maria Cecilia Souto Vidigal Foundation in Brazil. Former Special Advisor to the Secretary of Education of the State of São Paulo.

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, becoming Corporate Secretary of Airbus Commercial Aircraft and Executive Vice-President Strategy of Airbus.

Chalmin, Philippe

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

Chan, Ronnie C.

Chairman of Hang Lung Group Ltd. and its subsidiary Hang Lung Properties Ltd.

Chang, Dae-whan

Chairman and Publisher, Maekyung Media Group. Founder and Executive Chairman of World Knowledge Forum. Member of the Global Commission on Internet Governance. Former acting Prime Minister of Korea.





**Cherkaoui, Ayman**

Executive Director of the Global Compact Network Morocco. Former Special Advisor to the Presidency of COP22.

**Cherkaoui, Mouna**

Professor at Mohammed 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.

**Cleary, Seán**

Founder and Executive Vice-Chairman of the FutureWorld Foundation and Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd. Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Global Economic Symposium.

**Cohen-Tanugi, Laurent**

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

**Condé, Sékou Kouréissy**

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 since 1981. He was Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, and Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Department of State.

**Copé, Jean-François**

Mayor of Meaux, France. Lecturer at Sciences Po and Associate Professor at the University of Paris VIII. Former delegate Minister of the Budget (2004-2007) and spokesperson of the French government (2002-2007). Former President of the UMP (2012-2014).

**Coulibaly, Amadou Gon**

Prime Minister, Minister of State Budget, Head of the Government of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire. Former Secretary General of the Presidency, Minister of State and Minister of Agriculture.

**Counsell, Benedict**

Senior Manager, International Markets for Delivery Hero, the largest restaurant-to-customer food delivery company 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. Former Director of the International Trade, Economic Policy, and Development Prospects Departments at the World Bank.

**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 (Diplomacy & Defense issues, USA – Europe – Middle East).

**Debrouwere, Sebastiaan**

Consultant at McKinsey & Company in Brussels, Belgium. Former President of the King's College London Students' Union (KCLSU) and former President of King's College London Think Tank.

**Dejammet, Alain**

Former Ambassador of France. Former Ambassador to the UN and then to the Holy See. Chairman of the Scientific Committee of the Foundation Res Publica.

**Delapalme, Nathalie**

Executive Director (Research and Policy) of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Former Advisor in charge of Africa to several French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Ministers of Development.

**Deroubaix, Bertrand**

Senior Vice President Public Affairs, Total.

**Dervis, Kemal**

Senior Fellow in the Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution and Senior Advisor at Sabanci University. He was Minister of Economic Affairs of Turkey.

**Desalegn, Hailemariam**

Former Prime Minister of Ethiopia. He previously served as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (2010-2012).

**Desouches, Christine**

Honorary lecturer at the Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), expert-consultant to international organisations and member of the strategic council of IFRI.

**Diop, Abdou**

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

**Doukkali, Mohammed Rachid**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. Professor of applied economics at the department of social sciences at the Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine Institute Hassan II (IAV – Hassan II) of Rabat.

**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).

**Dryef, M’hammed**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center and Consultant in Strategy and Urban and Territorial Governance at MD&Associés. He was Wali from several Moroccan cities and Governor/Director General of Urban Planning, Land Planning and Environment at the Interior Ministry in Rabat.

**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.

**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 Aynaoui, Karim**

Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of the Mohammed VI Polytechnic University and Managing Director of OCP Policy Center. He served as Director of Economics and International Relations at Bank Al-Maghrib, the Central Bank of Morocco.

**El Ferdaous, Othman**

Secretary of State to the Minister of Industry, Investment, Trade and Digital Economy, in charge of investment, Kingdom of Morocco.

**Elbegdorj, Tsakhia**

Former President of Mongolia (2009-2016). He served as Member of Parliament, Chairman of the Democratic Party of Mongolia and Prime Minister of Mongolia.

**Engel, Rozlyn**

Nonresident Scholar in the Geo-Economics and Strategy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She served as Senior executive in charge of the Office of Macroeconomic Analysis in the U.S. Treasury Department.

**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.

**Essaouri, Mohamed**

Research professor at Mohammed V University. Expert at the Moroccan Ministry of Higher Education for the evaluation of training courses and cooperation projects.

**Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine**

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

**Fassi Fihri, Abdelmajid**

CEO of BNP Paribas Regional Hub for Africa.

**Fabius, Laurent**

President of the Constitutional Council. Former French Foreign Minister. He served as Foreign Minister, Minister of Economy, Finance and Industry, Minister of Budget, Minister of Industry and Research and Prime Minister.

**Franck, Natasha**

Founder and Chief Executive Officer of EON. Prior to this, she was Senior Vice President of Global Business Development at Delos, a technology and real estate start-up.

**Frieden, Jeffry A.**

Professor of Government at Harvard University. He specializes in the politics of international economic relations.

**Fujisaki, Ichiro**

President of the Nakasone Peace Institute (NPI), Japan. He is also President of the America-Japan Society Inc. He served as Ambassador of Japan to the United States, Ambassador of Japan to the UN and WTO in Geneva.

**Fullilove, Michael**

Executive Director of the Lowy Institute. He served as an adviser to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating.

**Gallagher, Brian A.**

President and Chief Executive Officer of United Way Worldwide. Former president and CEO of United Way of America.

**Gascón, Lorenzo**

Academician and Vice-Chairman of the Royal Academy of Economic and Financial Sciences of Spain. He is 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 Chief of the Military Staff of the President of the Republic, he was promoted to Army General on and then appointed Chief of the Defence Staff of the French Army.

**Germay (de), Nicolas**

Vice chairman of the WPC. He is also chairman and founder of Alandia. He seats, or seated, at several Advisory Boards such as British Telecom or PWC.

**Ghosn, Carlos**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Renault-Nissan-Mitsubishi. Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Renault. Former Chairman, Nissan Motor Company and Mitsubishi Motors.

**Ghosn, Georges**

Journalist, Chair Publishing conglomerate.

**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 by the foreign correspondents in Paris.

**Girault, Jean-François**

Ambassador of France to the Kingdom of Morocco since 2015. He was Director for North Africa and the Middle East at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development. He was among others Ambassador of France to Vietnam, to Irak and to Syria.

**Gomart, Thomas**

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

**Gruffat, Jean-Claude**

Managing Director Galileo Global Associates New York since 2014. He is also Director of United Way Worldwide since May 2014. Former Managing Director Citigroup New York, former Citi Country Officer for France, and former Executive Vice President and Management Board member of Banque Indosuez.

**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**

President of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures. 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.

**Habek, Abdelati**

Publication director and Editor in chief of the Diplomata magazine.

