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Foreword



A little more than three months after the 12th WPC, whose report we are publishing here, developments bear out the trends that were the focus of our discussions in Marrakech. In the United States, Donald Trump only has eyes on his re-election in November and shows indifference to the loss of trust in his country, which is rising abroad, even and perhaps especially among his allies. The Chinese-American trade deal concluded in January should not be taken for granted. It is only a truce, and the Chinese will do their utmost to speed up their race towards technological independence and supremacy. Affected by the slowdown in economic growth, the protests in Hong Kong and the re-election of Tsai Ing-wen in Taiwan, not to mention the coronavirus epidemic, Beijing can only take a tougher line. The multiple effects of the Chinese-American rivalry are increasingly palpable in the rest of the world. NATO's 70th anniversary summit in December 2019 loosened its members' tongues about the future of the Atlantic Alliance, while the European Union, under the leadership of its new leaders, is hesitating on the new path to take now that Brexit has finally happened. And everyone is speculating about Great Britain's geopolitical and economic options in the era of Boris Johnson.

In the rest of the world, popular protest is becoming more international, especially in the Islamic world, in Iraq, Iran, Lebanon and Algeria. Western indecision allows Russia to present itself as the chess master in Syria or to rival Turkey in Libya. Post-Bouteflika Algeria is raising all sorts of questions. But the country currently attracting

the most attention is Iran. Worn down by sanctions and shaken by the killing of General Soleimani, it seems too weak to confront the United States head on. But, despite the grumbling of the population, the mullahs' regime is not on the brink of collapse. It has not lost its ability to stir up trouble in the region. In this regard, and for other reasons with respect to North Korea, Washington is at an impasse. Meanwhile, Brazil and Australia are literally burning.

These are the realities at the beginning of 2020, when the international system more than ever needs to strengthen all its means of cooperation, in other words, what has come to be known as global governance. Faced with the Chinese-American stand-off and the risk of the whole international system degenerating, the middle powers can no longer afford to leave their fate in the hands of hypothetical protectors. Like it or not, they must clear-sightedly deepen their own points of view in an attempt to influence events. This has been the WPC's mission since its foundation in 2008.

Thierry de Montbrial
Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC
28 January 2020



Saturday, October 12

08:30 – 09:45 : *Opening session*

Thierry de Montbrial, Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC
Amadou Gon Coulibaly, Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire
Message of Édouard Philippe, Prime Minister of France

09:45 – 11:15

Plenary session 1: World political economic outlook in the context of the rise of China

Moderator:

Gabriel Felbermayr, President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy, Professor of Economics and Economic Policy at Kiel University

Speakers:

Olivier Blanchard, former President of the American Economic Association, former Chief Economist of the IMF

Naoki Tanaka, President of the Center for International Public Policy Studies, Tokyo

Arkebe Oqubay, Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia

Salaheddine Mezouar, President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Industry

Sergey Storchak, Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation
Il SaKong, Chairman Emeritus of the Institute for Global Economics, former Minister of Finance of the Republic of Korea, former Chairman of the Presidential Committee for the G20 Summit

11:15 – 12:00

Plenary session 2: Sustaining globalization – the Chinese position

Moderator:

Ronnie C. Chan, Chairman of Hang Lung Properties

Speakers:

Eric Li, Founder and Managing Partner of Chengwei Capital

Leung Chun-ying, Vice Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, People's Republic of China

12:00 – 12:30

Plenary session 3: Conversation with

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

12:30 – 14:30

Lunch debate

His Excellency Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim

Al-Thani, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar

14:30 – 15:45

Plenary session 4: Trade, direct investment and Trust

Moderator:

Virginie Robert, Foreign Desk Editor, *Les Echos*

Speakers:

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

Karl Brauner, Deputy Director-General of the WTO

Gabriel Felbermayr, President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy, Professor of Economics and Economic Policy at Kiel University

Marcus Noland, Executive Vice President of the Peterson Institute for International Economics, former Senior Economist at the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the US President

Yorizumi Watanabe, Professor of International Political Economy and Dean of the School of International Communication at Kansai University of International Studies, Japan

15:45 – 17:00

Plenary session 5: The politicization of the international system of payments and the future of the international monetary system

Moderator:

John Lipsky, Peterson Distinguished Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

Speakers:

Jeffrey Frieden, Professor of Government at Harvard University
Akinari Horii, Special Advisor and Member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

Hélène Rey, Professor of Economics at London Business School, Member of the French National Economic Commission, Member of the High Council for Financial Stability

Sergey Storchak, Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation
Jean-Claude Trichet, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bruegel, European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB

17:00 – 18:00

Plenary session 6: The weaponization of Law and globalization

Moderator:

Laurent Cohen-Tanugi, Member of the Paris and New York Bars, former Chairman of French governmental task force on Europe in the global economy

Speakers:

Anne-Thida Norodom, Professor of Public Law at the University of Paris Descartes, Secretary-General of the French Society for International Law

Stuart Eizenstat, Senior Counsel at Covington & Burling LLP, former Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor to President Jimmy Carter, former US Ambassador to the European Union

Lee Hye-min, Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG, former G20 Sherpa, former Deputy Minister for Trade and Chief Negotiator for the Korea-EU FTA

Michael Möller, former Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva

19:00

Dinner debate with Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda

Sunday, October 13

08:30 – 09:45

Plenary session 7: Technology, society and politics

Moderator:

Jim Hoagland, Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*

Speakers:

François Barrault, Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, Chairman and Founder of FDB Partners

Jean-Yves Le Gall, President of CNES, President of the International Astronautical Federation, Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency

Susan Liautaud, Lecturer in Public Policy and Law at Stanford University, Interim Chair of Council of the London School of Economics, Founder and Managing Director of Susan Liautaud & Associates Ltd
Holger Mey, Vice President, Advanced Concepts, Airbus, Munich: former President and CEO of the Institute for Strategic Analyses, Bonn
John Sawers, Executive Chairman of Newbridge Advisory, Senior Advisor at Chatham House, former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) of the United Kingdom

09:45 – 10:30

Plenary session 8: Cyber powers and the cyber threat

Moderator:

Thomas Gomart, Director of Ifri

Speakers:

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

Jean-Louis Gergorin, former Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Meir Sheetrit, former Member of the Knesset, former Minister of Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy, former Minister of the Interior

10:30 – 11:15

Plenary session 9: Climate and environment

Conversation with :

Laurent Fabius, President of the Constitutional Council, former President of the COP 21, former Prime Minister of France, and
Patrick Pouyanné, CEO of Total

11:15 – 12:15

Plenary session 10: The status of health care delivery in Africa: challenges and opportunities

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

Nardos Bekele-Thomas, Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in South Africa

Juliette Tuakli, Founder and Medical Director of Family CHILD & Associates, Ghana: United Way Worldwide's Chair of Governance Committee

Robert Sigal, CEO of the American Hospital of Paris

Pierre M'Pelé, Mercy Ships Ambassador for Africa and Africa Bureau Director

12:30 – 14:15

Lunch debate

Kevin Rudd, President of the Asia Society Policy Institute, former Prime Minister of Australia

14:15 – 15:45

Plenary session 11: European uncertainties

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

Hubert Védrine, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France

Volker Perthes, Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), former UN Assistant Secretary-General

Ana Palacio, former Member of the Council of State of Spain, former Senior Vice President of the World Bank, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

Artem Malgin, Vice Rector of the MGIMO University, Professor of the Department of International Relations and Russia's Foreign Policy

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

Enrico Letta, Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po Paris, former Prime Minister of Italy

15:45 – 16:45

Plenary session 12: Where is Latin America heading?

Moderator:

Jim Hoagland, Contributing Editor to *The Washington Post*

Speakers:

Andrés Rozental, Senior Policy Advisor at Chatham House, President of Rozental & Asociados, former Mexico's Ambassador to the United Kingdom

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, President of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, Brazil

Miguel Ángel Moratinos, High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain

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

16:45 – 19:15

Parallel workshops

Workshop 1: Finance and economy

Chair:

Jean-Claude Trichet, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bruegel, European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of the ECB

Speakers:

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

Daniel Dăianu, Chairman of the Fiscal Council and Advisor to the Governor (Euro Area Affairs), former Board Member of the National Bank of Romania

Jeffrey Frieden, Professor of Government at Harvard University
Akinari Horii, Special Advisor and Member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan

Hur Kyung-wook, President of Korean Bretton Woods Club, former Advisor to the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, former Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, former Senior Economist for the IMF

André Lévy-Lang, Affiliate Emeritus Professor of Finance at Paris-Dauphine University

John Lipsky, Peterson Distinguished Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

Hélène Rey, Professor of Economics at London Business School, Member of the French National Economic Commission, Member of the High Council for Financial Stability

Workshop 2: Energy and environment

Chair:

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

Speakers:

Olivier Appert, Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri, former President of the French Energy Council (French Committee of the World Energy Council)

Leila Benali, Chief Economist, Head of Strategy, Energy Economics and Sustainability at the Arab Petroleum Investments Corporation

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

Cosmin Ghita, CEO of Nuclearelectrica, Romania
Tatsuo Masuda, Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business on energy-climate nexus, Chairman of FairCourt Capital in London, Strategic Committee Member of Elion House in Singapore

Ali Zerouali, Director of Cooperation and International Development of the Moroccan Agency for Sustainable Energy

Workshop 3: Africa

Chair:

Robert Dossou, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin, former President of the Constitutional Court, President of the African Association of International Law

Speakers:

Sean Cleary, Founder and Executive Vice Chairman of the Future-World Foundation, Chairman of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd
Elisabeth Guigou, President of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures, former Minister, former Member of the French Parliament and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly

Sheikh Tidiane Gadio, President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies, Peace, Security and Governance, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal

Karim Lotfi Senhadji, CEO of OCP Africa

Pierre M'Pelé, Mercy Ships Ambassador for Africa and Africa Bureau Director

Juliette Tuakli, Founder and Medical Director of Family CHILD & Associates, Ghana: United Way Worldwide's Chair of Governance Committee

Aminata Touré, President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal, former Prime Minister of Senegal

20:15

Gala Dinner



Monday, October 14

08:00 – 09:00

Reports from parallel workshops

09:00 – 10:15

Plenary session 13: Middle East and North/West Africa

Moderator:

Volker Perthes, Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), former UN Assistant Secretary-General

Speakers:

Mohamed Ibn Chambas, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel

Memduh Karakullukçu, Vice Chairman and Founding President of the Global Relations Forum

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

Dong Manyuan, Vice President of the China Institute of International Studies

10:15 – 11:15

Plenary session 14: Cross-border illegal trade: a destabilizing factor for the global economy

Moderator:

Alvise Giustiniani, Vice President for Illicit Trade Prevention of PMI

Speakers:

Laurent Marcadier, former Magistrate, Senior Advisor in charge of Legal Affairs of LVMH Group

Carlos Moreira, Founder and CEO of WISeKey

Jean-François Thony, Prosecutor-General, President of the Siracusa International Institute

11:15 – 12:45

Plenary session 15: The consequences of Trump, Act III

Moderator:

Jim Bittermann, Senior European Correspondent for CNN in Paris

Speakers:

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

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

Jean-Claude Gruffat, Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, Washington DC

Josef Joffe, Publisher-Editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit*

Qiao Yide, Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation

John Sawers, Executive Chairman of Newbridge Advisory, Senior Advisor at Chatham House, former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) of the United Kingdom

13:00 – 15:00

Lunch debate

Aminata Touré, President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal, former Prime Minister of Senegal, and
Arkebe Oqubay, Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia

15:00 – 16:30

Plenary session 16: Young Leaders

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

James Stuewe, Manager, Public Sector, Canada

Xavier Ploquin, former Advisor for Energy, Industry and Innovation at the French Ministry for the Ecological and Inclusive Transition

Peter Bruce-Clark, Operating Partner at Social Impact Capital

Jihane Ajjiti, Head of Business Development, Digital and Communication within OCP Africa

Wu Liang, Co-Founder and CIO of Green City Solutions

Polina Vasilenko, Founder and CEO of HelioRec

16:30 – 17:30

Plenary session 17: New foreign policy trends in East Asia

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

Chiuyuki Aoi, Professor of International Security at the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo

Kim Hong Kyun, former Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Issues

Douglas Paal, Distinguished Fellow at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, former Director of Asian Affairs in the US National Security Council

Qiao Yide, Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation

17:30 – 19:00

Plenary session 18: Final debate

Moderator:

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

Speakers:

Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Ambassador-at-large of His Majesty the King of Morocco

Karl Kaiser, Senior Associate of the Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Adjunct Professor Emeritus of Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School, former Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, former Advisor to Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt

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

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, former Minister of Economy and Finance of the Kingdom of Morocco

Yoichi Suzuki, Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute for International Affairs, former Special Assistant to the Foreign Minister of Japan, former Chief Negotiator of the Japan-EU Economic Partnership Agreement

19:00: *Envoi*



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Amadou Gon Coulibaly

Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire

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Africa is on a solid foundation to become a major pillar of global growth and prosperity. Exceeding the global average, its growth rate was 3.5% in 2017 and 2018. It is forecast to reach 4% in 2019 and 4.1% in 2020. However, this is still not enough to meet today's main two challenges in Africa, namely the massive creation of jobs, especially for young people, who account for nearly 70% of the population, and poverty reduction. We must face these challenges together, as they have an increasingly important impact on the issue of migration as well as on the issue of terrorist threats in Africa. With regard to the massive creation of jobs for our youth, which represents our continent's present and future, we must structurally transform African economies. Today this structural transformation is a key component of the policies pursued by various governments. It requires quickening the pace of the development of African industry, which remains very uncompetitive due to excessively high input costs and relatively small markets.

*Full version page 122



Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of Ifri and the WPC



Geo-economics is a term used to describe a situation where states, starting with the first, are increasingly and methodically using non-military levers of economic power to achieve their political objectives. Such an approach, once unconvincing, as the history of international economic sanctions reminds us, has become much more effective—although not decisive, far from it—due to the revolution in information and communication technologies. It is also through geo-economics that, without questioning its military ambitions, China is successfully extending its influence worldwide. But unlike the United States, it does so in the name of development or poverty reduction and by declaring itself in favour of multilateralism.

*Full version page 122



Message of Edouard Philippe

Prime Minister of France



More than ever, we need legitimate, effective and universal institutions to prevent abuses or build political solutions to common problems. That is the spirit in which France and Germany launched this year an Alliance for Multilateralism, which met for the first time at the UNGA in New York on September 26. With many others, we believe that following common rules, which are not set in stone and must obviously be changed, remains the best guarantee for peacefully settling the conflicts and challenges that threaten the planet's stability. Force feeds nothing but force.

*Full version page 123





MODERATOR:
Gabriel Felbermayr
President of the Kiel
Institute for the World
Economy, Professor
of Economics and
Economic Policy at Kiel
University

World political economic outlook in the context of the rise of China



Olivier Blanchard
Former President of the American Economic Association,
former Chief Economist of the IMF



Naoki Tanaka
President of the Center for International Public Policy
Studies, Tokyo



Arkebe Oqubay
Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of
Ethiopia

In my intervention, I focused on three issues that are shaping economic evolutions at this juncture. The first is current and expected low interest rates. As monetary policy is running out of space, fiscal policy must play a bigger role. This shift from monetary to fiscal policy comes however with a number of challenges, and it is not clear that governments are ready to confront them. The second is inequality and the rise of populism. It is likely that the policy response, whether by responsible governments or by populist governments, will involve heavier taxation of capital. This again has strong implications. The third is protectionism and trade wars. Trade wars can be very costly in the long run. And to the extent that the negotiating process increases uncertainty about what will eventually happen, they can also be very costly in the short run.