**Halalai, Traian**

President of Banca de Import Export a Romaniei – EximBank SA. Former Deputy General Manager and Board Member of Romanian Bank SA (part of National Bank of Greece Group). Previously, he was 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.





**Harrak, Fatima**

Historian and political scientist. Research professor of the University Mohammed V Institute of African Studies (IAS). Active member of the pan-African Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

**Hayat, Nezha**

President of AMMC, Morocco's Capital Market Authority, since 2016. Vice-Chair of the Africa and Middle East Committee (AMERC) within the International Organization of Financial Market Regulators (IOSCO). She created le “Club des femmes administrateurs au Maroc” in 2012, to promote women in corporate boards.

**Hayden, Suzanne**

International Attorney, former Senior Prosecutor for the US Department of Justice. She is a licensed attorney who has spent thirty years in public service and law enforcement serving as a senior advisor to members of the US government and to International Organizations.

**Hié, Henri**

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

**Hoagland, Jim**

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

**Hob-Hob, Veronique**

Marketing manager at Bridge Africa, a tech start-up that promotes African-generated content by enabling people to create professional websites for their business. Founding partner of New Frame Limited, a mobile app development startup that seeks to help businesses in Cameroon improve their brands.

**Hosoya, Yuichi**

Professor, Faculty of Law, Keio University. He was an assistant professor at Hokkaido University, Keiai University, and Keio University, a visiting researcher at Princeton University, and visiting professor at Sciences Po, Paris.

**Houari, Mikail**

President of Airbus Africa & Middle East. In 2011 he was appointed as General Delegate of the Group Airbus for the UAE.

**Ibourk, Aomar**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. Economist and Professor of quantitative methods and social economics at the Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech.

**Itoh, Motoshige**

Emeritus Professor, University of Tokyo and Professor at Gakushuin University. Previously, he was the 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.

**Jaïdi, Larabi**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. He is a former Professor at the Mohammed V University in Rabat- Agdal. He is a founding member of the Centre Marocain de Conjoncture and of the Groupement d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la Méditerranée.

**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).

**Janmaat, Marco**

Founder and Director of VR Owl, Netherlands

**Jansen, Sabine**

Professor in International Relations at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), Paris, and Research Fellow at the Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherches en sciences de l'action (Lirsa-CNAM) Paris. She serves as editor of Revue historique and member of the Editorial Board of Parlements.

**Jeremic, Vuk**

President of the Center for International Relations and Sustainable Development (CIRSD). Leader of Serbia's opposition People's Party. Previously, he served as Serbia's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Johnston, Donald J.**

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

**Kabbaj, Mohamed**

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

**Kadiri, Laaziz**

President of the Economic Diplomacy, Africa and South-South Committee of the CGEM.

**Kastoueva-Jean, Tatiana**

Head of Russia-NIS Center of Ifri since January 2014. Before joining Ifri in 2005, she taught international relations for the French-Russian Master at MGIMO University in Moscow.

**Kaul, Chittaranjan**

Director of the Centre for Learning Resources in Pune, India.

**Keller, Daniel**

Transformation Director in the Humanis Social Protection Group, in charge of organisation, project management and operational efficiency, since 2016. Former Head of Worldwide Sales Quality, Renault Group.

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

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. Former Consultant to the OECD.

**Khemka, Shiv Vikram**

Vice-Chairman of SUN Group. He is Executive Chairman of the Global Education & Leadership Foundation (tGELF). He is a member of the BRICS Business Council delegation and leads the Indian business representation to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

**Khlie, Mohamed Rabie**

General Manager of the Office national des chemins de fer (ONCF) and Board member at Royal Air Maroc.

**Kiechel, Anne-Laure**

Partner, Global Head of Sovereign Advisory, Rothschild & Cie. She headed Lehman's DCM practice for Northern Europe. She was a Senior Banker (M&A, DCM, ECM) for French corporates based in Paris.

**Klich, Bogdan**

Senator, Minority Leader of the Polish Senate. He served as Minister of Defence (2007-2011) and Member of the European Parliament. He was the head of the International Centre for Development of Democracy in Cracow and the Institute for Strategic Studies.

**Kneissl, Karin**

Austrian Federal Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs. She is co-founder and vice president of Whistleblowing Austria as well as vice president of the Society for Politico-Strategic Studies, STRATEG.

**Kögeler, Klaus**

Austrian Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco. He served as an Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of the Austrian Representation to the OSCE. He held positions at the Austrian Embassies in Norway, Spain and Hungary.

**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.

**Krisnamurthi, Bayu**

Senior Lecturer within the Department of Agribusiness of the Faculty of Economic and Management, Bogor Agricultural University, Indonesia. Former Vice Minister of Trade and former Vice Minister of Agriculture, Republic of Indonesia.

**Laassel, Abderrazzak**

Director for the Maghreb, the Maghreb Union and the African Union Affairs. Deputy Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations headquarters in New York.

**Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre**

Medical Doctor and psychiatrist, registered in Paris. He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms (Laboratoires pharmaceutiques Debat, Laboratoires Lisapharm) and with the National Agronomic Institute (Paris Grignon).

**Laïchoubi, Mohamed**

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

**Laraichi, Faycal**

President of the Société nationale de radiodiffusion et de télévision (SNRT) and of the Moroccan National Olympic Committee (CNOM).

**Le Gall, Jean-Yves**

President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales (CNES), the French space agency, 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**

Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG and Visiting Professor of the Graduate School of International Studies of Seoul National University. Former G2o Sherpa and Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea. Former Ambassador to France.

**León Gross, Bernardino**

Director General of the Emirates Diplomatic Academy in the UAE, former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and head of the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL). Former Special Representative of the European Union for the Southern Mediterranean and former European Union Special Representative for Libya.

**Leung, Chun-ying**

Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In 2012, he was elected the fourth-term Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. He founded the Belt and Road Hong Kong Centre and the Greater Bay Area Centre in 2017.

**Lévy-Lang, André**

Member of the board of Ifri, affiliate emeritus professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University, non-executive Chairman of Les Echos.

**Lo, Moubarack**

Special Advisor to the Prime Minister, Senegal. President of the Emergence Institute, specializing in economic and statistical studies and strategic planning.

**Lothian, Michael**

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

**Loulitchki, Mohammed**

Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center. Former Ambassador of Morocco to the United Nations and Professor at Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane.

**Lowenstein, James**

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

**Maamar, Younes**

Founding Partner of the Quattro Group and Partner of eONE Global Investments LLP. Former CEO of the Office National de l'Electricité.

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**Makram-Ebeid, Mona**

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

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Vice-rector of MGIMO-University since 2012. 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. He is currently working on the post-production of a series of films that aim to explore various global issues concerning politics and economics.

**Marie-Nelly, Marie Françoise**

World Bank's Country Director for the Maghreb and Malta, Middle East and North Africa. She joined the World Bank in 1994 and has held a variety of positions, such as Country Director for Nigeria.

**Mariton, Hervé**

Former Minister, former member of the French Parliament and Mayor of Crest since 1995. He was the whip of opposition in the finance committee.

**Masmoudi, Hicham**

Economist at the Moroccan Central Bank

**Masuda, Tatsuo**

Visiting professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business (NUCB) on energy-climate nexus. Former director of the International Energy Agency.

**Medvedowsky, Alexandre**

President of SYNFIE, the French syndicate for economic intelligence. President and Chairman of the Board of Directors of ESL & Network France.

**Messari, Nizar**

Vice President for Academic Affairs at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane.

**Metaich, Mustapha**

President of the association of Centrale and SUPELEC Engineers of Morocco.

**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.

Michel, Jacques

Head of Middle East and Africa for Corporate and Institutional Banking. Former CEO and Country Head of BNP Paribas India and member of the Executive Committee of BNP Paribas Asia Pacific (2009-2015).

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Charles and Marie Robertson Visiting Professor in International Economic Policy at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. Former Deputy Director in the International Monetary Fund's Research and European Departments.

Mokaddem, Leila

Country Director of the African Development Bank Country Office in Morocco. 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 to Israel and EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process.

Morel, Pierre

Director of the Pharos Observatory of cultural and religious pluralism and Coordinator of the political group of the OSCE Minsk Process on Ukraine. Former EU Special Representative for Central Asia and for the crisis in Georgia.

Morgan, Hugh M.

Principal of First Charnock Pty Ltd, Australia. Member of LafargeHolcim International Advisory Board. Former board member of the Reserve Bank of Australia.

Motii, Nadia

Professor and Head of International Relations at University Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco.

Mouline, Mohamed 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).

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.

Mourre, Marc

Director and founder of Mourre and Co specializing in oil, gas and commodities. He is Managing Director at Natixis (commodities departments), he is also advisor of a portfolio of companies in the commodities sector.

Mouttaqi, Abdellah

Secretary General of the Moroccan National Bureau of Petroleum and Mines (ONHYM) and Member of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council.

Muñiz, Manuel

Dean of the School of International Relations at IE University and Rafael del Pino Professor of Practice of Global Transformation. He is also the Founding Director of IE's Center for the Governance of Change.

Nasr, Samir

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

Nicolet, Patrick

Chief Technology Officer and Group Executive Board member, Capgemini. He oversees the Group internal information systems and cybersecurity.

Noland, Marcus

Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. He was previously a 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.

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.

Ouaouicha, Driss

President of Al Akhawayn University. He is General Secretary of the Moroccan British Society, and former Secretary of the EuroMed Permanent University Forum.

Ouertani, Tarek

Head of Marketing at ProGlove, Germany. After founding a textile brand in Bolivia, he executed marketing and innovation consultancy projects for German industry leaders.

Paal, Douglas

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

Pak, Mathilde

Economist in the Structural Policy Analysis Division of the Economics Department at OECD. She previously worked at the French Ministry of Labour and at the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) in the Short-Term Economic Analysis and in the Economic Studies Departments.

Paszkievicz, Ladislav

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

Pisani-Ferry, Jean

Professor at Hertie School of Governance (Berlin) and at Sciences Po Paris. Former Deputy Chairman of the French Economic Analysis Council and Senior Economic Adviser to the French Minister of Finance.

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.

Prica-Tavciovski , Sladjana

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Serbia to the Kingdom of Morocco.

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 of Dufour.

Qiao, Yide

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

Quirina, Mireille

Executive Coach and Business Consultant. Former Western Europe Director, General Counsel and Vice President, Corporate and Governmental Affairs, Europe, Middle East and Africa (EMEA) for DuPont de Nemours.

Rabinovich, Itamar

President of the Israel Institute (Washington and Jerusalem). Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History at the Tel Aviv University, Vice Chairman of the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv and a Distinguished Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

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 and Violence.

Robert, Virginie

Foreign Desk Editor of Les Echos. She is the vice-president of the European-American Press Club in Paris and a member of the French Diplomatic Press Association.

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.

Safir, Khalid

Wali, Director general of local governments at the Ministry of Interior. Former Wali of the Greater Casablanca region, of the Casablanca-Settat region and Secretary-General to the Ministry of Economy and Finance.

SaKong, Il

Chairman of the Institute for Global Economics. Former Minister of Finance. He also served as Special Consultant to the International Monetary Fund and Chairman of the Korea International Trade Association.

Sano, Tadakatsu

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

Schweitzer, Louis

Former General Commissioner for Investment. He served as Chairman of the French Foreign Affairs Council and currently serves as special representative of the French Foreign Minister for the Franco Japanese Partnership. He was Chairman and CEO of Renault.

Sekkal, Abdessamad

President of the Rabat-Salé-Kénitra Regional Council, Morocco. President of the United Regions Organization (ORU Fogar).

Semmar, Abderrahmane

Manager of the Department in charge of State Owned Enterprises and Privatization at the Ministry of Economy and Finance. He is Chairman of the Inter Ministerial Committee of the Public-Private Partnership and Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the National Accounting Council.

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.

Sibisi, Sandiso

Entrepreneur at Accenture, leading Open Innovation for Africa. She founded the Born to Succeed program that is curbing the steep youth unemployment rate in South Africa.

Sigal, Robert

CEO of the American Hospital of Paris since 2017. He worked at the Institut Gustave Roussy for 20 years, where he served as Executive Medical Director, after practicing as a physician, chief of radiology, and university professor.

Sijilmassi, Fathallah

Doctor of International Economics and postgraduate in Political Science, he has been Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the European Union (2003-2004) and in France (2004-2009).

Simon, Tobby

Founder and President of Synergia Foundation, a strategic think tank, President of the Synergia Group. He is a Commissioner with the Global Commission for Internet Governance (GCIG) and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

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.

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.

Stril, Arthur

Healthcare entrepreneur. He served as Head of Unit for hospital financing at the French Ministry of Health and as expert seconded to the European Commission.

Stuewe, James

Senior Advisor, Treasury Board Secretariat, Government of Canada. He has worked in consulting for Deloitte and the Royal Bank of Canada in Toronto.

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.

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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.

Toloraya, Georgy

Executive Director of Russian National Committee on BRICS Research, a legal entity created under the auspices of Russian government for Track 2 activities and Director of Program analysis at “Russkiy Mir” Presidential Foundation.





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Chairman of the French Institute of Directors (IFA). She is also the Founder and CEO of Act III Consultants, a management-consulting firm dedicated to digital transformation. She graduated from Sciences Po Paris and Columbia University (MBA).