I want to pick up the potential growth rate of China: three factors exist when we measure the potential growth rate: labour input, capital input, and innovation. China's labour population is decreasing, and as to capital input I am not so optimistic. Almost 60% of FDI to China came from global Chinese diasporas, however, as you know, in Hong Kong and Taiwan there are a lot of people who are against communist regime. In the case of Hong Kong, the province of Canton will play a very important role, as a lot of money comes to China through Hong Kong, which will be stopped; such kind of possibility exists. The same mentality is now penetrating Taiwan; in southern parts of China, there will be some de structuring problems, and employment situation may be worse, which makes us not so optimistic as to capital input. As to the innovation side, the decoupling of the economy is now being observed by the Trump administration as a challenge for China. According to our forecast, the potential growth rate in China is around 2%, so in the very near future, China would not pass that of the United States. This will influence the course of development of African countries in two aspects, one of which is the export of natural resources. China has a lot of capability in heavy chemical industries, in iron, steel, cement, aluminium, the petrochemical industry, etc. Almost half of the world's capability belongs to China, but the demand side in China is now a problem, and a lot of these industries are state-owned enterprises in China. SOEs are very difficult to deconstruct because the communist regime intervened state owned enterprises, so the restructuring process is very difficult as to the excess capacity of the industries in China, which means a deflationary expectation on the global context. African countries want to introduce the methods for industrialisation but, as to the price of their product, it will not increase in the meantime.

The first point I would like to focus on is that since 2007, as Olivier indicated earlier, the global economy is in a slowdown mode; it has not yet been able to return to the growth rates that were observed a decade back before the financial crisis. This is quite worrying for developing countries because it limits what they can sell in the global market, it limits the growth space they can have, and the most critical issue is uncertainty, and this is quite important in terms of investment. Since 2007, for the last 10 years, FDI inflow has been, more or less, flat, about 1% increase every year, which, when compared with the demand for FDI growth, is quite an alarming issue because African countries, developing countries, need FDI for their growth. I would also like to highlight that the increase in inequality is a critical issue, the marginalisation of developing countries, and the increase in inequality, even in advanced economies, is a time bomb that shakes the stability of the economy as well as the political stability. I would also like to raise the critical point of climate change. Climate change is a global issue that directly influences economic growth, and both developing countries and advanced economies need to bring this issue to the forefront and give it centrality. In the last 30 years, between 1990 and 2020, carbon emissions have increased by 50%, and by the end of the century, global warming will reach about 3°Celsius. This is a concern that I think advanced economies as well as developing countries should be looking at.



World political economic outlook in the context of the rise of China



Salaheddine Mezouar

President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Industry



Sergey Storchak

Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation



Il SaKong

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

The West must accept the fact that today there's another power that represents another world and that necessarily must be reckoned with. By reckoned with I mean there will be new rules that will govern tomorrow's world. Everybody talks about the gap between the world that was conceived after the Second World War and the world that is functioning today. The G20 was put forward as a solution, but I like what Jacques Attali said when he called it the "GVain". This shows that we're in a time when many questions are being asked: interest rates; how to revive the economy; the prospects and risks of recession; and the effect of the big bang that is taking place in the world and into which we must effectively integrate all the risks and consequences. Just a word to tell our Western friends what the Africans' perception of China is. For Africans, China is two things. Firstly, it has allowed African leaders to regain some sovereignty in investment and development policy decisions. Secondly, for the people and their leaders it means impact, immediate results, although today we discussed the fact that China comes stomping in to make investments with Chinese workers that do not benefit African workers.

In Russia, even in this environment, we have, we enjoy the privilege of using both fiscal and monetary policy as we still have the space to use these. We have low debt, we are still far beyond the general level of interest rates, so the central bank can use monetary policy to slowly go to lower reference rates and keep the markets in better rated for the near future. But most important in my country over last few years, we have preferred to rely - as the benchmark for our internal policy - not on the rate of economic growth, but more on the sustainability of growth and inclusiveness. This basis is often referred to within G20 documents, but, it is difficult to say whether any other G20 economy is relying on these benchmarks as their internal policy as it is happening in our situation. We have now passed through the period of low growth rate, and instead we have strong fiscal and monetary positions. We have finally managed to shape a banking system, to get rid of poor institutions, and this stabilisation in the banking sector allows for credit expansion within the private sector. This is important, but still the most important tool for internal policy is fiscal policy or fiscal stimulation. We have now started to implement 12 national projects, which cover the whole spectrum of internal life; medicine, education, infrastructure, export promotion, and so on, and big money will be invested from budget resources and from borrowed sources. As a result of these national projects we expect that in four years' time, the average growth of Russia would be beyond the average growth of the global economy.

Let me begin by providing you a very quick overview of Korea's macroeconomic picture, especially in the global context. Certainly, Korea is no exception to the synchronised global economic slow down. With slowing exports and decreasing business investments, Korea's economy is currently growing only at around 2%. Both Korea's exports and investments are now affected directly and indirectly by the global economic slowdown and the uncertainty and unpredictability caused by the US/China trade conflict. I am very sure that the IMF will lower its earlier projection for Korea soon. As you may know, Korea is a country highly dependent on the global trade. Korea's trade dependency as measured by its total trade to GDP ratio is nearly 80%, one of the highest in the world. Moreover, nearly 40% of Korea's exports, primarily consisted of intermediate goods, is with G2 economies. Consequently, Korea is very much concerned about the US/China trade conflict causing the global economic slowdown. Korea benefitted so much from the existing post war liberal economic order which was created and maintained primarily with the US leadership. So Korea is especially concerned about the demise of the multilateralism based liberal world order. It is more concerning, since ironically the US is leading the break up of the order with Mr Trump's "America First" strategy.



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MODERATOR:
Ronnie C. Chan
Chairman of Hang Lung Properties

SESSION 2 • SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12 • 11:15 – 12:00

Sustaining globalization – the Chinese position



Eric Li
Founder and Managing Partner of Chengwei Capital



Leung Chun-ying
Vice Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, People's Republic of China

I think the Chinese proposition is that we need to find a new approach to revitalize globalization, but we have to abandon what we have been doing in the last 30 years. The Chinese proposition includes a few main aspects. First is to dramatically increase interconnectivity among the countries and economies that have been left behind in globalization, and in concrete form, this is the BRI, Belt and Road Initiative, where China has been investing a tremendous amount of money and resources into building infrastructure to connect previously disconnected economies; improving interconnectivity. Second, is to reject ideological imposition. I always say that, you know, China has engaged globalization in the last 30 years on its own terms, that is why it has been successful. It is important to point out that what China said, 'No', to in the last round of globalization is just as important as what China said, 'Yes', to. China said yes to rely on the market to allocate resources, but China said no to giving up national sovereignty, to political liberalization, to total marketization, and the retreat of state power. China said no to many things, and therefore, China's proposition for a new round of globalization would be a revitalization of national sovereignty to give different countries their own room and space to pursue their own paths and to choose their own models. On that basis, third, is that we create a more networked world. It is networked pluralism, as opposed to hegemonically led universalism, and that is, I think, what China's proposition will be. It is still in a nascent stage, but I think the world should be open to it, and work with China on this.

Hong Kong is not a sovereign state, Hong Kong is part of China, so when we look at democracy or the process of democratization in Hong Kong, we should not compare Hong Kong with a sovereign state. We should, and could, only compare democracy and democratization in Hong Kong to that in cities: Paris, London, New York, Tokyo, or Washington DC. However, Hong Kong is not an ordinary city because under the Basic Law, which was promulgated in 1990 after five years of intensive and large scale consultation in Hong Kong and in the rest of the country, and under the terms of Hong Kong's return to China, Hong Kong was given, not just 'One country, two systems', it was given 'One country, two systems, Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong, with a high degree of autonomy'. Not complete autonomy, but a high degree of autonomy, and this high degree of autonomy is well defined in the Basic Law. Altogether, there are 160 articles in the Basic Law which have been practiced for 22 years now, so when we talk about 'One country, two systems' or when we talk about democracy, these are no longer abstract concepts for Hong Kong, they are part of our constitutional and legal arrangements. [...] The five demands of the protestors and rioters in Hong Kong include universal suffrage in Hong Kong, and, to them, universal suffrage is not universal suffrage according to the Basic Law; they want Hong Kong to do it by themselves, without the involvement of Beijing, so we are stuck. [...] I am sure you have your concerns about the future of Hong Kong, we do too, but we have to go by the Basic Law; Hong Kong is a law based, rule based society, we have to go through the rule of law, again, 'One country, two systems, high degree of autonomy, Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong'; democracy in Hong Kong is no longer an abstract notion, it is all in the constitutional arrangements.



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



Jean-Paul Agon
Chairman and CEO of L'Oréal

In my opinion, being the head of a global company in this complex, quickly shifting environment is, in a way, more intellectually interesting than in the past. It requires being very flexible and multipolar. You've got to be very mobile, very agile and very adaptable. This means having new management methods that are more about flexibility, mobility and continuous adaptation than long-term foresight. [...] Being completely global is the best way to protect. That's the case for a company like ours. We cover all countries, channels, price ranges and categories. When all is said and done, covering all your market's segments in every geographical area helps to protect you from the shifting fortunes of one place or another. [...] I think the future belongs to the light footprint, which means having a smaller presence with more mobile, more agile and more adaptable investments allowing you to shift your priorities and plans depending on which way the world is heading. This is really interesting because it is being driven by technological change. The 4.0 industry, for example, is moving in that direction. [...] In today's unpredictable world, you always have to keep all your options open and be careful to avoid making irreversible choices. [...] I think we were one of the first companies to genuinely consider ethics part of our absolutely core values. Today, Covalence and many other ethics ratings agencies regard us as the world's most ethical company. I think we must remain true to our own values and uncompromisingly implement them everywhere. We have an ethical charter that very clearly spells out our universal ethical principles. All our employees know them and in all the countries of the world we have zero tolerance for non-compliance with the ethical charter.



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Trade, direct investment and Trust



MODERATOR:
Virginie Robert
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Bark Taeho
President of Lee&Ko Global Commerce Institute,
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Karl Brauner
Deputy Director-General of the WTO

The economic damages from the prolonged US-China trade disputes are growing. In China, producers whose products are exported to the US are most hurt while in the US, consumers and users of goods imported from China, and also the US farmers who are exporting agricultural products to China are hurt. The third countries such as Korea also hurt since China and the US are their major trading partners. We hope the US and China to reach an agreement sooner than later. From 2010 to 2016, according to A.T. Kearny, more than 800 American firms returned from abroad back to the US. This phenomenon is called "reshoring." Similar phenomena are found in Taiwan as many Taiwanese companies in China returned to Taiwan as the government provides numerous incentives. Under the uncertain world trade environment, the governments of many countries may pursue so called "inward looking" trade and investment policies. Then the global investments will be reduced, eventually giving negative impacts on the world economic growth in the future. Difficulties coming from market opening are concentrated on certain people and sectors. They can easily form interest groups and demonstrate by doing lots of collective actions. Therefore, politicians utilise the protectionist sentiment of these interest groups to get more supports in the elections. To fight against these political coalitions, people and sectors which get benefits from trade must also make their voices heard by politicians. The WTO established in 1995 could not do much until now mainly because of its consensus based decision making mechanism. Member countries must make utmost efforts to fundamentally reform the WTO. Otherwise, it will be extremely difficult to achieve anything even if the WTO would like to do something in the future.

International institutions founded by sovereign member states can function effectively only if the willingness among those members to cooperate prevails. Without the willingness to cooperate the best organizational setup, the most sophisticated architecture of agreements will not work. This becomes very obvious with the WTO as a member-driven organization. For it to function as designed the members have to positively engage with one another. The reform discussion concerning the WTO can only make the organization more effective if members are willing to abide by what they have agreed to. The positive leadership provided for by the US over more than 70 years is currently lacking. The Appellate Body crisis could be overcome with an effort to rebuild trust. Trust is built on positive experience. Positive experiences could be created by tackling a few of the American grievances that hinge on technical issues for which there are reform proposals on the table. Until the appeal function of the dispute settlement system is available again, some members could content themselves for a transitory period with a one-tier system only. Others (EU, Canada, Norway) have designed an arbitration system to temporarily provide for an appeal. One must hope that members do not choose to appeal to the dysfunctional Appellate Body. This would prevent decisions from entering into force and damage the prevalence of the rule of law.



Trade, direct investment and Trust



Gabriel Felbermayr

President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy,
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Marcus Noland

Executive Vice President of the Peterson Institute for
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Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the
US President



Yorizumi Watanabe

Professor of International Political Economy and Dean
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If you look at the big macroeconomic aggregates, investment is by far the most volatile, and it reacts most to news or to changed information, and also to uncertainty. You can postpone investment but you cannot postpone consumption so much; people need to eat and so on. Therefore this procrastination is what matters so much now. I mean if you look at Korea, another striking feature of the Korean economy right now is how much investment is suffering. It has been negative for the last quarters, I think three or four quarters already, and that simply reflects the fact that if you do not know what the markets are in the future, whether there are tariffs or no tariffs, what can you do as an entrepreneur? You can only wait. [...] What we have seen over the last 30 years or so, certainly during the period of hyper globalisation, is an increase in inequality, sometimes very clearly measured in the United States, sometimes not that obviously, like in Germany. Since 2005, numbers are not actually moving anymore, but perceived inequality has gone up quite a lot. If you look at the research that exists for populism, you know, there seems to be a link. Many believe that opening up trade exacerbates that problem, it creates losers, and there is a very strong opposition politically to allow these losses to occur in periods of political fragility. I think that is maybe in Europe the most important argument right now. Many would believe that for example the Mercosur agreement is actually a good thing, it will actually help us, make Bolsonaro abide by the Paris agreement for example, but you know, fragility, political fragility within Europe makes it difficult to create losers that would then, you know, support populist parties and wreak havoc in ways that we do not want.

Donald Trump is an avowed protectionist. The people who surround him are not friends of the WTO. They would like to return to the world of the GATT when there was no dispute settlement mechanism. [...] Donald Trump has moved the United States from the neighbourhood of the EU or Japan with applied rates of less than 2% to the neighbourhood of Brazil and India. [...] As the impeachment process ramps up, expect comments on trade and other foreign policy issues that may bear no resemblance to reality, that are being driven by domestic political messaging. [...] We should give Donald Trump and Boris Johnson the Nobel Prize in Economics for the stimulation of new research. Trump is a protectionist, so one of the characteristics of the renegotiations, or the negotiations of these trade deals is they move them away from free trade. [...] We now have a government that would be perfectly happy to watch the WTO strangled by simply not appointing an appellate judge. The turn towards protectionism in the United States seems to be based on a pernicious sense of victimhood. [...] While the Democrats are much more positively inclined towards international cooperation, their views on trade are not necessarily liberal. Given the political economy in the United States, future outcomes range from kind of okay to disaster. [...] My colleague, Chad Bown, has a completely reliable timeline that he maintains on the Peterson Institute website, so if you want to know what is going on with US trade policy, where the current state of play is, and how we got there, go to PIIE.com and look for Chad Bown's trade timeline. It is absolutely indispensable for this set of issues.

There is a positive side and a negative side of this most recent Japan/US trade agreement. First of all, from a Japanese perspective, it was quite a good agreement because we could avoid the imposition of 25%, duties on Japanese cars exported to the US. The negative side is that this will reduce the chances for the United States to come back to the TPP, so that is the kind of negative side. The kind of negative side is that since the US has been looking for the Japanese agriculture market, now the US has got some improved access of US agriculture products to the Japanese market, so that will reduce opportunities for the US to come back to TPP, original TPP, that is TPP 12. [...] One additional comment on recent agreement on Japan/US trade deal, one of the major sort of misgivings of this agreement is the fact that the US could not offer the general duty treatment on the parts and components for car industries, that the US offered in TPP 12 negotiations in October 2015. Therefore, the passenger car duty is 2.5%. Even in the TPP 12 agreement, there was the phasing out of 2.5% duties over 25 years. However, for the car parts and components, Japan got more than 87% of their tariff lines subject to general duty. It is immediate duty elimination. That was the agreement in October 2015.