Tricha, Loubna

Director General of the Office of Vocational Training and Employment Promotion (OFPTT).

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Former President of the European Central Bank and Honorary Governor of Banque de France. He is Honorary Chairman of the Group of Thirty, Chairman of the Board of Bruegel Institute and Chairman of the Trilateral Commission (Europe).

Trócsányi, László

Minister of Justice of Hungary since 2014. He is a lawyer by profession. He has been appointed Hungarian Ambassador to both Belgium and Luxembourg between 2000 and 2004 and to France between 2010 and 2014.

Tromler, Miklós Erik

Ambassador of Hungary to the Kingdom of Morocco since 2015. Prior to this, he was Chargé d’Affaires at the Embassy of Hungary in Rabat after serving as Deputy Head of Mission.

Tuakli, Juliette

United Way Worldwide’s Chair of Governance Committee and Member of its Leadership Council. Founder and medical director of CHILDAccra, she has more than 30 years of pediatric, family medicine and public health care experience.

van Daele, Frans

Senior Advisor for International and Government Affairs. Minister of State, Belgium. He joined the Belgian foreign service in 1971. After completing his diplomatic career, he served as Chief of Staff to HM the King of the Belgians.

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.

Verellen, Franciscus

Historian of medieval China, member of the Institut de France, professor and former director of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient (2004-2014). He has taught the history of Chinese religions in France, the United States, and China.

Véron, Nicolas

Senior Fellow at Bruegel, Brussels, and the Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC. He worked at Rothschild & Cie Banque and VEGLA, part of Saint-Gobain Group.

Wang, Jisi

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

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.

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.

Zaghnoun, 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).

Zeenni, Salim

Chairman of the American Lebanese Chamber of Commerce (AmCham Lebanon), Owner, President and CEO of Zeenni’s Trading Agency. He graduated from Saint Joseph University (USJ), Beirut.

Zinsou, Lionel

Co-chair of SouthBridge, a Financial Advisory Service company dedicated to Africa. Chairman of the Fondation de l’École Normale Supérieure and of Terra Nova think tank. Former CEO of the Private Equity firm PAI Partners (2009-2015) and Prime Minister of Benin (2015-2016).

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. 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





### Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of the WPC

The further we move into the 21st century, the more its contradictions burst into view. First of all, many of the promises borne by today's engulfing technological revolution are becoming reality. Some have called it the 4th Industrial Revolution; in fact, it is an unprecedented and historic transformation unlike anything ever experienced. Self-driving cars, three-dimensional traffic inside cities, "smart" homes and cities, robots everywhere, blockchain – the technology that will potentially transform transactions of all kinds by deleting the need for “trusted third parties”, the prospect of vertical and flourishing agriculture all the way into the desert, and the augmented or repaired human: these are just a few examples of the world of tomorrow, which many of us here will experience.

And yet the world of yesterday still strongly shapes our present. Some said technology would eventually erase borders and promote the rapid onset of a blissful globalisation. Instead, we are witnessing an exacerbation of nation-based realities, which irresistibly mirrors the past two centuries back to us. If I had to single out the dominant geopolitical phenomenon of the next thirty years, I would say without hesitation: the rivalry between China and the United States. Why thirty years? Because the current leadership of the Middle Empire has no hesitation, contrary to those that preceded it, about asserting loud and clear its aims when it comes to power – in the most traditional sense of the term - to celebrate the centennial of Mao Zedong's victory in China in due fashion. As early as 2001, George W. Bush wanted to make this relationship the main focus of his foreign policy. 9/11 threw him off course. Today, Donald Trump has veered back to re-open the topic, focusing above all on its commercial aspects in the broadest sense. In any case, in my view, all the other geopolitical issues in the years to come will need to be considered of course for what they are individually, but always in relation to this immense new surge. This holds, firstly, for the construction of Europe, the failure of which would be a tragedy for the Member States, but also – I am convinced of this – for the rest of the world: nobody wants to be trapped in another bipolar world and a form of mega cold war. It also goes for the construction of a new order in the Middle East, for which there is a glaring need. Some are already announcing a full-out war between the United States and China, conceivably triggered by an incident like the Sarajevo assassination just over one century ago. Others, in my opinion more accurately, believe such a war would be unlikely as long as the global economic governance does not deteriorate massively, just as World War II could probably have been avoided had there not been the “Great Depression” of the 1930s. In any case, from a political and economic point of view, we all need to put our energies toward better assessing the ultimate consequences of policies that push Russia or Iran into the arms of the rising superpower, or that promote the extension of China's influence in Europe, the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere.

How can we not also be concerned about the return, in international politics, to violence that is not only verbal, but palpably real, in the behaviour of a growing number of States? The first to come to everyone's mind are States that do not claim to be democracies or are moving away from democratic principles. Yet who would have thought in the past that a US president would be constantly doling out insults and threats, as much to his real or supposed adversaries as to his allies? Who would have imagined that the economy's levers would be misappropriated and turned into omnidirectional weapons for political purposes? I am referring in particular to the conditions for the imposition of new sanctions by the United States after its unilateral termination of the nuclear treaty with Iran (the JCPOA). Almost two years after Donald Trump's election, I must admit his actions do have certain coherence to them, and that the systematic use of the “survival of the fittest” principles has yielded results. Some of these even usher in new hope, such as the rapprochement between the two Koreas, even though evidently, things are far from proceeding according to the US President's plan. Kim Jong-un and Moon Jay-in have their own agenda to run. Korea has, over the centuries, learned how to behave toward the giants surrounding it. That being as it may, how can we overlook the fact that the short-term gains achieved by America in terms of trade or perhaps with respect to Iran will also inevitably trigger reactions that have immense long-term consequences? Thus, even if the institutions of multilateralism hold up against the barrage orchestrated by the 45th President of the United States, I believe that the dollar's survival as the single global reserve currency is now being challenged in a very real manner. Seeing this, the middle powers, the importance of which is one of the WPC's leitmotifs, should feel stirred to double up their efforts toward building global governance that is not dependent on the unpredictable march of the dominant power.

The conflict between the new and the old era is not limited to the contradiction between the globalisation implied by technology and the stronger affirmation of national reality. The tide of

political Islamism, which has built steadily for four decades, continues to wreak havoc across Muslim lands and beyond. There is no evidence indicating that it has begun to recede. What's more, the deviation of religions for use as political weapons is not limited to Islam alone. In the most recent news and admittedly on a very different scale, the separation in progress between the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox churches illustrates the complexity of the tie between religion and politics, well into the 21st century, which André Malraux allegedly proclaimed would be religious or at least spiritual. In any case, one of the major objectives of global governance must be the fight against all forms of religious warfare, which time and time again have left entire populations in mourning, leaving only devastation - at least for a time - in their wake.

Government is not only guided by reason. Government is not only guided by emotions. There must be a balance; there must be some sense of measure. Instead, what we see before us is polarisation: the triumph of reason, as expressed by the technological revolution, is indirectly exacerbating the most destructive passions and the most malevolent misappropriations of the aspiration for the divine. More than ever, I believe in the value of the mission which the WPC has made its own these past 10 years. Ever greater attention must be paid to all the commons of humanity, starting with the climate and the environment. We need to identify these areas of common heritage and learn to manage them collectively. The practices through which democracy is brought to life need to be reinvented in order to better combine dignity and efficiency. By actively conveying this message, the WPC hopes to contribute, albeit modestly, to the sustainable development of a reasonably open world that allows human beings – whatever their beliefs – to better experience both the reality and the mystery of their existence.

### Amadou Gon Coulibaly

Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire

Ladies and gentlemen, it is truly a pleasure for me to be taking part in the 2018 edition of the World Policy Conference in Rabat. I would thus, before making any remarks, convey to His Majesty Mohammed VI, King of Morocco, the greetings and expressions of friendship of the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, His Excellency Mr. Alassane Ouattara. On his behalf, I would like to voice my delight at the excellence of the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries. I would like to thank Thierry de Montbrial, President of the French Institute of International Relations, for having involved me in this important meeting, which - every year since 2008 - has offered decision-makers, researchers and opinion leaders the opportunity to discuss the challenges of today's world.

Ladies and gentlemen, over the past two decades, Africa has made remarkable progress in many areas. At the economic level, Africa's annual economic growth has remained, with the exception of 2016, above the world's average with rates ranging from 7 to 10% in some countries. I would express my delight at the fact that the Côte d'Ivoire, in recent years, has been at the level of these countries.

Public and private investment in sub-Saharan Africa has been showing marked growth, in particular foreign direct investment, which has risen from USD 25 billion in 2010 to over USD 42 billion in 2017, making for an increase of 68%.

At the social level, the extreme poverty rates in Africa have dropped from 57% in 1990 to 43% in 2012 and 35% in 2015.

Lastly, at the political level, democracy and individual freedoms have been strengthened, with a significant decrease in the number of conflicts.

As you can observe, the continent's image has considerably improved, to the point that the newspaper The Economist, which had dubbed Africa, in May 2000, a “hopeless continent”, has turned that title into “rising Africa”, then “aspiring Africa”.

I would now like to share with you some data about our continent. Africa has come out of the century of violent coups and armed conflicts as means of gaining State power; however, political and institutional stability remains to be consolidated on the continent. Some sub-regions of the continent are still facing terrorist threats. Despite the considerable efforts made these past years, Africa needs, according to the African Development Bank, approximately USD 108 billion per year to meet its infrastructure needs. To give you an example, the 48 countries of sub-Saharan Africa with a combined population of about 800 million people generate about the same amount of electricity as Spain, which has a population of 45 million. On a scale of 0 to 1, sub-Saharan Africa posts an average score of 0.40 for a global average of 0.57 in the World Bank's Human Capital Index assessment that was launched on October 11th in Bali.



The African continent is now home to 60% of the world's unused arable land and abundant mineral and energy resources, including renewable ones. Our continent is home to six out of the ten most dynamic economies in the world in terms of growth, including Côte d'Ivoire. The African continent's fundamentals are solid for a continuation of its growth trajectory.

Lastly, I would emphasise that by 2050, according to the United Nations, one in four people will be African, the population of young Africans under 15 will be of about 850 million and our workforce will be the largest in the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, the above information illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses of our continent. However, Africa has solid foundations for becoming a pillar of global growth and prosperity. To this end, it is the responsibility of African leaders to put in place policies and strategies to take up challenges, in a world that is constantly changing, in a world that is less and less predictable. Indeed, as several prominent figures have said, the recent example of Asian countries, particularly China, with its GDP per capita multiplying by 56 over the past 40 years, and the emergence of nearly 700 million people from poverty, shows that it is possible. In my view, Africa's governments could focus on 7 priorities.

The first would be political stability, peace and security. All across the African continent, these points are essential factors to consolidate the development of Africa. In this regard, the international community should support regional initiatives for conflict prevention and management. Moreover, regarding the fight against terrorism, operations such as the one led by the G5 Sahel deserve financial and logistical support. For example, on these security issues and the type of cooperation in which we could engage, I would remind you that, when President Alassane Ouattara was President of ECOWAS and the crisis in Mali broke out, the good coordination between ECOWAS and France made it possible, through Operation Serval, to stop what would have been a disaster for the West African sub-region.

The second priority lies in closing the infrastructure gap. The aim here is to improve the competitiveness of our economies. To do so, we need to mobilise more tax and savings resources, but also step up our bilateral and multilateral financial cooperation and promote public-private partnerships. In Côte d'Ivoire, we invest approximately 30% of the State budget annually in infrastructure financing. In the electricity sector, for example, we export electricity to 7 countries in the sub-region and our energy capacity, which has increased by 55% since 2011, and is now 2,250 MW the target being 4,000 MW by 2020.

The third priority, as I see it, is the education and training of young people. We must lay the emphasis on education, and this over an extended period: we must make education compulsory from ages 6 to 16. We also need to pay special attention to the area of vocational training in order to take up the employment challenge. The same goes for innovation, and the sector of science and technology, including information and communication technologies. I would also like to point out that in Côte d'Ivoire, we invest about one third of our budget in social spending, which includes education in particular, and health.

The fourth priority is to improve the business climate. This remains a priority for speeding up private sector development and attracting foreign direct investment, as the recent Doing Business ranking shows: the number of African countries in the Top 100 has doubled, from 5 in 2010 to 10 in 2017. African countries are thus on the right track. However, it is imperative that they continue their efforts.

The fifth priority is the continent's industrialisation. To structurally transform itself, the African economy must first industrialise. As the government of Côte d'Ivoire and given the nation's strong agricultural base, to us it means processing our agricultural raw materials, in particular cocoa and cashew nuts, products for which Côte d'Ivoire is the world's leading producer with about 2 million tonnes of cocoa and 750,000 tonnes of cashew nuts respectively. Through local processing, in particular of cocoa, we aim to create jobs and increase our share in the value chain of the cocoa industry, which is estimated at nearly USD 100 billion, of which only 6% comes back to the producing countries.

The sixth priority consists of maintaining a robust macroeconomic framework. This is essential if we are to gain and consolidate everyone's trust and achieve stability in our development. We have carried out far-reaching structural reforms through which we have been able to improve our macroeconomic framework, and the growth rate in Côte d'Ivoire has been around 8% over the past 6 years and is estimated to reach between 7% and 8% for the period 2018 to 2023 with inflation under control below 2%, a debt-to-GDP ratio around 44-45% and a budget deficit which we expect to reach 3% at the end of 2019.