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MODERATOR:
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The politicization of the international system of payments and the future of the international monetary system



Jeffry Frieden
Professor of Government at Harvard University



Akinari Hori
Special Advisor and Member of the Board of Directors
at the Canon Institute for Global Studies, former Assistant
Governor of the Bank of Japan

Dollar dominance has rested in large part on the expectation that the American political order would protect and defend the real value of the US currency, along with the stability and openness of its financial system. Theory and history both tell us that these are central to the international role of any currency, including the dollar. I think that this focus on the importance of the political support for monetary stability, for an open financial system, and for financial stability helps explain the difficulties of the euro, given the unsettled nature of the politics of money and finance within the Eurozone, and the difficulties of the RMB, given the non transparent nature of politics in China and significant doubts about the stability of the country's financial institutions. It is the domestic political will of the American authorities that I think in many ways stands behind the willingness of people around the world to continue to use the dollar. [...] In the 1920s and early 1930s the US was the world's largest lender, the world's largest foreign direct investor, the world's largest trading nation. It was also deeply committed to isolationism and deeply hostile to international economic cooperation. [...] Other members of the G7 or G20 could, if they wanted to, create both a financial system and a payment system that bypassed the US. It would be costly, it would be difficult, but it is doable. In my view, however, it is not a good thing. We would lose a substantial amount of the scale and history of stability that we tend to associate with the US Dollar.

The Dollar's proportion remained virtually unchanged at 90 or a little less, since the BIS began its survey in 1989. The second and third currencies actively traded on the Forex market are the Euro and the Japanese Yen. [...] In my opinion, market confidence matters a lot for an actively-used international currency. It is not only confidence in the value of the currency, but confidence in its integrity that matters. The integrity of a currency is maintained only when it functions properly as a means of exchange, unit of account and store of value. [...] It is highly unlikely that the RMB becomes a vehicle currency in the market this century. In order for the Euro to play a bigger role, its financial markets need to become much wider and deeper. I think governments within the EU could begin to appeal to the market by issuing a Euro-denominated bond collectively, covering a small part of the EU common causes, like common defense, refugee assistance, or space program, whatever, before encompassing a wide area of the budget. [...] Several years ago the US government, under President Obama, tried to use its clout over the global financial system as economic sanction against Russia and Iran. Even before Mr. Trump became POTUS, the Chinese began to worry about the possibility of its application to China and tried to modernize RMB payment and settlement systems, widening the scope for international use of the RMB. In recent years, Chinese concerns have become greater. [...] Even the Chinese want to get out of the Chinese currency in order to place their wealth outside the country. How can foreigners believe in the integrity of RMB? Simple! The SDR has no client base at all, because international investors can create their own baskets of currencies. If you are a small investor, you are tied to your home currency, but no one is interested in the currency basket SDR.





The politicization of the international system of payments and the future of the international monetary system



Hélène Rey

Professor of Economics at London Business School,
Member of the French National Economic Commission,
Member of the High Council for Financial Stability



Sergey Storchak

Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation



Jean-Claude Trichet

Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bruegel, European
Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President
of the ECB

Now, picture yourself a world in which the relative size of the US goes down in the world economy. Now we have a lot of Dollar liquidity outside the US. There is a huge demand for US Treasuries, as we know, but the size of the US hegemon is shrinking in the world economy. At some point clearly there is likely to be a crisis of confidence. There just will not be enough fiscal capacity to back the Dollar liquidity in the world economy. [...] Clearly, the number two currency is currently the Euro. However, we still miss a euro area safe asset, the equivalent of US Treasuries. Europe needs to complete the financial architecture of the Euro area for the Euro to become a truly global currency. A Euro area safe asset would also be desirable to make the Euro area more stable, in any case. This should be one of the important policy goals pursued in the coming years. The RMB is also a key contender. There is the political will to internationalize, but as we have seen from the data, we are still way below what is required for an international currency to be viable: convertibility, liquidity of market etc. Given the size of China, I think that if at some point things start to move, they could move actually quicker than we expect. One reason for that is that for the moment we see a whole area in the world economy, which is more or less pegging to the Dollar, stabilizing its exchange rate vis-à-vis the Dollar, but by doing so it is also stabilizing its exchange rate vis-à-vis the RMB, because the RMB is shadowing the Dollar. If at some point we see a decoupling between the RMB and the Dollar, it could be that the relevant currency area for many countries, because of trade links etc., will be the RMB economic area rather than the Dollar one. Therefore, this could actually speed things up, but we are still not there.

Therefore, we are living in a world where the monetary system, or I could better say financial infrastructure of one particular country is being used as a political weapon. It is a really bad story. However, it is happening, and somehow we need to accommodate it, and we are accommodating. For example, there are decisions to develop a special payment system within the EU in order to make settlements with trade, when we are trading with Iran. The decision was taken by the Central Bank of Russia to decrease the portion of US Treasury in our international reserves. Therefore, it can be done in different ways, but what is really interesting about US Dollars, you cannot escape the fact that the biggest invoicing is taking place in US Dollars. It is easy to talk about international trade in general, but what is much more important is invoicing. You can make settlements in many different countries, as happened in my case. For example, we allow our debtors when we grant state credits to foreigners, to pay what way they want, Roubles, Euros, Dollars, whatever, but invoicing is still in Dollars. Even when we talk with new financial institutions as new development banks set up by BRIC nations, Asia infrastructure and investment banks set up by China and others, what has happened? At the end, the authorized capital, paid in capital, all emanate in Dollars. Therefore, that is why we are living with this framework. A couple of examples for how the guidelines or principles of responsible behavior of reserve currency nations can look. Just one first principle is keep your own house in order, by which I mean economic and financial house in order. The second principle, do not harm the interests of economic agents. The biggest harm comes from the so-called secondary nations, when you see economic agents are suffering, in the cases where they have nothing to do with foreign policy, with the aims and wishes of the nation which is under the sanctions.

The main problem we have in Europe, if we want a Europe establishing an appropriate balance with the US, is mainly of a political nature. Both the treasuries and the safe bonds, which are not there, and the geopolitical capacity to tell our partner(s): if you blackmail us, then we will blackmail you, and let us agree that there is no reason that you would impose us your own sanctions. As regards Iran, the recent experience of trying to create a special vehicle to bypass the US Dollar proved that it was not the problem. We have a real problem bypassing the capacity of the US to impose legally its sanctions everywhere. On the future of the system, I trust that of course the RMB, when it is fully convertible, and when there is a clear will to participate with full convertibility in the international monetary system, we will have necessarily a large multi-polar world, and that will be again probably sooner than we think, but the RMB is still far to be a real international currency. How will we run that future system? There are several possible assumptions. We could run it as we have run the so-called hegemon, with the capacity to give very exceptionally indications to the market that the Dollar is going too low, or the Dollar is going too high, and I participated in all such so called G7 agreements. Such agreements proved useful. They were not necessary in the most recent period of time because, for reasons that are extremely complex, the international system, the core currencies were and are relatively stable, even in the worst crisis ever since World War II. Therefore, this is something which academia is looking at, but I have no convincing analysis to understand why we were not trapped in one of these very large currency fluctuations that we had before, and that is an open question.



MODERATOR:
Laurent Cohen-Tanugi
Member of the Paris and New York Bars, former Chairman of French governmental task force on Europe in the global economy



Anne-Thida Norodom
Professor of Public Law at the University of Paris Descartes, Secretary-General of the French Society for International Law

What is lawfare? Today there is no consensus on the meaning of lawfare. The concept of lawfare has been stretched so much that it is now misused. We will limit the concept here to the use of law for the strategic purpose of destabilizing the enemy. [...] This phenomenon illustrates a mutation of warfare. [...] Lawfare is used in three main ways: 1/ The bringing of proceedings before international and domestic courts. An example is filing defamation suits against counter-terrorism experts to discourage them from sharing their expertise; 2/ The misuse of legal terminology to manipulate and influence public opinion and international institution; 3/ The extraterritorial reach of national law, which is something new. Examples can be seen in the area of economic sanctions, the use of universal competence and, more recently, the protection of private data. [...] In conclusion, lawfare can be a useful tool when it comes to communicating how to utilize the law in modern conflicts and appears as a substitute for traditional weapons. Lawfare also works because it acts on the victim State's values. In that case, respect for the rule of law becomes the Achilles' heel of democratic States. Does this mean we should abandon the principle of the rule of law? I do not think so. In my opinion, we must fight lawfare with lawfare and use the law because it is still the best alternative to war.

The weaponization of Law and globalization



Stuart Eizenstat
Senior Counsel at Covington & Burling LLP, former Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor, former US Ambassador to the European Union



Lee Hye-min
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Michael Møller
Former Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva

Why is there an upswing in lawfare? There is a positive reason, that is that major nation states know it would be catastrophic to engage in shooting wars in a nuclear age. Therefore, there is an attempt to achieve the same geopolitical objectives by non lethal means, disinformation, cyberattacks and by lawfare. Second, for non-state actors, the Taliban, ISIS, HAMAS, POLISARIO, and to a lesser extent, the Palestinian authority, in an age of terrorism, it is a way of rebalancing the argument against stronger foes, an inexpensive, asymmetric way to attack stronger rivals. Third, for rising powers like China, or for major nuclear powers like Russia, it is a way to enhance their influence with minimum effort, on the part of the US and NATO to respond, minimum provocation. For the US, in an age of terrorism, it is a way of striking back at terrorists, and of flexing economic muscle, backed up by the Dollar, and putting unparalleled economic pressure, as we have seen in this administration, to get better terms of trade, or better international agreements, even if it means totally and abjectly abandoning international norms and best-trade practices. [...] I will close on one positive note. One going back many years to Jimmy Carter, and one today. The US and NATO, and Afghanistan, in a positive way, are using a new lawfare concept, and that is when they take ISIS out of a territory, they immediately begin to employ the rule of law, set up conflict resolution efforts, and it is an operation called COIN. It is a very creative and positive use of lawfare. Last, President Jimmy Carter put human rights at the center of his foreign policy. He applied it to the military dictators in Latin America, cut off their arms, activated the democratic movements there, got thousands of political prisoners released, and did the same thing with the Soviet Union. Therefore, there are many examples of positive uses as well that I hope perhaps in the remaining time we can use.

I would like to highlight two elements which are threatening the rule-based international trade order; first, unilateralism by abuse of national security exception, and second, paralyzing the dispute settlement mechanism of the WTO by abuse of its consensus rule. Since 2017, the unilateral actions of the United States and other important members of the WTO have reappeared, with these members insisting that they base their action on the international trade rules. It is critical for our international community to work together to guarantee the proper functioning of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism. So, it is with a sense of deep disappointment to witness its collapse due to one member's veto of the appointment for new members to the WTO Appellate Body. The WTO dispute settlement system with its Appellate Body has been key to the security and predictability of the multilateral trading system. Without a proper system of enforcement, the multilateral rules can no longer work effectively. If no solution is found to address the current deadlock on the appointments to the Appellate Body, this poses a serious threat for the rule-based regime of international trade. But it is not certain if a way out of the current deadlock could be found because the US rejected the proposals without explaining how a way out of the crisis could be found. I think the reappearance of unilateralism, wherein the members are abusing the national security exception and paralyzing WTO dispute system, abusing the principle of consensus are important examples of the weaponisation of the law in the international trade.

Weaponization of law is not a new phenomenon. It has been going on ever since humanity started establishing rules and norms for how we govern ourselves. We use law for good and for bad. We use it to ensure the orderly conduct of our lives, but also to rule, and as we have just heard, to subjugate, to gain political, economic and personal advantage etc. We use it to also counter the negative aspects that we have talked about. It is this constant balancing act across history, at all levels of our societies, between good and evil, that has culminated over the past 70 years or so in the absolutely unprecedented and extraordinary levels of peace, rights and wellbeing that we have achieved for humanity. Human rights have never been better off than they are today, and law, quite obviously, has been, and is, an indispensable foundation and driver for those advances. [...] Underlying the framing of our debate today on the weaponization of law and globalization is a pervasive concern that fundamental tenets of the international and indeed national order are fraying. It is true. The implicit self-evidence with which we, up until just a few years ago, treated the rule of law as the natural order within a state, and the liberal rule-based system between states, today almost seems naïve. [...] Political debate today is reminiscent of what Hannah Arendt wrote about the 1920s and 30s, that any statement of fact becomes a question of motive, and debates are decided by allegiance, not by arguments. Populists the world over have pushed us into an us-versus-them scenario, with people against the establishment, the locals versus the immigrants, and similar false dichotomies.



Technology, society and politics



François Barrault
Chairman of IDATE DigiWorld, Chairman and Founder of FDB Partners



Jean-Yves Le Gall
President of CNES, President of the International Astronautical Federation, Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency

When you look at the evolution of the technology, you have two businesses. The first one is what we call B2B, business to business, and it is quite easy because everything has been designed by the man for the machine to serve the man. Therefore, it is quite easy because you know exactly what the machine will do. B2C is not as easy, because you give technology to people, and you never know what they will do with it, and that is how it is difficult to manage. [...] I always compare the evolution of computing with the body and the brain. We have a big advantage over the machine. Look at this iPhone. I can see it, I can smell it, I can taste it. I can also use it, talk to it. We have five senses to communicate. The machine has two senses. The machine can see with a camera. The machine can listen, 'Hello Siri' and whatever. Therefore, at least we have five to two. [...] Therefore, we are going to see, in the next three years, an incredible revolution that Carlos Moreira has written in his book, The TransHuman Code, because of three technological revolutions. First of all, the new Moore's law in computing. Everything will be by a million faster, and cheaper, and smaller. The second, 5G, where you will have access everywhere you have the spectrum, in real time, and then all those algorithms that will create real time software. [...] It will also imply a new set of democracies because before, we were controlling the people. Now, people can express themselves. The good news is the best is ahead of us. The machine will never take control of our life as long as we are reasonable, and I count on you, and I can count on my kids and their friends.

The space industry is probably one of the youngest industries, but in spite of that, we have to face many challenges, and the first one is the pace of technological change driving our industry. [...] The second point, it is our second challenge, the fourth industrial revolution. This fourth industrial revolution applies of course to digitalization and globalization. [...] The third point is what I used to call the new post-truth media era, because today, science value is no longer realistic, but we are told many, many things which are sometimes not very credible. [...] To conclude, you probably saw this picture which has been taken on 24 December 1968 by the astronauts of Apollo 8 circling the moon, and we saw for the first time an Earth rise taken from the Moon. In this image, we have two messages. The first one, it is space, it is technology, but the second one, it is the point that we have the fragility of our world, a little blue dot which is totally alone in the vastness of space, and once again, it is a major challenge we have in front of us.



Technology, society and politics



Susan Liautaud

Lecturer in Public Policy and Law at Stanford University, Interim Chair of Council of the London School of Economics, Founder and Managing Director of Susan Liautaud & Associates Ltd



Holger Mey

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John Sawers

Executive Chairman of Newbridge Advisory, Senior Advisor at Chatham House, former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) of the United Kingdom

My points will have three things in common. The first is that they all have a considerable ethical responsibility for individual citizens, corporates and governments. The second is that no matter how much technology is present, there are always people who are ultimately responsible, and ultimately affected. The third is that I see this intersection of technology, society and democracy through the lens of risk and opportunity, so how can we maximise the opportunity, how can we minimise the risk? To start, as others have said, technology is ubiquitous, but I think we need to reconceptualise what it means to have a society in which democracies function, because the reality is that it is no longer about individual human beings and their institutions. The connective tissue is machines, apps and data. To the extent that citizens do not understand how that is affecting them, influencing them, what is required of their leadership in that context? It is very difficult to move democracy along with technology. To take a concrete example of AI, I sit on the UK government's Centre for Data and Ethics Innovation Board, which is all about AI and what regulators should be doing, and what we need to tell citizens. It is a real question about what citizens need to understand. They do not all need to be able to code, but they do need to understand about targeting and bias, and that AI is everywhere, from facial recognition to potentially driverless cars, immigration and policing and beyond. Therefore, it is a very big challenge.

I want to talk about two points basically. One is society and the interrelationship of high-tech, in particular artificial intelligence with society, and then with economy and digitalization of economy. The first point is of course the relationship of freedom and security, as it is related to surveillance and control. Now, freedom and security is not a trade-off relationship, as it is often being put. You have total security, no freedom, or total freedom, no security. I think without a certain degree of security, we probably have no freedom and cannot enjoy any freedom. The individual in the past was committing a crime, or a terror act, whatever. It was a very regional, probably only local event. However, with the empowerment of people, in particular with modern technology, in a structure and an environment networked, you have cascading large scale effects. [...] Now, the economy. We all know the answer is digitalization. The problem is how can we make sure that we stay ahead in a sense, and the interesting thing is that invention only helps very shortly because if you are an artist, a sculptress and you make a nice sculpture, if you put it into the 3D printer you have two million originals. It is not distinguishable anymore. Therefore, Germany invented the telefax, but Japan produced the telefax and marketed it, and made the money. Even if you are in China for a long time, just a copycat economy, you make money not by just inventing things, you make it be doing the application, and selling it. The problem is that we are challenged with innovation and high-quality manufacturing as we move into the digitalization, a process we shouldn't stone-wall and cannot stop, but do need to manage.

We are moving towards a world of great power rivalry, where the institutions that we built up in the period after the Second World War are basically in decline, and are being replaced by competition between great powers, almost a 19th Century world, with the United States and China being by far the biggest two, and Russia, Europe, India and Japan being players as well. In this great power rivalry, technology is playing a central role. [...] Huawei and ZTE have become part of the argument between China and the United States for dominance in technology generally. [...] On defense, we have to plan ahead to the possibility of an armed conflict between the United States and China. What we are seeing is a move, both in Beijing and in Washington to decouple their defense industries so that they are not dependent upon the other country, just in case the worst comes to the worst and the two countries end up in conflict. What is happening in the defense field is happening more widely as well. We have moved past peak globalization. [...] In the security world, we are seeing China develop an extraordinarily sophisticated surveillance system of its own population. It is more effective, it is more thorough and it is less violent, and more accepted by the population than the system that the Soviet Union used on its own people. [...] The role of technology is central to the great power rivalry which is going to be the design model of the world of the coming decade or two.



MODERATOR:
Thomas Gomart
Director of Ifri

Cyber powers and the cyber threat



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



Jean-Louis Gergorin
Former Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the French
Ministry of Foreign Affairs



Meir Sheetrit
Former Member of the Knesset, former Minister of
Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy,
former Minister of the Interior

I would like to present an enterprise point of view on cyber power. States strive to keep cyber power as one of their prerogatives due to the competitive advantage they get from controlling the networks. States focus primarily on infrastructure: e.g. data centers. [...] Eventually though, governments are including data and AI as an element of their cyber power portfolio. [...] Today, companies live in a permanent state of aggression with advanced persistent threats coming from governments or organized crime, or even combined as for North Korea. Despite the governments' efforts to retain it, a large part of cyber power is now owned by a very limited number of companies. While states focused primarily on infrastructures, tech giants were built on software with the like of Microsoft, Amazon, Google and Facebook. They have however expanded to the infrastructure world. As a result, these companies have acquired an overwhelming share of cyberpower which impacts the way they are being perceived in the physical world. The same is valid for the Chinese tech giants. [...] Traditional companies can become the cyber powers of tomorrow: in a connected world, limits between economic sectors will morph into new ecosystems, e.g. automotive industry is currently structured around three assets: engineering, supply chain and distribution. Tomorrow, it will be electric, autonomous, connected and will need to be associated to a large range of services. Data management, ownership and valuation will determine who the winners will be. The USA and China have clear strategies and the means to execute. The battle for data, the only asset in your information system, is the next one and must be won.

A cyberattack is the use of digital means, hacking and/or manipulation of digital information, especially on social media, to achieve political, economic or strategic objectives. It has proven to be remarkably effective in peacetime, for example during the 2016 US presidential campaign. The cyberthreat is growing for three reasons: the acceleration of the digital transformation in every activity, the fact that the more we digitalize the more vulnerable we become and the growing involvement of states in cyberattacks on companies and critical infrastructure. In addition to strengthening their cyberdefense against this threat, European states must develop their intelligence capacity in attributing attacks by sharing information with the private sector better. They must also pursue the international dialogue launched by the Paris Call for Trust and Security in Cyberspace.

The world turned upside down. Because suddenly somebody from far away ruined all the centrifuges of Iran, preventing them from enriching uranium. This was done from far away. Nobody has been there. Nobody touched it. Nobody attacked it, and still they ruined all the infrastructure of Iran for producing, for enriching uranium. I am not saying who did it because we are speaking about it. It was the United States. It means that physical damage had been done, but nothing had been stolen. It just showed the world that it is possible to act from far away. [...] The Snowden affair exploded in 2014-2015. When the Snowden affair came out it automatically created very high tension between security and privacy because what Snowden published was the fact that the United States was following everyone, reading all their mail, everything else, and they know this information, and this created disbelief in governments. [...] Therefore, in the world today there is a lot of competition in this area and countries are investing billions, hundreds of billions of dollars, in order to develop what we call quantum computers. I will not enlarge on quantum computers, but just to give you an example, Google has published lately that they succeeded in operating a quantum computer with 53 qubits which made a calculation within 200 seconds which would take the largest computer in the world at NASA 10,000 years to calculate. Why 200 seconds? Because that is the only time they can really hold the quantum computer to work, but it is a matter of time until they create a quantum computer which will hold on. When that happens the sky will not be the limit because everything in the world will change, including your life.



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SESSION 9 • SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13 • 10:30 – 11:15

Climate and environment



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



Laurent Fabius
President of the Constitutional Council, former President of
the COP 21, former Prime Minister of France



Patrick Pouyanné
CEO of Total

A large part of global opinion now backs the Paris Agreement's objectives to cut greenhouse gas emissions. It is not a matter, as it is sometimes said, of saving the planet because the planet will go on even if it is severely damaged and disfigured. Much more than that, it is a matter of preserving decent living conditions for all of humanity. To do this, it is necessary to act in every area, to enlist all the players and to use every available tool. Governments, some of which deny climate change or have taken a wait-and-see attitude, bear an eminent responsibility because they must work for their countries' general welfare, and more widely. Regions, cities and companies also have a role to play in fighting climate change. Coal, especially in Asia, is a major source of CO₂ emissions, but so is oil. It must not be forgotten that gas is also a greenhouse-gas emitting fossil fuel. To succeed, the fight against climate change must be fair. The climate issue and the issue of inequality are closely connected. Help must go to the people and areas that need it most: taxing carbon is necessary but it will not be possible without tax breaks and social assistance.

Climate is an inherently complex issue because it is a global issue. But there is no global governance of the planet. On the one hand, we want to solve a complex global problem requiring all of us to make an effort. On the other, we see a political trend towards a breakdown of the systems that try to regulate globalization and interdependence. Each State thinks of energy in a selfish way, considering energy security one of its missions. At the same time, citizens and consumers everywhere have three demands: access to reliable, continuously available energy, affordable energy, and energy that is environmentally harmless yet cheap. Climate change awareness is lower in developing countries. Their priority is development: lifting their people out of poverty. Paradoxically, last year when the world's leaders met in New York to proclaim "1.5" together, investments in coal worldwide rose again. That is real life on our planet. When people in the Philippines or Vietnam need more energy, they turn to the cheapest source, which is coal. What can replace coal? Not renewables. They are just part of the energy mix. The good substitute for coal is gas. It is the only choice allowing us to have a reliable, sustainable energy mix that meets demand in all seasons. As long as coal and gas are lumped together as fossil fuels, a sustainable, serious energy system will not be in place by 2040 or 2050. It is unrealistic to think that renewables will solve the problem. That will take a long time and trillions of dollars in investment. It will increase the cost of energy. None of this is free. The fundamental question is: how fast can and should we go? World leaders are not the only ones who can decide. So can citizens and consumers. This dialogue is off to a rough start.



The status of health care delivery in Africa: challenges and opportunities



Brian A. Gallagher
President and CEO of United Way Worldwide



Nardos Bekele-Thomas
Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in South Africa

The title of this session, “The status of health care in Africa: challenges and opportunities”, seems pretty apropos given the fact that there are clearly significant challenges and significant opportunities. There has been real progress made in health care across the continent. In the last 15, 20 years, life expectancy has increased. Childhood health outcomes are better. Deaths from communicable diseases are down, but clearly that progress has been uneven and we still have many challenges across the continent. Africans endure 17% of all the disease in the world and yet are 11% of the population. 50% of all expenditure for health care across Africa is out of pocket. Only 1% of health care expenditures worldwide is in sub-Saharan Africa, and a fact I learned just getting ready for this session: there is a USD 1.7 trillion fraudulent drug issue across the continent of Africa. Couple that with infrastructure, poverty, violence in some places, the shortage of trained professionals, clearly we have challenges as well as opportunities. [...] What I would suggest is that there is an opportunity given the evolution of health care across Africa to create an African system, not a US system, not a French system, not an Asian system, but an African system, and that is what I have asked our panelists to think about, so, to think about challenges, opportunities and then the path forward.

I give the example of South Africa, where I currently work. People think that South Africa is a sophisticated high middle-income country. Yes, it is a sophisticated country, but there are two countries in one country: the country that has high tech and expensive health care system which caters for 10% to 15% of the population and the country that has poor to mediocre health services, with the characteristics of any least developed country, where there are basic health services given for free by the government catering to the 80% - 85% of the population. We have 153 medical schemes. Each company/organization is obliged to have a medical scheme. The government gives free primary and hospital care for all, provided they go to public health services. Therefore, the public sector is really stretched, underfunded, not well equipped and does not have the adequate and appropriate personnel to cater for the ever growing poor. Understanding this, the government has taken two important measures: The first one is to introduce the national health insurance scheme to ensure quality health care to all. [...] Secondly, to implement the NHI: In his State of the Nation’s address, the President has promised to allocate 221 billion Rands every year. The government is truly engaged in universal health care. Unfortunately the recent investigation by the government reveals that corruption in the health sector siphons 22 billion Rands per year. The President has promised to prioritize action to curtail corruption at all levels.



The status of health care delivery in Africa: challenges and opportunities



Juliette Tuakli

Founder and Medical Director of Family CHILD & Associates, Ghana; United Way Worldwide's Chair of Governance Committee



Robert Sigal

CEO of the American Hospital of Paris



Pierre M'Pelé

Mercy Ships Ambassador for Africa and Africa Bureau Director

Ghana is one of the African countries hailed for doing very well with its National Health Service (NHS) and its capacity to raise the standard of care for most of its citizens. Ghana did not fall into the trap of providing free care at the NHS level, because I believe, and am in agreement, that getting service for free in its population probably is not a good idea with health being no exception, even if what is paid is miniscule. The government in its wisdom has charged a very modest amount to those citizens who are eligible for NHS and indeed have rolled out a pretty impressive programme. [...] However, even within Ghana's NHS, which was designed to provide broad coverage to a relatively large population, there are important gaps. Within the NHS there is no special incentive for women to seek care. Traditionally our women will not seek care until their children and all other family members have been taken care of. This shows up when one looks at the statistics of the services provided; especially the health status of women who are enrolled and registered with the National Health Service. There needs to be some refinement such that NHS empowers and advocates more for access, for women specifically. We have done a good job with lowering child mortality, and morbidity. We however have beautiful new roads courtesy of China and other large countries and a high incidence of road traffic accidents is beginning to negate some of the gains that we have made regarding our child mortality and morbidity. An ironic situation!

If you want to deliver health care, whether in France, in the United States or in Africa, you need basically three things: basic infrastructure, water, electricity. Then you need health care infrastructure, buildings, equipment, and finally you need human infrastructure, nurses, technicians and of course physicians. When you look at Africa today – 47 countries – the situation is of course very diverse. If you look at Maghreb, for instance, there is basic infrastructure and certainly there is health care infrastructure. If you look at data regarding physicians, and you look at how many physicians you have per 10,000 people in Algeria, you have 18 doctors, in Morocco 7. If you look at South Africa, you are at 9. However, now if you look in between, the situation is not the same. It would be below five and it can go as low as 0.5 physicians per 10,000 people in Nigeria, so there is clearly a quantitative problem. [...] It was an American company that understood at some point that what was good in America was not good for other continents. There were a lot of efforts which were done in China for China, in India for India. We can imagine exactly the same for Africa: in Africa for Africa. You can perfectly imagine a local solution invented in Africa; because we are close to the market, to the needs, we are cost effective and they are good for Africa, but tomorrow – and this is what happened in China for China and in India for India – those products which, at the beginning, were only good for those markets became good for the entire world. Maybe step one is in Africa for Africa, but step two is why not everywhere in the future, so I am optimistic for Africa.

The African continent over the past 20 years, has made significant progress in improving the health of the people despite the disparities between the regions, disparities between the countries and also within the countries. The African continent carries 25% of the global burden of disease and is home to almost 20% of the world's population with only 2% of the world's doctors. There are so many challenges, but there is hope somewhere coming from some African countries, like Cabo Verde in West Africa, Rwanda in Central Africa, Botswana in the southern part of Africa and Ethiopia in East Africa. I would like to highlight what happened in Ethiopia. Over the past 20 years, Ethiopia has made impressive progress in improving the health of the Ethiopian people. In 2015, Ethiopia concluded health sector development programmes from 1997 to 2015, composed of four series of five years. This is an amazing work because Ethiopia achieved almost all related millennium development goals in 2015. The Health Sector Development Programme was based on a very bold strategy, the Health Extension Programme, putting health posts in place with two nurses, both women, per 5,000 people, so in a country of 100 million people, it is about 18,000 health posts. That is amazing. The Health post provides a package of key essential health services, health promotion and preventive activities with the use of new technologies. Nurses and women community leaders of the "Women Health Development Army" have been at the centre of the progress made in improving the health of the people in Ethiopia. Women are agents of change for health in Ethiopia.



European uncertainties



Hubert Védrine
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of France



Volker Perthes
Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), former UN Assistant Secretary-General



Ana Palacio
Former Member of the Council of State of Spain, former Senior Vice President of the World Bank, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain



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

We are supposed to be talking about European uncertainties – actually, uncertainties between Europeans. I think a distinction must be made between immediate, short-term uncertainties and deep, structural, perhaps even vital uncertainties, and then ponder what to do. I won't go into any details. These are just outlines. Short-term uncertainties abound. How will the new Commission be made up? Whom will France nominate to replace Mrs. Goulard, who never should have been nominated in the first place? How will it operate? How will the balance of power be established between the Parliament, which wants to impose its supremacy, and the other institutions? What will Europe do if Trump is re-elected, or if somebody else becomes president? What will Europe do about Putin, China, all the chaos in the Middle East, migration issues, etc.? There are many questions. What will Europe do about the risk of a technological gap? These questions jump out at us as soon as we open up a newspaper or turn on the television. I think there are even deeper, structural, if not existential, uncertainties behind them. The first is, do we want to build the sort of powerful Europe people have been long asking for but that frightens many Europeans, even those affected by the current chaos? Second, will the Europe we are talking about succeed in winning back the working and middle classes that have turned away from globalization and Europe? The answer is not a foregone conclusion. Third, will Europe manage to protect itself from the global crisis of representative democracy at a time when people no longer want to be represented? It's becoming almost impossible to manage modern democracies, and not just in Europe. Will Europe manage to find a convincing answer to that problem?

What concerns me most is the combination of some current developments in our strategic environment. Our most important ally is no longer our most reliable ally. We have experienced unrest in our immediate neighbourhood, which Europe has proven unable to deal with in a convincing manner. A big neighbour has told us again that military power counts, even in Europe. And a rising power, China, is not a benign partner but still has to be a partner because we do not want to decouple, as some Americans probably think they should. These factors and the rise of illiberal movements in our own countries are two inseparable things. I think we already see in some countries that where more illiberal movements get to govern their countries, they are also much closer in their outlook to some of our adversaries outside Europe. [...] China is a partner on some global affairs like the work on climate change. China is also a technological competitor, no doubts about it. What probably did not go down too well in Beijing is that China is a systemic rival when it comes to issues of governance. I think saying that clearly and making sure that being a systemic rival would not keep us from cooperating, for instance, on climate change. [...] The one thing where people want more integration is foreign policy and security policy. They do not want it in cultural policies or social policies necessarily, but foreign policy and security are areas where they want a more integrated Europe.