Lastly, as regional integration gains speed, this should enable companies to access large markets and facilitate trade. In addition to Côte d'Ivoire's participation in WAMU and ECOWAS, we are among the countries that signed the agreement on the continental free trade area, which will in effect create a common market of over 1.2 billion people. However, governments cannot achieve this alone; the private sector has a major part to play, and remains the main driver of growth. The private sector should improve its productivity and performance to reap the greatest possible benefit from the opportunities in Africa, focus on technological innovations as are other emerging economies, particularly in Asia, and lastly, work with government to find solutions to the factors that are hampering its ability to produce and export goods.

Ladies and gentlemen, the conference that brings us together today is an opportunity to reflect in depth on the challenges facing Africa and the world. I am delighted to see how timely its themes have been, particularly those related to the global economic challenges of the next five years, migration and the future of multiculturalism, youth employment, energy and climate, as well as security issues and financing for development. I remain convinced, in view of the quality of this assembly, that our work will result in relevant proposals and recommendations that will enable our States to implement appropriate policies for economic and social development in Africa and in the world. It is with this hope that I would like to conclude my remarks by reiterating my sincere thanks to His Majesty King Mohammed VI and the organising committees of the World Policy Conference, and wish us every success in our work. Thank you very much.

### Message of General Michel Aoun

President of Lebanon

Message from His Excellency, the President of the Lebanese Republic, General Michel Aoun: “Ladies and gentlemen, by passing on this message to you, I am aware of the honour given to me to address this most recent edition of the World Policy Conference, taking place in Rabat, Morocco.

Ladies and gentlemen, by passing on this message to you, I am aware of the honour given to me to address this most recent edition of the World Policy Conference, taking place in Rabat, Morocco.

First of all, allow me to express my appreciation to His Majesty King Mohammed VI, King of Morocco, for hosting this very high-level meeting in his country. A land of encounters, history, beauty and tradition, Morocco continues its march towards modernity under the leadership of His Majesty, who regulates, commands and arbitrates so that harmonious coexistence may continue in the present and the future for an entire people, proud of what it has built and confident in what it will build in the future. This firm belief in living together among different cultures, civilisations and religions continues to inspire us, the Lebanese people. It has made Lebanon more than a country: it is a message for the East as well as for the West, as His Holiness Pope John Paul II described it. Now, this belief is universally needed.

Today more than ever, the peoples and States of the world urgently need to learn how to see, in the midst of almost universal chaos, the meaning of and respect for the truth, namely, that we do not live separate from one another. The recognition of the unity of the human family in its diversity and plurality and the attention paid to the unified dignity of each person must be given impetus in the responsibility to protect every human being. Conversely, it is indifference or the lack of intervention that causes real damage. Methods need to be developed to prevent or resolve conflicts, not only through the means available to diplomatic action, but above all, and perhaps before anything else, by giving attention and support to dialogue, the desire for reconciliation and transactional justice.

By launching last year my initiative at the United Nations to make Lebanon a world centre for interreligious and intercultural dialogue, and by launching this year at the same forum a multilateral convention to establish the Human Academy for interaction and dialogue in our country, Lebanon wanted to show once again its mission in this region of the world, the cradle of all dreams and legitimate expectations, which for some has become a space fated to experience endless conflict.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am confident that your conference, driven by intellectual freedom, will provide answers to essential questions, namely: how do we step out of chaos? How can we restore a world order that would enable our children to live in a peaceful, prosperous, fairer and governed world? Lebanon will not fail to take part in these debates, because it remains a bearer of hope, that of bringing to life and sharing a humanist ideal uniting all people and of making the reshaping of collective responsibility ethics prevail.



Please accept, ladies and gentlemen, members of the World Policy Conference present here today, my warm thanks and appreciation and the expression of my highest regards. Thank you.

**Message of His Holiness Bartholomew I**  
Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenial Patriarch

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

The rise of populism around the world is alarming. An ideology without substance, a politics of pandering and partisanship, it is nothing but the cynical taking up of a timeworn concept in international relations: “Divide and conquer”. But this diagnosis of contemporary society also attests to the malaise and anxiety of the human person. In the wake of the various political, industrial, economic and technological revolutions that have followed each other since the 18th century, globalisation, the fruit of modernity, was supposed to usher in an increasingly interdependent and interconnected world. Global interdependence was expected to bring about more equality, freedom and even democracy. But by using the failures of globalisation as a scapegoat, populism fuels hatred of others.

Unfortunately, in this whirlwind of excess and violence, religion is often used for disruptive and divisive purposes, pitting people against each other to the point where dialogue is no longer possible. According to its two usual meanings, religion is by nature unifying, bringing Heaven and Earth closer together, and acts horizontally as a vector of reconciliation. Faith is at the crossroads of the encounter between the divine and the human. As the June 2016 Encyclical of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church recalls, “True peace is not achieved by force of arms, but only through love that ‘does not seek its own’ (1 Cor. 13.5). The oil of faith must be used to soothe and heal the wounds of others, not to rekindle new fires of hatred.”

The very concept of relationship is in jeopardy. Like a swinging pendulum, the transformation of the world into a simple village has generated, for very diverse reasons, its negative double: isolation. What happens on a personal level also happens on an international one. Isolation is both personal and geopolitical. Thinkers, such as philosopher Régis Debray, have pondered the issue of connection as medium. Christian theologians prefer to speak in terms of communion, by thinking simultaneously of the One and the Multiple embodied in the Trinitarian typology. The One is never isolated and “multiple” does not mean “fragmented”. The One and the Multiple coexist. They are not an oxymoron but actually represent the expression of a promise. Communion flows from their relationship with each other. So does peace. We are certain that religion must play a positive role as an antidote to the poison of xenophobia concentrated by the migratory crisis today.

This social debate, which is especially lively in Europe, involves many aspects not just of our identity, but also of our faith, a faith lived in the reality of its incarnation. In 2016, we met our brother His Holiness Pope Francis on the Greek island of Lesbos, particularly exposed to the flow of migrants seeking refuge from the other side of the Mediterranean. On that occasion, we were able to get a sense of the dual tragedy unfolding before our eyes. It is dual because the migrants’ voyage is not only dangerous and hellish, with no assurance of success, but also because of the effects mentioned above, especially populism.

The crisis of connection and relationships is also highly visible on the environmental front. For isn’t the great migratory challenge of tomorrow connected to climate change? Scientists believe that in the coming years, climate change will affect the poorest people the most. That is why the environmental problem of pollution is directly linked to the social problem of poverty. In the final analysis, all environmental activities are measured through the prism of their impact and effects on the most vulnerable.