Our very system is a legal construction and legality is based on predictability and certainty. The opposite of predictability and certainty is emotion. This, in my view, is an issue we have to reflect on and reflect upon deeply. Delving a bit deeper, one reason we see the surge of nationalism in our governments is that we still are states and even if some of us would like to be somewhere else, we are states. In our states, we are confronted by the challenge of transforming the classical party systems with classical agendas. Taking this to the European level, I second Hubert Védrine that we should create une Europe puissance. But while this is manifestly clear, we should be honest: our citizens do not share the idea of building more Europe. In fact, we find ourselves in an inter-governmental moment in the European Union. The crisis in the Commission is many things and first of them is a reflection of this inter-governmental moment with the splintering of the EPP and the PSC groups, whose work together pushed us forward through agreement and strong discipline. My third comment is that this is no longer "our world" and it is difficult to adapt. It is not a European or a Western world and even though we say this out loud, we have not internalized it. Either we panic or we over-react. I think we have to look at what is coming with clear eyes and what is coming is very much in line with the comments made by Kevin Rudd. It is a bit of a contradiction of what I have said, but we have to rationally address our dependence on the US, our transatlantic links.



European uncertainties



Artem Malgin
Vice Rector of the MGIMO University,
Professor of the Department of International Relations
and Russia's Foreign Policy



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



Enrico Letta
Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences
Po Paris, former Prime Minister of Italy

From Russia, there are two different attitudes. One is to follow your general public and it can be challenging, something new, something outstanding, it is all that stuff. The other: some of the Russians see that they can play worse, traditional right-wingers – who are not always traditionalists – are ready to interact with Russia, once again on the Polish case. The Balkans, which are such an immense field of problems, are not as wide as previously, but this bunch of Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia is still there and remains an uncertainty. Then it is Trump's US foreign policy towards Europe that makes the US more distant from Europe, that somehow poses difficulties inside Europe. It brings additional problems when it comes to overall organization of world trade and makes all the EUs agreements with its neighbours and traditional partners, including African or ACP partners, more complicated since the US behaves in the world trade system in an absolutely, let us say, non-WTO way. Then another list, of let us say, Greater Europe problems: First of all, it is Ukraine. Then it is Turkey, because it provokes European problems outside Europe, which then come to Europe, again with more migration, with unrest in the Middle East and with new and sometimes very surprising unions, alliances when it comes to the states. In the Middle East it involves the Europeans and Russia itself.

I think we do have to go back fairly soon to saying to people, what is it that you look for from the European elite? Do you want to have some system where you can regularly be asked what you think, what you want us to do about it and we begin to answer that? It is the answering of that I think is the most important thing at the moment, more than Brexit. I think that there are two areas where we could already be working to establish a common ground, whether we are in Europe or outside Europe. One is intelligence, because there is so much sharing of intelligence at the moment, which is not bound to the European Union but done on a voluntary basis. I think we should be working at structures within which we can properly share intelligence and if necessary, not share it when we cannot. The second thing is what was known as the European Army. I think there is a very big void now in Europe for a military force and I do not see it being a European one, for the reason that there are certain countries that would not want to join it. There are other countries that might well say the first time we had to take a decision as to what they should do, that they did not want to do it. We ought to now look at how we can begin to build a military force and a military establishment that brings in those countries that can really offer something positive. Those countries by and large, and we now within our hearts, are Britain, Germany and France and probably, in a certain sense, Poland as well. We should be looking now at how we begin to form a structure within which they can operate as a group, not in Europe, not necessarily in NATO, but as a group that has a common European strand.

I guess at the end of the day, our takes on Europe as puissance, as Hubert said, can only be shaped in the discussion about the relationship with China and the US. In the new world in which G2 is taking place there is a new topic for Europe and the new topic is being together. The other option is having just a choice in 10-years' time to be singularly an American colony or a Chinese colony. I think Brexit was the UK's idea to be the 51st American state in the next century, or something like that. I think Europe can be a third superpower, only by being united and taking leadership on two main subjects, which are subjects for the future. The two main subjects for the future are climate change and the second one is technological humanism, if I may say. Technological humanism means we have lost the technological competition on mobiles or other things, but we are the only part of the world, the only continent in the world, that is able to take leadership on how to have good regulation, how to protect people's rights. It was very good this morning when we had this point about ownership of data: corporations in the US, the state in China and people in Europe. At the end of the day, that is the true difference and that allows to think about having leadership on that. I think we have to develop this point and take this leadership. For me, these two are the main subjects for the future. I think that Ursula von der Leyen made a good choice having some competencies for the Vice President of the Commission having these two subjects at the very top of the list with Vestager and Timmermans on these two topics.



MODERATOR:
Jim Hoagland
Contributing Editor to
The Washington Post



Andrés Rozental
Senior Policy Advisor at Chatham House, President of Rozental & Asociados, former Mexico's Ambassador to the United Kingdom

The region is not doing well. Countries like Brazil and Mexico, the two largest economies in the region, are growing at either minimal rates or, in the case of my country, not at all. In addition to the other problems we have a social problem of young people who cannot get a job and many of whom do not study either. The region as a whole is retrenching from global and regional affairs. [...] I think Latin America is going to be, to use a British expression, punching below its weight on the global stage. I will start with Venezuela where, as you know, because it has been in the headlines a lot, there is a humanitarian crisis, a government whose legitimacy is being challenged by both domestic and external pressures. In Ecuador, the President is being assaulted by public opinion because of a reduction or elimination of subsidies for gasoline. We have heard the story of Argentina before. It has been an up-and-down rollercoaster for most of its history, having been one of the richest countries in the world. Haiti is another tragedy. Of the last four Presidents of Peru, three are in jail and one committed suicide [...] We have corruption scandals. We have violence in the cities, organized crime, drug trafficking, things that have really permeated our daily lives and which at the end of the day are creating a great deal of dissatisfaction from our people.

Where is Latin America heading?



Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal
President of the Getulio Vargas Foundation, Brazil



Miguel Ángel Moratinos
High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain



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

Under the Dilma government we started to have a lot of Keynesianism, but they did not study Keynes correctly. They started to intervene in the economy, with the first intervention being trying to change electricity prices, trying to control everything. That did not work, it created havoc and bit by bit the rate of investment started falling. At the same time, we had a central bank dominated by people who I would say were hawks, with a very strong incentive to create a reputation for fighting inflation when the deficit was growing. Instead of focusing on the deficit, we increased the deficit by paying more interest. Public debt which was around +30% of GDP is now around 80%. It is still manageable and, by the way, we have better public finances than the US. The disaster manifested itself at full force after the beginning of the second term for Dilma Rousseff and it was very fast. GDP started falling. The rate of investment fell enormously. There was a lack of trust and Dilma was actually impeached after two years of her second term for disobeying the fiscal laws. Merkel was judged by the second chair of German Supreme Court for something similar to what Dilma did, when she saved the German banks from the Greek disaster. However, Dilma was judged by Congress and lost her position. The Vice President entered as mandated by our constitution and immediately started a series of reforms. The most important of those reforms would have been the change in social security. He went to meet a businessman in the garage of the presidential palace and from that moment on, Brazil lost governance.

There are three headlines that reflect the three main challenges for Latin America. First, the economy: whether there are populists on the right or on the left, there has been no serious economic policy in the majority of the Latin American countries. There has been low productivity. Today, they are growing at 0.5%. Imagine, even Brazil is at 0.8%, Argentina 0.9%, Mexico 0%, and they are the producers of the most important natural resources that combine and facilitate the economy of international trade. There has been no fiscal reform. Do you know what the pressure of fiscal reform in Latin America is? The average is 10%, compared to 40% in Germany, 38% in Spain, and 50% in Sweden. They do not pay taxes and they have not been introducing this fiscal reform. The second challenge is the environment as I said, the Amazon is the symbol. What are they going to do with these resources? They cannot continue with this extractive production. Third, there is the political and social challenge, which is the most important one and that is why today we still have people in the streets of Quito. There have been many success stories, Bolivia is not so popular of course. Can you rule a country, taking the example of Bolivia, where 60% of the population are indigenous and until 2003-2004, just 15 years ago, they were not citizens? They did not participate in political life. [...] All three challenges have to be addressed together, the economic, the environmental and the social and political reform.

True, when you look at Latin America as a whole, 2019 was not a very good year. Growth sagged in Mexico and barely started up again in Brazil. If each country is taken one at a time, it looks like things are not going well. But if you look at the continent as a whole, which, in addition, is pulled down by Venezuela, a country that weighs heavily on Latin America's macro growth, we are just above zero according to the IMF's latest estimates for this year, although they forecast an upturn next year, driven mainly by Brazil's recovery. So the macroeconomic picture does not look too bright. The political picture is a bit complicated. Since most people spend little time trying to understand Latin America, they read the paper and say, "The capital of Ecuador has moved from Quito to Guayaquil." They read about the primary elections in Argentina and say, "We thought Macri was Macron but he is not." They see the spats between Bolsonaro and Macron and say, "We will not manage on Brazil!" The list goes on. You can look at all that and say the glass is half empty instead of half full. You have to keep that in mind. At the same time, and this is my job, I think it is actually half full. Why? Because 2019 was a time when a snapshot was taken, but that snapshot came after 20 years of progress and change. That was recalled. There has been growth for 20 years. Per capita income is up and the middle classes, civil society and institutions have developed. True, three Peruvian presidents are in jail, but if they are it means the legal system works. That is rather positive.



MODERATOR:
Volker Perthes
Executive Chairman and Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), former UN Assistant Secretary-General



Mohamed Ibn Chambas
Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel

In general, that is the threat in the Sahel, which is particularly linked to terrorist groups that have been known to exist in the north of Mali that have declared links with international terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda, Islamic State, etc. In the Lake Chad Basin it is a slightly different story. You could talk of a home-grown terrorist group, which Boko Haram is, having come out of Borno state in the northeast of Nigeria. Initially it affected six northeastern states of Nigeria and then it spread into Cameroun, Chad and the south of Niger, for example, in Diffa county. Although it was seen as maybe just a fluke, it has shown resilience. In the campaign that brought Buhari, the current President to power, his strength and I think the perception was that as a former military man, with a tough reputation from those days of military government in West Africa, he would take on and defeat Boko Haram. Recently Boko Haram celebrated its 10th anniversary and it is more or less the fifth year of the government of President Buhari. It has not been very easy to fully contain Boko Haram. It remains effective in Borno state, though I should say there has definitely been some progress. Before, there were at least six states in the northeast that were under threat and today Boko Haram's influence and effectiveness has been reduced to Borno state. That is definite progress. Certainly, even in Cameroun and Chad we have seen that its influence and effectiveness has been reduced to just predatory attacks on communities, villages, etc.

Middle East and North/West Africa



Memduh Karakullukçu
Vice Chairman and Founding President of the Global Relations Forum



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



Dong Manyuan
Vice President of the China Institute of International Studies

The Middle East would be better off with constructive engagement from external parties, provided that they, particularly the EU and the US, adjust to the new realities of the power configuration both globally and in the region. Two critical objectives of Turkish policy in Syria have been clear and consistent. One, there will not be a YPG/PKK terrorist corridor by the Turkish border. This objective has the backing of a very large majority in Turkey. I think that needs to be registered and recognized by all those in the international community who are concerned with terrorism. Second, 3.5 million Syrians in Turkey is a real challenge. I do realize that our friends in the West think that somehow Turks are managing this, but it is difficult. It is an economic, social and increasingly a political burden. Ideally we will create a better Syria where everyone can go to their original homes but in the absence of that solution it seems we need to come up with an alternative. By default, the absence of a solution means 3.5 million people will be living in Turkey forever. It is a very asymmetric problem. As time passes and the international community does not find a solution, the social burden and economic costs accrue on Turkey. The definition of terrorism is a contentious conversation across the world. The roots of PKK terror go well beyond its presence in Turkey. The PKK inhabits territories in Iraq and Syria and attacks Turkey from its hideouts in those regions. We have experienced this for 40 years and we know how PKK cooperates with other parties in the region. The PYD-PKK link, is very real. The claim that this or that person or faction within YPG has not taken a shot against Turkey is the kind of definitional subtlety that the Turkish security sensitivities cannot accommodate. At this point, we do not know the endgame. We know that the Russians want the Assad regime and Turkey to find a modus vivendi.

Saudi Arabia is involved in Syria. We extended a lot of support with the coordination of the international community, but I think on the Syrian situation today the three levels have failed. Direct discussion in Arab circles have failed, as has the OIC, the Organization of Islamic Countries and as a result it went to the international level. Once that happened it started in Syria as a request for a little bit of freedom and ended as a platform for a major international conflict zone, with everybody trying to exercise their power and interests on that territory. There is no disengagement in Saudi Arabia. But at the same time, if you look at the US agenda today you would say that China, Iran and North Korea are its priority. If you look at the Saudi agenda today, yes, for me the first priority would be Yemen, where we have a 1 450 kilometer border. Of course, my second would be the Iranian policy of aggression, intervention and expansion and I need to deal with that situation as a second priority. Of course, today, Saudi has very strategic challenges on both its north and south borders, because on the north side Iran continuously supports all the militia groups, which are fully-funded, trained and supported by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard and at the same time in Yemen. Being on both sides and also seeing the chemical threat in the Gulf waters; September 14 changed the name of the game. If the international community today does not condemn a real act, though I think it is a good thing that Europe at least recognized despite the strong relations between Europe and Iran. I was in New York and I was very happy to hear President Rouhani saying that he would like to have a new sort of Hormuz regional security framework, which would be based on two principles: non-aggression and non-intervention.

China wants to offer its contribution to that within the framework of potential initiatives and this cooperation with all Middle East countries. However, the reality is that China keeps good relations with all Middle East countries, including Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Iran. It has very good relations with all Middle East countries and I think that is a better condition to have cooperation with all Middle East countries. I think the Chinese position towards the Middle East has already been clearly iterated by President Xi Jinping during his visit to Egypt and his speech at the headquarters of the Arab League. That was three noes; China seeks no proxy in the Middle East; does not seek to fill the power vacuum; and does not seek regime change. Rather, we persist in our traditional policy of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs. We also call for the United Nations to play a leading role in addressing peace, stability and development in the Middle East. We also very strongly support the Palestinian cause and support the two-state solution based on the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and with the border before the 1967 war and Jerusalem as the capital of a Palestinian state. We also support the Arab Peace Initiative led by Saudi Arabia. We also highly appreciate the Saudi Arabian and the Arab League's response to the recent so-called, 'deal of the century' and our positions and Saudi Arabia's positions.



Cross-border illegal trade: a destabilizing factor for the global economy



Alvis Giustiniani

Vice President for Illicit Trade Prevention of PMI



Laurent Marcadier

Former Magistrate, Senior Advisor in charge
of Legal Affairs of LVMH Group

The OECD issued a report a couple of years ago on illicit trade and quantified its dimensions: they came up with a staggering figure above USD 2 trillion around the world for the turnover in illicit trade. [...] The second point I want to make is on the dimension in terms of globalization. You cannot think of a product that is not traded illicitly; they range from fishery to illicitly logged timber smuggled from one country to another, tobacco, alcohol, drugs, arms... not to mention the scourge that is human trafficking and human organ trafficking. It is really a global phenomenon across the whole world. [...] The third point is the drivers of illicit trade. There are many drivers, but I would say that the biggest, the most obvious one is to make money. The money that you can make from the illicit trade is huge. To give you an example: in some parts of the world, you can buy a container of cigarettes for USD 100 000 or USD 150 000, and if it is smuggled into a high priced country like the UK or France, it can be resold for USD 1.5 million. [...] The other driver is that the penalties are very low. Have you ever heard of someone being imprisoned for smuggling cigarettes? It is very rare. The reason why the penalties are low is because the attention of society is low. [...] Last but not least, illicit trade undermines jobs and states' revenues. Illicit trade fosters corruption and that means it then lowers trust in society.

Counterfeiting is now the world's second-leading criminal activity after drug trafficking. Many court proceedings have brought to light ties between this industry, organized crime and the funding of terrorist organizations. Criminal groups have massively invested in counterfeiting operations for a very simple reason: the profits are big and the penal risk is small. Public officials and rights-holders must have a comprehensive response to the problem of transnational illicit trade, first on physical markets to dismantle the production, storage and distribution sites in close cooperation with public officials through sharing intelligence, information and training. The other part of the response involves the digital world, especially Internet sales platforms and social media, which have become extraordinary vehicles for the spread of counterfeiting. We must get the big Internet actors to take more responsibility on this very serious issue. Major strides have already been made with regard to taxation and content of a terrorist nature. However, as the European Commission already recommended in 2018, monitoring and control must be widened by using instruments upstream to screen out all illicit content involving counterfeiting, hate speech and terrorism.



Cross-border illegal trade: a destabilizing factor for the global economy



Carlos Moreira
Founder and CEO of WISEKey



Jean-François Thony
Prosecutor-General, President of the Siracusa International Institute

The platform is something that stakeholders can use, one entry point to access endless amounts of data, which is not the case now. If a government or a private sector company wants to investigate illicit trade issues, where do they go? They go to a database and those databases are not available to them and so they have to negotiate credentials to access the database. This has been extraordinarily inefficient. That is why Interpol and many police organizations around the world are totally in a situation of needing to centralize data. However, it is very difficult to centralize data because there are commercial and ownership, intellectual property issues. In the last five years a new technology has arrived with the name blockchain, which could be the beginning of solving the problem. Although, I always say and I have been working on blockchain since the beginning, blockchain is only one of the components not the only one. We are creating in security, cybersecurity and technology a convergent historic point where what we call deep tech technologies are converging. You have artificial intelligence, blockchain, digital identity, the Internet of Things – IoT – and all these technologies are now talking to each other. This is creating an unprecedented power to solve critical problems for which we did not have the tools to solve before. [...] The good news is that there are a lot of technologies there. The bad news is that we need conferences like this and an international multi-stakeholder approach to use those technologies in a way that satisfies regulatory requirements worldwide.

The Siracusa International Institute is developing a global strategy to fight illicit trade. This is difficult because there are as many different kinds of illicit trade as there are products. Furthermore, the criminal organizations behind them are not of a single type but protean. Lastly, public policies to fight illicit trade are varied: protection of public health, consumers, intellectual property, the environment, etc. Moreover, national interests diverge depending on the issues affecting them. Rather than develop as many strategies as there are situations, the Siracusa International Institute works on identifying the points that all forms of illicit trade have in common. Based on this research, it draws up guidelines to strengthen and standardize the fight against trafficking. But often, they are ignored. That is why the plan for a mechanism to assess states' compliance with them is being developed. It is designed not as a "punitive" system but a sort of compliance audit allowing volunteer states to publicize the efforts they have made in this area and show that they offer international trade a healthy environment. This service rendered to states can be precious for them in the context of globalization and international competition. Based on these guidelines, which form a common foundation for all the types of illicit trade and all the situations facing states and companies, each state can adapt the system to its own issues and set its own priorities. Global strategies to fight illicit trafficking cannot be developed and implemented without or against the private sector. That is why the Siracusa International Institute asks the private sector companies concerned to join this discussion and back the efforts undertaken.



MODERATOR:
Jim Bittermann
Senior European
Correspondent for CNN
in Paris

The consequences of Trump, Act III



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



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



Jean-Claude Gruffat
Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute,
Washington DC

I think that there is a Trump legacy which will persist. Trump was the first person to say to the Chinese: "Stop stealing technology." That is very significant. Before Trump, we had American presidents who were extremely lenient towards China. I want to simply remind you that Xi Jinping publicly promised that he would never militarize the two island chains, the Paracels and the Spratlys, in the South China Sea. Today, we have strategic bombardiers with large Chinese runways and missiles on six or seven of these islands which are considered *terrae nullius* under international law. China – which still claims to be committed to multilateralism – does not recognize the authority nor the decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague on ownership of the South China Sea. In my opinion, this is really what Trump's overwhelming legacy is going to be. His foreign policy is extremely simple. He will say: "Before, you could breeze right through the American borders, but I have put a stop to that." Even if it is not true, what does it matter? It is about perception. Just like in politics, it is perception that counts, not the truth. People will say "It is true. It is true that he protected our borders. He fought against illegal immigration." Next, he will say that, during the electoral campaign, his critics said (and it is true: there are tons of articles from the New York Times, by Stiglitz and others) that if Trump were elected, it would be a total disaster for the American economy. Well, it was not. The situation has never been better. It has never been better for the disadvantaged, for black and Hispanic people who have never had better salaries or known better rates of employment.

I just want to emphasize one thing about what I call the globalization trilemma: globalization, democracy and national sovereignty. Those three are very much related and they may be a very convenient way to look at what is happening now. [...] One is the result of Mr. Trump's actions that we are just observing, but at the same time there must be a reason why Mr. Trump was elected as President. We have to think about why he was elected, and he has been in this kind of business. That is very much related to what I said, that trilemma between three things: globalization, national sovereignty and democracy. When we have more globalization, we were probably in what we call hyper-globalization in the last 20 years and there is a lot of pressure on democracy to change. That is what people often call populism. Actually, Japan has been very used to very severe trade negotiations with the United States for many years, so we know how we should just respond. [...] My point is Mr. Trump may be populism stage one, and there may be populism in stage two. As long as globalization continues there is always a pressure for democracy to be loaded by populism. [...] Another thing I want to emphasize is that when you are facing that kind of protectionism, the negotiation does not just go ahead rather than just defending your previous position. When Mr. Trump became President, Japan and other Asian Pacific countries were already almost finishing the negotiations for the TPP, Trans-Pacific Partnership agreement, then unfortunately Mr. Trump just decided or mentioned the United States was getting out of the TPP. Therefore, the other part is very obvious.

The Trump presidency has been chaotic, unpredictable and erratic. Trump will remain in US history as a consequential President. Not at all a traditional Republican, but he was a registered Democrat or an independent for most of his life. He is consequential as he has fundamentally challenged the traditional bipartisan consensus on foreign policy. 200,000 military personnel are posted overseas, yet Trump has refrained from more engagement particularly in the Middle East. Even in the confrontation with Iran or North Korea, he has been cautious. He appointed John Bolton as National Security Advisor for a period of time but fired him as he was not in line with the President views on North Korea. Trump has not followed the neo-con thinking. On the domestic front, Trump rolled back many of the Obama administration regulations in term of environment. Also labor, education, and health care... He also appointed a number of Supreme Court Justices and Federal Judges who are advocates of traditional interpretation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. On trade he is more protectionist than the main stream Republicans, restrictive on immigration, and ultra conservative on issues such as the abortion. That helps him securing the vote of the Evangelists who are ignoring the President moral lapses in his personal life. The confrontation between Republicans and Democrats is worse than it has ever been. The campaign for the 2020 election will be ugly, ultimately the American people will not choose a President but eliminate the candidate they dislike the most. If you combine the electoral system, the state of the economy, the lowest unemployment in 50 plus years, in spite of the tweets, Trump has a chance to get re-elected.



The consequences of Trump, Act III



Josef Joffe

Publisher-Editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit*



Qiao Yide

Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai Development Research Foundation



John Sawers

Executive Chairman of Newbridge Advisory, Senior Advisor at Chatham House, former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) of the United Kingdom

I do not want to compare Obama to Trump in terms of breach of etiquette and nastiness, but in foreign policy there is more similarity between them than meets the eye. One: Trump keeps pushing allies to raise defense spending and the threat is: pay up or we pull out. That is the line Obama took in his interview with *The Atlantic*, when he said 'Free riders aggravate me'. That is Trump-speak. Both told the Europeans: we protect you, but you do not do enough for yourselves. It was Obama who drew down troops in Europe to a rock bottom of some 30,000, which was part of the retrenchment under the 44th president. Two: both Obama and Trump shifted into a general withdrawal mode, as in Afghanistan and Iraq, while Obama refused to engage in Syria. Trump keeps reducing the US presence in Syria. Both have been unsteady, with "surges" following upon reductions. Three: both stressed the domestic over the strategic. An oft-repeated line by Obama reads: "It is time for a little nation-building at home," meaning less for assertion abroad and more for investment at home. Likewise Trump who has pledged a billion dollars for infrastructure. The messages are the same. Let us spend our wealth on ourselves, not on these wayward and sometimes disloyal allies. [...] The critical thing, as far as America's role in the world is concerned, is that Trump bestrides the world as "Demolition Man," who is chopping away at the International Liberal Order the United States devised and maintained since 1945. The premise of policy since Harry S. Truman was a non-zero game: we can both win. Trump plays a zero-sum game. He is turning an old non-zero-sum game, meaning all of us can win, into a zero-sum game: I win if you lose, and he has applied America's superior power to change the rules of the old game.

I want to start talking about the so-called mini-deal just reached a few days ago and point out that Mr Trump's claim of a substantial of big deal. However, please remember that just two weeks ago, he strongly claimed he wanted a comprehensive deal, not a partial deal. Everybody knows that so why change suddenly? I guess from his perspective it is not difficult to understand. His final goal is to be re-elected in 2020, that is his personal, final goal. There are two considerations supporting his goal. The first one is he wants to solidify his base in the Middle East. The best way for that is to strongly criticize China. The second consideration is to keep the US economy from weakening and recession. You look at all of his actions and they just swing between these two considerations, sometimes the first consideration prevails and sometimes it is the second. This time it was the second consideration that prevailed. Why? You are looking at a figure and the US economy is starting to weaken, particularly in manufacturing; there is a lot of data to show that. In that case in the so called deal, China agreed to purchase annually USD 40 billion to USD 50 billion US agricultural products, which gives Trump good reasons or excuse that he can then claim the victory, particularly to his base. [...] Let me first go back to the question you asked with or without Trump, if anything would change in terms of foreign relations between China and the US. I do not think there will be substantial change without Trump. As many people have said in the past two days there is a fundamental difference between these two countries. The only thing that may change may be the focus from trade to maybe human rights, or the style might change. I guess that the substantial tension will persist for a long, long time. That is what I think.

I do not think that Trump had any influence on the Brexit referendum at all. The original sin was David Cameron's and the fault was the British electorate's. What we are seeing with President Trump is a more nationalist leader and I take seriously his basic slogans about "Make American great again". Trump has boosted confidence in American growth which means that a recession is at the very least pushed off and delayed and is certainly unlikely to happen next year. Trump has a very superficial view about trade, and we all know that. When he rewrote NAFTA and called it the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement, it was basically NAFTA with a new name and the substance has not changed very much at all. Trump is a very consequential President. His approach on deregulation has meant that he is unable to do anything to contribute to the international efforts on climate change. His approach on foreign relations risks conflict and he is largely responsible for what is happening in Syria at the moment, although one has to say that the original sin in Syria was President Obama's, for siding with a group on the ground that was aligned with a proscribed terrorist organization. Friends of America around the world, they will simply not rely on America in the same way they did before. They will have to balance those relationships and they will have to be more autonomous for their defense and security. Lastly, there is the damage to international institutions. I think a one-term Trump presidency will do a certain amount of damage. I think a two-term Trump presidency will do five times as much damage and that is the risk we face.



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MODERATOR:

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

SESSION 16 • MONDAY, OCTOBER 14 • 15:00 – 16:30

Young Leaders



James Stuewe
Manager, Public Sector, Canada



Xavier Ploquin
Former Advisor for Energy, Industry and Innovation
at the French Ministry for the Ecological
and Inclusive Transition



Peter Bruce-Clark
Operating Partner at Social Impact Capital

I am going to very quickly take a look at two things. One is to look at the climate change and climate adaptation in Canada to set the scene, but also then to really look at the problematic, why is it that we feel so unable to address this issue? It feels collectively like we have come to a consensus. We have moved past this idea of doubting climate change. We have seen governments try to do things, but there is resistance. "What is wrong? Can people not see?" The fact of the matter is that I think today it is just another case where we do not get it. We do not understand the lived realities of 99% of the population. The single mom who works two jobs does not come home at the end of the day and think about rising sea temperatures. She worries about her safety and the safety of her children, beyond that, not much else matters. If you are worried about making it through the day, you are less worried about tomorrow, never mind what your country's greenhouse gas emissions will be in 2030 or 2050. This is the challenge: traditional policy approaches are not working as we would like them to. People can see. They can see that someone, who thinks perhaps they are smarter than them, is trying to tell them how to live their lives. There-in lies the resistance. This is tough, it is a tough message personally for me to deliver because I know climate change is real and I know it is going to impact my life, but it is going to impact the lives of my children. I just think we need to find another way to go about the conversation and most importantly, to bring more people into it.

First, I have to remind everyone that France is among the best-in-class when it comes to CO₂ emissions. The French economy can produce USD 1 with 200 grams of CO₂, while the US uses 400 grams and the Chinese 600 grams. It is a good result, and when you add up things you can see that the national emissions are going down. French people emit six and a half tonnes of CO₂ per year, which is more than the world average, which is between four and five. However, if you look at the carbon footprint of the French people, you can see that it has always risen and at best it has stabilized. What does it mean? It means that the French people are rich, they consume a lot of things, they consume a lot of imported goods that emit carbon somewhere else. That means that most probably, the French people have not even noticed the effort being made to reduce emissions over the last 20 years. It means that they will have to take into account the changes in the future much more strongly because it will imply changes in behaviors. France has a plan. President Macron had a climate plan in his political program, which was adopted in 2017. There are many things in this plan so I would just say that it leads to the adoption of carbon neutrality in 2050, which is a huge step. Also, for instance, it ends the exploration and production of oil and gas on French territory. This is mainly symbolic, but it means that we have to leave the carbon underground if we want to stop climate warming. It is detailed with several plans, a multiannual energy plan and a national low-carbon strategy that defines the pathway towards carbon neutrality. This is not like a peaceful countryside path; it is more like a jump-off a cliff.

On the topic of climate solutions, I wanted to say three things. Firstly, the climate crisis is a complex challenge. Secondly, I am going to provide real-world examples of businesses, both in the United States and abroad, who are targeting what I think is a humongous market opportunity and I call that the climate industry. Finally, I wanted to touch on how we are talking about the climate crisis. I believe that there are two ways that we need to narrate it and that there are two ways that we should not. The climate crisis is a complex non-linear, multi-industry systems challenge. It requires various different solutions that leverage the best of all worlds and the market. International and national tax on carbon, subsidies to underwrite clean energy, we are simply saying we should use nuclear. A band aid cannot cover a gaping wound that also fights back. It is like trying to harpoon a giant when what you actually really need is a couple of people with different kinds of darts and ropes to tie it down. What I am more interested in is how we identify and encourage market solutions which make sense relative to the specific circumstances of countries, the drivers of their GDPs and the extent to which those drivers contribute to climate change. My other basic message is that circular economic ways of thinking will actually be the foundation upon which countries will prosper going into this century. I believe countries who aggressively drive this way of thinking, financially supporting, underwriting and generating huge industries that tackle the climate crisis, will be richer than the ones that do not.





Young Leaders



Jihane Aijti
Head of Business Development, Digital and Communication within OCP Africa



Wu Liang
Co-Founder and CIO of Green City Solutions



Polina Vasilenko
Founder and CEO of HelioRec

Almost 3,5 million Africans a year will be moving, displaced from their home countries or cities because of climate change or unrest in the different countries. We should also consider that Africa is struggling to feed itself. Today, we already import almost USD 35 billion of food, mostly from the US and Europe and it is estimated that population growth and changes in diets will increase that to almost USD 100 billion. This money could be used for infrastructure, for example, to build ports which are really lacking on the continent. [...] We are promoting balanced fertilization. Africa needs to increase its yields to be able to feed the growing population in the context of climate change and to do that, we need to support the agricultural value chain throughout the continent, to be able to invest and modernize agriculture. This can be done in a lot of different ways. My role at OCP is in business development, but the way we see it business development is really oriented towards the farmer in Africa. We have launched really the first farmers initiatives where we started doing awareness campaigns, recommendations, providing farmers with decision tools that could help them know and assess how to invest and where to invest, the amount of fertilizer they need so that they do not over consume or use too little. There is a motto, "more with less", and the idea is to only give the soil what it really needs. Since the beginning of the farmers' initiatives program three years ago and today, I am very proud of that, we have supported almost 500,000 farmers across the continent. We are trying to provide them with innovation, technology and digital and to bridge the distance we have from them, because of the remote areas and the lack of infrastructure.