The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change recently published an alarming report on the possibility that the planet will become 1.5 degree warmer by 2030. Global warming is gathering pace and its consequences are already being felt. Protecting the environment is not just a scientific matter. It is an international political and geopolitical issue upon which peace depends. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been aware of the urgency of the situation for around 30 years. Our reckless consumption of natural resources such as oil, water and forests threatens our planet’s climate. That is the disastrous outcome of industrialisation and overconsumption on our environment. To restore our planet’s balance, we need a spirituality that fosters humility and respect and is aware of our acts’ effects on creation.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends,

The idea of sacrifice, for the self and for others, of the self or of others, bears witness to the

intimate relationship between the sacred and religion. At a time when our world glorifies profit and success, religion must be recognised, without cynicism but with a spirit of responsibility, as a cultural ferment of civilisation that nurtures a genuine desire for reconciliation. For there is no point in our reconciling the divine and the human if humanity is not reconciled with itself and with creation at the same time. Not just theology, but also art, literature and philosophy have always depicted and interpreted war, conflict and hatred as the relentless repetition of the original expulsion from Eden. Thus, confident in the power of reconciliation, Orthodox liturgy prays for world peace. Christianity is probably not the only religion to do so. Resonating in complex harmony, the voice of religions calls for the end of conflict, the peaceful coexistence of peoples and the restoration of the bonds of brotherhood.

We can only rejoice that this new edition of the World Policy Conference is taking place, in Morocco. By inviting us to share our ideas, its organisers – and here we wish to thank Professor Thierry de Montbrial very warmly for his friendship – have underscored the crucial importance religion can have in thinking about world affairs and international issues. The Ecumenical Patriarchate that we have the honour to represent thanks them while wishing them, and all the participants, total success in their endeavour.



Austria - Bundesministerium für Europa, Integration und Äußeres – 29/10/2018

Außenministerin Karin Kneissl reiste am Freitagabend, den 26. Oktober 2018, nach Marokko um dort an der jährlich stattfindenden ‚World Policy Conference‘ teilzunehmen. Bei dieser zum nunmehr 11. Mal stattfindenden Konferenz sprach die Außenministerin über den Übergang vom transatlantischen zum pazifischen Zeitalter sowie über den wirtschaftlichen Aufstieg Chinas und dessen Einfluss in Südosteuropa, dem Nahen Osten und Afrika.

Italy – Il manifesto – 01/11/2018

In occasione dell’11ma World Policy Conference, tenutasi a Rabat lo scorso weekend, il ministro degli Esteri spagnolo Joseph Borell ha confermato l’approvazione del fondo Ue di 140 milioni di euro da destinare al Marocco, sollecitato dal primo ministro spagnolo Pedro Sanchez durante il vertice dei capi di governo dell’Unione europea, svoltosi a Bruxelles il 17 e 18 ottobre, per il «controllo dell’immigrazione irregolare».

Jordan – MenaFN – 28/10/2018

Morocco was suggested to be turning into a key manufacture hub for France’s Renault over the next years. The statement was made by CEO of Renault Group Carlos Ghosn at the World Policy Conference (WPC) in Rabat. The CEO of the French vehicle manufacturer confirmed that the couple of factories located in Casablanca and Tangier are expected to hit a capacity of 500,000 cars production annually.

Lebanon – L’Orient Le Jour – 27/10/2018

La première journée de la 11e session de la Conférence sur la gouvernance mondiale (World Policy Conference, WPC), qui se tient depuis hier à Rabat à l’initiative de l’Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), a abordé des thèmes à caractère sociétal, avant que les dossiers géopolitiques soient débattus.

Morocco – Le Matin – 28/10/2018

Se déroulant du 26 au 28 octobre à Rabat, la 11e édition de la World Policy Conférence (WPC), comptant parmi les plus importantes conférences sur le plan international, a été une occasion propice de revenir sur certaines problématiques d’actualité géopolitique telle que la question migratoire. Dans ce sens, plusieurs intervenants ont souligné que « la politique migratoire adoptée par le Maroc est une success-story qui sert de modèle aux autres pays. »

Switzerland – Le Temps – 29/10/2018

La rivalité croissante entre la Chine et les Etats-Unis va structurer les relations internationales des trente prochaines années, a déclaré Thierry de Montbrial, président de la World Policy Conference à l’ouverture de la 11e édition, qui s’est tenue à Rabat du 26 au 28 octobre derniers.



Cuba – Prensa Latina – 28/10/2018

La WPC, que se celebra en Rabat, Marruecos, reúne a tomadores de decisiones, académicos y líderes de opinión de alto nivel de más de 40 países. Fundada en 2008, tiene como objetivo contribuir a mejorar todos los aspectos de la gobernanza, con miras a promover un mundo más abierto, próspero, justo y respetuoso con la diversidad de los estados y las naciones.

India – United News of India – 28/10/2018

Morocco will become a major production center for the French car manufacturer Renault in the coming few years, CEO of Renault Group Carlos Ghosn here said. Renault’s two factories in Casablanca and Tangier will reach a production capacity of 500,000 vehicles per year, CEO Ghosn said at World Policy Conference (WPC) [...] Organised on Oct 25-28, the WPC brings together top-level decision-makers, academics and opinion leaders from over 40 countries.

France – Les Echos – 28/10/2018

Réunis à Rabat à la World Policy Conference, des experts de la finance et des affaires internationales ont relayé les inquiétudes liées à la montée des populismes. Alors qu’un candidat d’extrême droite est aux portes du pouvoir au Brésil et que Rome et Bruxelles s’opposent sur le budget italien , le risque politique sur l’économie globale fait un retour en force dans les esprits.

Gabon – Infoplus Gabon – 25/10/2018

La WPC a été lancée en 2008 par l’Institut français de relations internationales (IFRI) sur l’initiative de son fondateur et président, Thierry de Montbrial. Il s’agit d’une conférence annuelle sur la gouvernance mondiale, qui vise à promouvoir un monde plus ouvert et plus prospère, et réunit des décideurs, des experts et des leaders d’opinions de haut niveau. En 2017, dans le classement mondial des Think Tanks de l’université de Pennsylvanie, aux Etats-Unis, la WPC a obtenu le troisième rang de meilleure conférence de Think Tank.

Morocco – Marrakechalaan – 27/10/2018

دعا المشاركون في الدورة الحادية عشرة لمؤتمر السياسة العالمية، اليوم الجمعة 26 أكتوبر بالرباط، إلى تعزيز التعاون في مجال التجارة متعددة الأطراف، لمواجهة التحديات الاقتصادية الرئيسية في السنوات الخمس المقبلة.وتشدد المنتخون، ومن بينهم وزراء سابقون وخبراء وباحثون، على أهمية "التعاون وتضامن الجهود بين الدول والحكومات" وكذا الالتزامات متعددة الأطراف من أجل اقتصاد عالمي قادر على مواجهة الأزمات "الاقتصادية المحتملة، مشيرين إلى أنه "لا يمكن تحقيق تعددية الأطراف بدون قيادة القوى المتوسطة".