Can you imagine that 90% of all people are breathing polluted air every day and did you know that this causes more than seven million premature deaths annually? I bet you did not know that. For every breath of polluted air that you or your family are taking, it means that your life expectancy is shortened. Most people talking about air pollution still have pictures of Asia or Africa in mind, but the annual economic damage due to air pollution in Europe alone amounts to EUR 1.48 billion every year. The problem of air pollution is that it is invisible to the human eye, but it is also directly related to climate change. I wanted to show you that young people are not only marching on the streets. [...] We have discovered special moss cultures, which we have patented in our own system, which are literally able to eat up the air pollution and convert it into biomass. Those moss cultures have properties; they have a static charge that attracts the opposite charge to pollution particles. They have an increased leaf surface, which means that they are capable of capturing more pollution than any other plant and they are also capable of evaporating water on the leaf surface and creating cooling effects. This is a climate medication tool that we are talking about. The solution has been found. Moss can clean up more than 80% of pollution in our system. That is it? No. We combine this natural solution with our own IoT technology, and this consists of sensors that measure the pollution levels, measure the humidity in the plants, as well as the water conditions. This augments the system to be capable of filtering the 80% I just told you about.

We want to mitigate three global problems: land scarcity, passive pollution and global warming. In the frame of this conference I would like to highlight the problem of global warming and some of the mitigation that has to be put into place. If we do not do anything temperatures will rise 3.4 degrees higher than pre-industrial levels. If we implement indices, so temperatures will be around three degrees, which is also not very good, oceans will rise, and I have heard that every city will be under water and just some parts of Siberia will survive. If we do something, like if we do a lot from all sectors, I think we still have some time to keep temperatures up to 1.5 degrees, but also every individual should put an effort into this and there are some steps we need to take. I hope that a carbon pricing mechanism is another option, maybe it will happen. I really believe that we have to subsidize and invest more in renewable energy. We need to remove or reduce subsidiaries first of all from the fossil fuels industry, which as you know is subsidized five times more than in renewable energy, which is really strange. We need to reduce consumption at all levels. If you have an iPhone, do not buy a new one because it is the latest model. Or if you already have a car, share it with your husband or your wife, do not buy a new one. Also, negative emission technologies have to be implemented. The easiest way is to grow trees, so do not waste your time, grow trees at least. All these measures should be all put together.



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



Chiyuki Aoi
Professor of International Security at the Graduate School
of Public Policy, University of Tokyo

Foreign policies have always been explicitly linked to values, so there is nothing new in this. Interests including national interests have links to values, and these values can be anything. They do not necessarily have to be liberal, although we do wind-up talking about material national interests and liberal values. As mentioned often during this conference, however, it is the currents of our time that liberal ideals and values are intensively challenged from within, from forces favouring populism and unilateralism as opposed to multilateralism, and also from without, from entities that challenge fundamentally liberal ways of managing political relations. Hence, it is natural that our defense policies have to come to involve defense of values. Because so much of our foreign and defense policies have to do with the defense of values there is a need to communicate well what these values are that we are defending, hence the importance of strategic communications.

New foreign policy trends in East Asia



Kim Hong Kyun
Former Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace
and Security Issues



Douglas Paal
Distinguished Fellow at Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace, former Director of Asian Affairs
in the US National Security Council



Qiao Yide
Vice Chairman and Secretary-General of Shanghai
Development Research Foundation

I see completely new foreign policy trends being developed in and around the Korean Peninsula. First, the US President is directly dealing with the North Korean leader, including through face-to-face summitry, as well as beautiful love letters. Second, South Korea is on the verge of divorcing with its closest neighbour country, Japan, with which we share common values, common security interests and the ally. Third, the US-China rivalry expands from a trade dispute into a technological competition and now into security and military areas and this spills over into the Korean Peninsula. [...] Since President Trump had a historic summit meeting with Kim Jong-un of North Korea last year in Singapore, there has been no meaningful progress in the process of denuclearization of North Korea. There is also no agreement on either the definition of what denuclearization of North Korea is nor on a roadmap to achieve its final fully-verified denuclearization. [...] The chances for an amelioration of the relationship look very dim. Prime Minister Abe seems determined to radically change the nature of Japan's relationship with South Korea once and for all. In South Korea, the emotion of the people and the nationalistic sentiment is so intense that it would be very difficult for President Moon Jae-in to find an easy solution. [...] The US decision to withdraw from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces treaty and to deploy land-based intermediate range ballistic missiles in Asia could pose a serious risk for South Korea if the US wants to put these missiles on the South Korean soil. To conclude, new foreign policy trends are being developed in East Asia, especially surrounding the Korean Peninsula. I think that South Korea needs both a well-thought strategy as well as lots of luck to navigate this uncharted territory safe and sound.

My first observation today is on three broad trends in the region, in that the movement of US policy with respect to China from engagement to containment is eroding those spokes and making it difficult for the various countries, each of which has its own relations with China, to sustain a kind of counterbalance that will come if they also try to remain close to the United States. Trade policy is an example of this. [...] I think the Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy has, like Obama's, failed to deliver results. [...] A third broad trend being reflected in Asia I think, is the global Balkanization that has resulted from rapid, expensive globalization and people are pulling back from the forces of globalization, even in the Asia Pacific where people have prospered tremendously from this. [...] In sum, the great irony is that the US in dealing with a rising China needs its allies and friends more than ever and yet we are making it harder for our friends and allies to work with us more than many, many years. This is going to present a tremendous dilemma not just for the current Trump administration but for whichever administration succeeds it.

I would like first to share some observations on the policy changes in this area. First of all, the US defined China and Russia as strategic competitors or adversaries, initiated a trade war with China, which I do not want to go into details, had a wide impact on this region. Second, the US exited from the TPP immediately after Trump took office. Third, Trump tried to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue by establishing personal relations with Kim Jong-un, but so far has not been successful. Fourth, push Japan and South Korea in the economic arena, including raising the payment for US armies staying in these countries, while of course, the US still keeps the relationship with Japan and South Korea. Having said that, I want to emphasize the major pattern in these regions is unchanged, which means the US still keeps the dominance in this region in terms of a number of alliances, in terms of military existence and building this community. From the Chinese perspective, of course the major focus in this area is how to deal with a persistent US challenge, as I said this morning. Interestingly and ironically you can find in the past two or three years China is now actually in a better position to have better relations with other countries, for example, the improved relations with Japan, with South Korea and even with North Korea. Of course, at the same time it has strengthened the relations with Russia. Part of the reason for that is due to pressure from the US, the US has pushed China and has also pushed other countries so obviously, as in the Chinese say, they have banded together warming-up to try to deal with further pressure from the US, from uncertainty from the US.



SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE SA MAJESTÉ

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

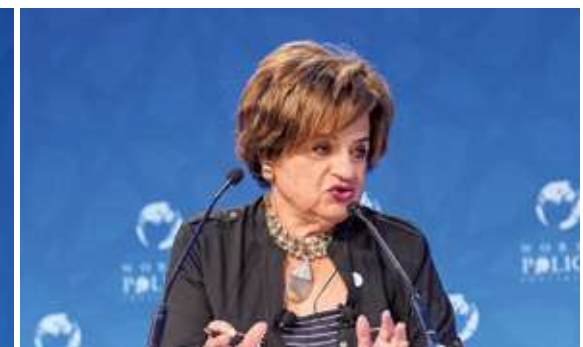
Final debate



Assia Bensalah Alaoui
Ambassador-at-large of His Majesty the King of Morocco



Karl Kaiser
Senior Associate of the Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Adjunct Professor Emeritus of Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School, former Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, former Advisor to Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt



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

To meet the climate and environmental emergency, all the players must take their respective responsibilities very seriously and act: 1/Globally for states, to fulfil their obligations to their citizens. It is no longer just their wellbeing but their survival that is at stake; 2/Determined ecological responsibility for business, to revolutionize methods of production and distribution and, beyond those processes, the very nature of the goods and services they offer; 3/Contradictory responsibility of voracious consumers to change lifestyles. Could the Mediterranean, thanks to over 2,000 years of adaptive wisdom, become the world's laboratory? At the Two Shores Summit, President Emmanuel Macron called that demanding, rebellious humanity to the rescue to give the Western Mediterranean a fresh impetus: 1/Re-launching multilateralism in a new manner, which has been so abused; 2/Working together, between the two shores, towards a better living together; 3/Fostering creative, better educated, better trained, freely moving youth; 4/Encouraging energy wisdom; 5/Rehabilitating the past, historic cities and medinas, to project ourselves into the future better and restore the intergenerational link; 6/Releasing the blue economy and the circular economy's potential with food grown in cities, short circuits and marriage between sea and land; 7/Promoting shared culture, sustainable tourism and involved media. Our project to pool publishers, led by Morocco, "married" to that of translation by the Anna Lindh Foundation, to make our many languages vectors of our common tongue in the Mediterranean. This is a Mediterranean story told by its talents, to create renewal and this possible common future.

We now have to look at how some global trends affect this emerging G2 world: 1/ Cyberwar. One can now through cyberactivity affect the politics of another country without having armies to march. Putin succeeded in getting his man into the White House by cyber activity, at the cost of less than a fighter jet; 2/Climate change; 3/Migration. Migration profoundly affected and changed domestic politics in Europe and the United States. There will be enormous pressure from the South and unless there is a fundamental change of policy to help people stay where they are, they will go North. This requires a paradigm change in Europe's policy toward Africa. [...] The US and Europe are the cores of the West, of Western democracy, of human rights and peaceful relations among states. [...] There is another America besides Trump. Let us not assume that what Trump is now pursuing is necessarily the future policy of America. [...] Let me say in conclusion that in the G2 world of US-China rivalry, the US will continue to need Europe in this competition. The US cannot allow China to dominate the western rim of Eurasia. That is a geopolitical given. Europe also needs the United States in order to survive in this kind of rivalry. Finally, for the same reason, Europe will not fail to engage Russia anew, because in this world of the future, a Russia that becomes a permanent satellite of China is not in the interest of either Europe or the United States.

Finally, what are the three scenarios envisaged? One is a muddling through scenario, meaning a form of continuity; plus ça change et plus c'est la même chose. That means the Arab world will remain a region of strained economies, high youth unemployment and fragile states. Second, things fall apart completely. If we look at the development of the past decade, we can see that the situation has gone from bad to worse. There are more failed states, more armed non-state actors and terrorist groups. The socio-economic conditions that drove revolt a decade ago are generally worse. Also, the absence of inclusive and responsible political institutions is worse today. There are a number of ways that things could get considerably worse. For example, tensions between Iran and Israel or Iran and Saudi Arabia could escalate into all-out war. For example, Egypt and Saudi Arabia could stumble and fall as other large states have in the recent past. Terrorist groups could regroup and use cyberwarfare or weapons of mass destruction. Our third scenario is where things dramatically improve, and this is the one I support. If Egypt and Saudi Arabia succeed in their ambitious economic and social plans and break through to high levels of growth and employment, that would raise living standards and relive domestic pressure. If the three civil wars in Libya, Yemen and Syria reach a suitable negotiated settlement, this would have a positive effect on the region.



Final debate



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

Former Minister of Economy and Finance of the Kingdom
of Morocco



Yoichi Suzuki

Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute for International
Affairs, former Special Assistant to the Foreign Minister of
Japan, former Chief Negotiator of the Japan-EU Economic
Partnership Agreement

I am going to be very brief on this, the second two points are the use of technology in China for repression. The famous China surveillance state, as you know they are registering the entire Uyghur minority in Xinjiang, with facial and iris recognition tools. The New York Times just revealed that their DNA has been sequenced and the level of aggregation of this data is fairly high up, so it is the Interior Ministry, the police. This is not the most interesting, which is the third issue. If you think of political systems as systems of information, which is what they are to some extent, they are meant to procure information about how people feel and their concerns and feed into decision making bodies. That is what free press and free association are. Democracy is a particular system of information. Some Chinese colleagues of mine will say to me, we know what our citizens want and need without the messiness of democracy and elections. We are going to do that through data and AI. This is what transpires in some conversations, it is an alternative model infused by technology and making heavy use of that. I will end on this note that I think that the collision with China, and I think some people in the US see this far more clearly, is very structural and is connected to very deep trends in how economics work in the digital area and in the capacity for technology to change the sustainability of an authoritarian regime. I think that means that the collision is going to be fairly structural and sustained over time and I think that is one of the backdrops to this conference.

In the long term, the new globalization is evolving. It is 2030, 2050 and later. Our Afro-Euro-Mediterranean region, which is what interests me the most, must meet four essential challenges of the new globalization. The first challenge is demographic growth in Africa, a basic shift that carries risks as well as opportunities. The second is climate change. The third challenge is the growth of inequality in the world and within countries. The fourth challenge is new geopolitical antagonisms, starting with conflicts over water, which is vital everywhere in Africa and other places, but also the challenge of poverty and, increasingly, cultural and religious issues. Here again we need sharing, in other words more tolerance and recognition of all the essential civilizations. Alongside these four dynamics, there are two other interlocking issues. The first is the technological revolution led by the digital transition and artificial intelligence. The second is the new United States/China bipolarization. [...] Africa and the Southern Mediterranean countries – I am thinking of the Maghreb of course – must come together and make their political system and economic strategy credible. This would seek to restore the Mediterranean's peace, dynamism and centrality, which are necessary for a more balanced, more multipolar world, and ensure that the Mediterranean becomes an advanced testing ground for this strategy of sharing and balance.

We are living in a bipolar or “binary” world, with the United States on one side and China on the other. How can the rest of the world protect its interests? Three objectives must be taken into account. Firstly, avoid being put into a position of having to choose between one and the other. Secondly, protect our interests from American or Chinese pressure. Thirdly, minimize damage to the international system. Two specific ways forward can be identified to achieve them, initiatives to organize collaboration, coordination, or cooperation between non-American and non-Chinese actors in order to develop the “global commons”. The first involves international trade. President Trump is unlikely to return to multilateralism. But a system of regional or multilateral frameworks can be developed, whose components might be incorporated by the United States even if the form is bilateral. Those components could lay the groundwork for a multilateral system. The second involves building a network of connectivity. Infrastructure, especially the physical kind, must be built in a sustainable manner. China talks about each country having its own specific model. That is not enough. Drawing up multilateral guidelines is indispensable to avoid falling into debt traps or accelerating climate change. As for the digital economy, between American all-out liberalism and Chinese mercantilism, it is important to chart a third way based on an appropriate regulatory framework to protect personal data and ensure healthy competition.





1. Finance and economy



CHAIR
Jean-Claude Trichet
Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bruegel, European
Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former President of
the ECB

I see populism and a level of frustration among the citizens, in all the advanced economies without exception. I see that inflation is extraordinarily low, and I cannot help making the connection. There is an anomaly in the functioning of our system which means that Phillips curve has not functioned since the crisis as it did in the past. Even when you have full employment, there is no real increase in the wages and salaries. The citizens prefer by far to protect their jobs instead of getting augmentations of wages and salaries, and that is because they have an immense competition constraint coming from globalization, the emerging countries, science and technology. All of this makes something which is abnormal. It is abnormal in my view that in Germany, you do not have this. It is starting a little bit now, but for a long period of time, you did not have what would have been expected from social partners in full employment. It is the same in the Netherlands, the same in Japan, the same in Switzerland and the same in a certain way in the US. This is with the paradox that the Republican president calls for the blue collar workers to get more wages and salaries. This says a lot about the overall sentiment that there is something wrong there. [...] It took social partners, government, public authorities, and the private sector, joint partnerships. These are to go from increases of 7-8% down to increases which would be more or less in line with the 2% of the inflation target, the implicit target. I am wondering whether we would not need to deliver the central banks from the trap, with all the consequences in terms of financial instability. These are associated with negative rates or very low rates. Should we not try to have the reverse consensus, if I may? It is not a disinflation policy, but other policies.