Côte d’Ivoire – AIP – 26/10/2018

Le Premier Ministre ivoirien, Amadou Gon Coulibaly, intervenant à la cérémonie d’ouverture de la "World Policy Conference", vendredi, à Rabat (Maroc), a indiqué la nécessité pour l’Afrique de prendre part aux réflexions sur les problématiques de gouvernance mondiale.

Vietnam – RFI Vietnam – 26/10/ 2018

Cuối tuần này, 250 chuyên gia về quan hệ quốc tế tụ họp tại Rabat, thủ đô Maroc tham dự Hội nghị Chính Trị Quốc tế (World Policy Conference). Theo các chuyên gia, thế giới dường như đang được tái cấu trúc thành hai cực, tập trung xung quanh Hoa Kỳ và Trung Quốc, trong khi mà châu u đang tìm kiếm cho mình một chỗ đứng.

Japan – Nikkei – 28/10/2018

仏国際関係研究所がモロッコのラバトで開いている「世界政策会議」で、日本経済新聞などの取材に答えた。ゴーン氏はルノーによる2社の完全子会社化を避ける方針に変わりはないかとの問いに「私は過去の発言を数カ月後に翻したりしない。言った言葉はそのままだ」と述べた。同氏は6月、三菱自動車の株主総会で「完全子会社になる可能性はゼロだ」と語っていた。

Russia – EPRussia – 29/10/2018

Укрепление взаимодействия между европейскими и азиатскими государствами может помочь справиться с вызовами в интересах их граждан. Так считает министр иностранных дел Австрии Карин Кнайсль. Она заявила об этом в ходе пленарной сессии «Европа: некоторые стратегические задачи» в рамках 11-й Конференции по вопросам мировой политики (World Policy Conference), которая состоялась в Марокко. Мероприятие посетили более 250 гостей высокого уровня из 40 стран мира.

Korea – Maeil Business Newspaper/Maekyung – 01/11/2018

제4차 세계대전이 한창인 듯한 분위기였다. 최근 열린 세계정책포럼스(WPC)에서 전 세계 오피니언 리더들은 트럼프발 무역전쟁을 놓고 마치 세계대전이라도 일어난 것처럼 우려했다. 프랑스 국제관계연구소(IFRI)가 모로코 라바트에서 지난 10월 26일부터 3일 동안 주최한 이 행사 기간 내내 트럼프발 무역전쟁은 최대 화두였다. `충성 없는 세계대전`이 그대로 전달됐다.

Hungary – Igazságügyi Minisztérium – 27/10/2018

Trócsányi László igazságügyi miniszter panelbeszélgetésen vett részt a World Policy Conference globális nemzetközi fórumon, Rabatban 2018.október 26-án pénteken. A beszélgetés keretében Jean-François Copé, Meaux polgármestere, korábbi miniszter, Jim Hoagland a Washington Post szerkesztője és Bogdan Klich lengyel szenátor a migráció és multikulturalizmus kérdéséről vitázott.

Spain – la Información – 28/10/2018

Borrell ha sido uno de los asistentes a la World Policy Conference en Rabat para discutir los principales desafíos que afronta la comunidad internacional. Aprovechando este viaje, los jefes de la diplomacia de España y Marruecos han mantenido una reunión bilateral.

Hong Kong – Speakout – 29/10/2018

在摩洛哥Rabat市舉行、為期兩天半的第十一屆World Policy Conference剛結束，親自到當地出席的全國政協副主席梁振英隨即發表文章，提到雖然部份會議的議題和中國沒直接關係，但不少討論都旁及中國的影響和作用，中國的發展極為迅速，外界對中國不理解，認為要不斷加強溝通和交流的工作



“

**Patrick de Castelbajac**

The British sites are today the most competitive we have in Europe. We've got great talents there, we build our wings there, we have amazing engineers, we believe they are the best in the world for this. So not only England is key for Airbus economically at large but also in terms of identity, who we are, what we are capable of doing. And Brexit may change things.

“

**Steven Erlanger**

Trump has changed politics and he has changed it forever. The way he has used social media, the way he has kind of openly used demagoguery to rile up his base, Trump is a politician who lives on division and partisanship, he is not a consensus politician. He's been explicit about it and he has broken boundaries and was very successful doing it.

“

**Karin Kneissl**

I think we have been underestimating the rise of China for quite a while. China was considered as being first and foremost a business investor and we have slowly been realising that it is also turning as a true political actor.

“

**Ashoka Mody**

The fact that Greece has not leave the eurozone is not remotely yet a matter of celebration. It is true that Greece is stabilized, but its economy is 25% smaller than it was.

“

**Itamar Rabinovich**

In five years' time, the Middle East will not look better I'm afraid, because the underlying issues are not political but social, cultural and economic. The Arab world is now almost 400 million people; in five years, maybe closer to 500 million. The necessary needs for feeding, employing, educating and providing people with water are not improved. Therefore, there will be underlying instability.

“

**Jean Pisani-Ferry**

It is very hard to tell Italy, a country that has not had any growth since the outbreak of the crisis - and even for a longer period, GDP per capita is where it was 20 years ago - that status quo is the best option for them.

“

**Thierry de Montbrial**

In terms of the international situation, from the political, the economic or even the technological points of view, the general atmosphere in the world, in particular in Europe today, is quite pessimistic, quite gloomy. I think it was not the case in this edition of the WPC. We could discuss most of the serious issues of the day in an objective, dispassionate way. Sometimes people had quite different views but they discussed in a highly civilized manner and in that sense, I think it was highly positive.

“

**Jim Hoagland**

I am an optimist. I think the election in 2020 will see a generation of young men and women who fought in Iraq and Afghanistan go into politics in a big way and become the national leaders.

“

**Leung Chun-Ying**

What goes for Hong Kong is basically the combined benefits of one country-two systems. When we compete with foreign cities, we have the China advantage to bear, when we compete with cities like Shanghai, Chongqing or Guangzhou, we have the 2 systems advantage to bear, we have to combine advantages and benefits. It's a win-win situation.

“

**Karim El Aynaoui**

In a way, I think Africa is at a crossroad. Its biggest challenges are, of course, youth and employment. Economies need to grow in a smart and climate-friendly way. Some countries, such as Ethiopia, Rwanda or Botswana, have been quite successful in integrating policies in manufacturing so far.



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