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

Even if skepticism still dominates, this is how we will create accountability. We have to go beyond the nice green bonds and go beyond the nice social bonds etc. At some stage, we need to start working on the system. We must move from the Milton Friedman approach, where the social purpose of the business is to make a profit, or a nice variation is to make a profit for shareholders. Although he added, to be fair, that you need to take societal acceptance of that into consideration. We tend to forget that important element. How do we move from that to what Colin Mayer in particular in Oxford said? The social purpose of business is to find profitable solutions for the planet and its people. It is not profit as an end to an end but profit as a means to an end. This means entering into the nitty gritty details of accounting, compensation, reporting, disclosure, regulatory framework etc. At the end of the day, we connect capitalism with people, the territories etc. I will add a third dimension to the traditional financial approach, which is risk return and sustainability or risk return and impact. How do we take into account the fact that we are in a finite world? We have to take this into consideration, and as I say sometimes to irritate the accountants, we have to move from a mark-to-market system, to a mark-to-planet system. My kids say, 'Daddy, you should create the hashtag #marktoplanet,' which is a nice suggestion.



Daniel Dăianu
Chairman of the Fiscal Council and Advisor to the Governor
(Euro Area Affairs), former Board Member of the National
Bank of Romania

There is an increasingly wild world, with a lot of fragmentation and dissonance among actors in many respects. There is a massive erosion of multilateralism, in view of what prevailed after the Second World War, the so called liberal international order. There are currency and trade wars and there is an erosion of the transatlantic relationship, which is quite dismaying to many Europeans, and also to many Americans. Geopolitics is very much on the agenda, with the confrontation between the United States and China. The shift of economic power goes on. There is a sense of desperation among economic policy-makers, which explain why central banks are under pressure. Just think again about the new round of QE's. And about the talk in favor of fiscal stimulus again. There seems to be a different "regime" now when it comes to monetary policy, with the neutral rate being very low and inflation also very low against the backdrop of very feeble economic growth. But I will make a distinction regarding monetary policies, economic policies in general. There are things that countries whose central banks provide reserve currencies can do, and which emerging economies cannot do. For most of them it is a different ballgame and they cannot be complacent about large internal and external deficits. Shadow banking, which poses increasing systemic risks. Who is going to provide the lender of last resort function in capital markets, if something goes terribly wrong there. Just keep in mind what happened in the repo market in the United States lately.



1. Finance and economy



Jeffrey Frieden
Professor of Government at Harvard University

There are perceptions that globalization has created pools of wealth that are undeserved, and it has contributed to the decline of communities, and of entire regions. This is a perception that is very widespread. It is not just American. It is not just French. It is not just Brazilian. It is virtually global, in almost all of the OECD countries and in many developing countries as well. I do not think we should fool ourselves into ignoring reality. And there is no question, at least in my mind, that international finance is a target. Whether that target is correctly aimed or not is another matter, but we have a precedent and the precedent is that of the inter war years. Mainstream political parties and mainstream political and economic actors were incapable of finding a solution to intractable problems that affected the lives of tens and hundreds of millions of people. If mainstream political parties and mainstream economic actors do not find solutions, others will fill that vacuum. The big question is, what will those in and around international financial institutions do? We have an early answer in the United States. For the first time since the 1930s, we had two presidential candidates who ran on explicit platforms of hostility to international trade, international finance and international investments. One of those candidates won the presidency. The other one is running for it again, Bernie Sanders. This was in response to the victory of someone who campaigned against globalism, international finance and international trade. The American international business community has essentially been silent. The usual conclusion is that they do not like the protectionist policies much, but they did get tax cuts and they did get deregulation.



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

Manufacturing in the world economy is in large part influenced by the so called silicon cycle. The most recent expansionary phase began in early 2016 and peaked in early 2018. If the two year rule continues to hold good, then it will be early 2020 or around the turn of the year, when the cycle hits the bottom and begins to recover. If 5G and IoT development accelerates, then the economic bottom will come sooner and the ensuing recovery will gain momentum. [...] It is very difficult to analyze the psychology of people, but in this regard, the 2020 presidential election may change the whole dynamics. If the 2020 US presidential election proves to be that way, then the new president will formulate left wing policies, including universal health insurance coverage. This is a good thing for American people, but it may change the psychology of American people. To be more specific, the psyche may become more inflation prone, like an episode in the mid 1960s. Regarding financial systems, a huge debt has been accumulated in the global market, carrying negative interest rate. Negative interest rates are counterintuitive to me, although macroeconomists attribute them to deflationary expectations. [...] Investors simply hold long term debts carrying negative interest rates for arbitrage gain. They hope to earn long before maturity, wishing that they could escape scot free from possible spikes interest rates. Such decision making, based on a beauty contest, creates a bubble. If it bursts, then a number of institutional investors will go under. They may entail a systemic run on the asset management industry.



Hur Kyung-wook
President of Korean Bretton Woods Club, former Advisor to the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, former Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, former Senior Economist for the IMF

During the 2008 crisis, we had global coordination. We all remember that the G20 played a very instrumental role. I remember that in 2009, at the Seoul G20, all the leaders agreed to stand still and roll back of all protections and measures. That helped a lot to avoid the worst outcomes of the 2008 crisis. Now we do not have it, and we conveniently say there is a so called new normal about this low interest rate and all that stuff. However, we cannot hide behind this new normal about lack of international coordination, and this is very worrisome, particularly for countries in Asia. This is because Asia has been following up globalization, and then we had a crisis 20 years ago, with all this capital flow. Then we recovered. 10 years ago, we had a global financial crisis. However, the question now is, if this global coordination or the role of the G20 is no longer there and if we have a crisis, who can we rely on? Asia has come away with something called the CMIM. It is a multilateral swap between the 10 ASEAN countries and Japan, Korea and China. Even though it is a work in progress, we have made a lot of progress, but at the same time, there are many missing blocks, missing links in terms of the paid in capital, etc. There are lots of promises, but there is no actual paid in capital. When the crisis hits, we will not know how to coordinate between the IMF and these regional financial arrangements and many bilateral swaps.



1. Finance and economy



André Lévy-Lang

Affiliate Emeritus Professor of Finance at Paris-Dauphine University

I would like to focus quickly on the state of the global financial industry 12 years after the crisis. The US is in very good shape and the US financial system is in good shape. There is no question about that. In Europe, we have a problem. Today, the market value, the market cap of the major European banks is well below their net book value. Negative rates do not help at all, so they are squeezed regarding regulation, which has been slightly stronger in Europe than in the US, to understate the situation. I remind you that in Europe, the banking system supplies 80% of the financing of the economy against 20% in the US, so it is very important in terms of the European economy. The revolution which started in 2008, at the same time as the crisis, was the launching of the first iPhone. Today, we see a number of so called neo-banks which raise huge amounts of money. They acquire customers, they lose money in the process, so they raise more capital. Two, the European banks in general are really squeezed by the current interest rate structure. They are cutting staff significantly, which they have to do. Three, they have to live with the legacy of computer systems which did not anticipate the smartphone. We may have overshot to some extent in terms of regulation. 12% of the staff is used to deal only with money laundering and regulation questions. There is a risk that banks will have a negative impact on European growth in the next few months.



John Lipsky

Peterson Distinguished Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, former First Deputy Managing Director of the IMF

1/One of the side effects of the new, post-crisis European regulation has been a de facto ceding of much of the international capital market business, and of high-end investment banking business, to non European – essentially American – banks. This wasn't intentional, but it has occurred in any case; 2/One common thread connecting the sluggish outlook for global growth is the widely experienced weakness in fixed investment in capital goods, equipment and software; 3/The lack of investment, despite relatively good consumer demand growth in many advanced economies, suggests deep uncertainty; 4/That a substantial portion of the most important sovereign bond markets currently are trading at negative yields reflects the degree of uncertainty among investors about the outlook; 5/Sustained low inflation and low inflation expectations are likely to be simultaneously a cause and a reflection of this uncertainty. Since it is hard to see why inflation expectations are going to change substantially in the near term, the extremely low yields on sovereign bonds likely will continue; 6/A series of policy challenges – including concerns about inequality and about climate change – are heightening the uncertainty. The sluggishness of global growth has heightened the perceived importance of these challenges; 7/There is growing agreement that the extraordinary monetary policy moves of recent years more or less have run their course; 8/It remains to be demonstrated that the post-financial crisis version of the international safety net and the current institutional framework is adequate to reduce the current heightened uncertainty and to spur stronger growth; 9/Bottom line: Today's sources of uncertainty likely will be with us for some time longer, without clear resolution.



Hélène Rey

Professor of Economics at London Business School, Member of the French National Economic Commission, Member of the High Council for Financial Stability

Why are the real rates so low? We do not understand exactly why they are so low. That constrains monetary policy massively. That creates huge financial risk, not just potentially on the banking sector, but also, and people have not talked about this, on the insurance sector and various types of asset management, on pension funds etc. In order to understand long term movements in real rates, one has to look at economic history. The only other episode that is similar to ours today is the 1930s, which followed another big crisis. In both cases, you saw massive increases in wealth, in the 1920s. That was the irrational exuberance period. We saw that in the 1980s and 1990s, and in both cases, this was linked to financial deregulation. Then we saw a massive financial crisis. Then after the massive financial crisis, we saw a very long period of deleveraging, and people underestimate how long it takes to delever. We are still in that swing, in that period of deleveraging, and this is why the real rates tend to be quite low. [...] While the interest rates are low, fiscal policy is more effective. When interest rates are negative, if you have to invest, it is the right time to do it? Do we have to do investments? We do. Everything we have said today and yesterday about climate change and having to do an energy transition requires a huge amount of private investment and public investment. We are in a situation where, from a cyclical point of view, it looks like we should be investing. From a survival point of view, it looks like we should be investing.



2. Energy and environment



COORDINATEUR
**Marc-Antoine
Eyl-Mazzega**
Directeur du centre
énergie de l'Ifri



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

Women are hit much harder by climate change, especially in African countries, because more women are farmers, and with climate change, much more effort is required to fetch water from more distant places. Furthermore, women can do a lot to change the policy, by voting, by becoming business leaders and changing business models. Women's role in climate change mitigation could be stressed much more. Gender issues and climate issues should come together. [...] The IEA said four revolutions are happening in energy sector. One is the shale revolution in the US. Two, solar power is the cheapest in the future. The third is China's green revolution and the fourth is electrification digitalization. However, an important fifth revolution which I want to add is this demand driven transformation. The IEA and the governments always think from the supply side but the demand driven transformation may change the structure drastically. Another example is the RE100, corporations using 100% renewable energy. This is a list of corporations, including major corporations like Apple, GM and BMW. If they require their suppliers to do the same, and this is the case, maybe those companies who wish to stay in the supply chain of the major global corporations will only use renewables in the future. This may create a huge challenge in the supply structure of energy. Energy transformation could be driven much more by the users than by the supplier, or by the government.



Olivier Appert
Scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of Ifri, former
President of the French Energy Council (French Committee
of the World Energy Council)

Most of the attention today is focused on solar and wind, thanks to their spectacular expansion and cost reduction. However modern bioenergy is playing the dominant role because it is the only renewable source that can provide energy for all end use. At the end of 2017, modern bioenergy accounted for half of renewable energy consumption. This is as much as hydropower, wind, solar, and all other renewables combined and four times the amount of wind and solar combined. In order to reach a sustainable development scenario, the IEA considers that renewables would contribute to one third of greenhouse gas emission reductions compared to the New Policy Scenario. In that context biomethane will play an important role. In just seven years, biomethane production has increased by a factor of seven. Most of the growth has occurred in Europe, but every region is participating in the global growth. As of 2017, 720 biomethane production plans were in operation in the world, compared to only 173 in 2010. They are spread over 34 countries and there are 1,020 projects to upgrade operational plants, which are under construction or planned. In summary, there are promising developments all around the world. In Europe, the use of biomethane is spreading all across the continent, with a huge potential of 95 BCMs in 2050. In North America, there has been surging production in the recent period, propelling the US to the first rank in the world for the use of biomethane in vehicles. In Asia, we have to note the recent adoption of the biogas upgrading technology by China and India. There are also projects elsewhere. Developments in biomethane are linked in every country to subsidies, to cost reduction thanks to industrialization, and also to sustainable resources.



Leila Benali
Chief Economist, Head of Strategy, Energy Economics and
Sustainability at the Arab Petroleum Investments Corporation

The energy sector is really competing with other sectors that are deemed much more attractive for investors in terms of returns. The problem is that the gap is really wide. Energy provides less than 10% of returns, while IT or consumers have provided more than 300% over a decade. The other problem is that in terms of valuation, some parts of the energy sector seem undervalued. I am mainly talking about the upstream side of it, but there is always that persistent fear of stranded assets, because we do not have that clarity on the climate change trajectory. In parallel, returns are also being squeezed in the different parts of the value chain. I took the example of the gas sector, but the same is true across the board. If they want to survive through the energy transitions and continue to provide an attractive value proposition for the investors, energy companies have no other choice than to embark on vertical integration at scale. That is not only vertical integration as in the past, to stabilize the earnings by benefiting from the country's cyclical profits in upstream and downstream. That is also to maximize the margins across the value chain. [...] If you start considering oil and gas resources as just any other investment asset class, the same could happen at a larger scale between large oil and energy companies and investment funds. What type of industry structure will we get in that drive for a low carbon world? After all, within the infrastructure sector, the energy sector remains the preferred industry for institutional investors.



2. Energy and environment



Richard Cooper

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

There is one final thing I want to say as a matter of agreed policy. Whether it is universally agreed is less important, but we should be building no new coal fired power plants anywhere in the world. We have them and we have a tremendous amount of inertia in the system. We will be using coal for decades, because as was pointed out earlier, 40 years was mentioned for coal fired power plants. With some renovation, they can last 50 60 years. We have a lot of them around. China is backing out coal as rapidly as it can through many different channels including nuclear, LNG, solar and so forth. However, because of air pollution and harm to Chinese health, they are building coal fired power plants as part of BRI in other countries. That should be stopped. I see in my own view that in the end, we will do solar. The end is several decades away, and I see natural gas as being the bridging fuel to solar. In particular, natural gas is a great substitute for coal in generating electricity, as well as other uses. I see natural gas as the natural thing. You can call it biogas. It is any kind of methane, and it is a natural bridging fuel between where we are now and solar power, where we need to get to eventually. This is supplemented by some other things, but that is decades away.



Cosmin Ghita

CEO of Nuclearelectrica, Romania

Today's realities call for immediate action, and based on IEA data that was vehiculated here, energy consumption worldwide grew by 2.3% in 2018 alone. This is nearly twice the average rate of growth since 2010, so we are seeing an increasing demand for energy. As a consequence of higher energy consumption, energy related CO2 emissions also increased by 1.7%, at 33.1 gigatonnes of CO2. Therefore, we are nowhere near the Paris Agreement, and to be honest with you, we will be very far away from it for a long period of time. As an important percentage of CO2 emissions is energy related, the pace of transitioning then becomes even more difficult. From my experience in the nuclear industry, two major variables need to be addressed very fast. These are investments in clean energy sources and related financial campaigning. This may mean campaigning as a PR initiative supported by the governments to bolster investor confidence in these investments. Or, it could mean coming up with risk hedging mechanisms to make the opportunities attractive enough in today's capital competition. The World Energy Outlook estimates that around USD 11 trillion will be invested in nuclear power by 2040. This means approximately 46% of nuclear power output. Even though the WEO estimates an increase in nuclear power investments, globally, nuclear generation will go below 10%. This is far less than the required output of nuclear production as per the sustainable development scenario.



Tatsuo Masuda

Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business on energy-climate nexus, Chairman of FairCourt Capital in London, Strategic Committee Member of Elion House in Singapore

I will be talking about the generational divide on the climate agenda. Climate change is the result of the accumulation of CO2 emissions or greenhouse gases in the atmosphere well over the last 200 years. However hard we may try now, the effect may appear many years later due to its very long-term nature not necessarily benefitting the mature generations. Therefore, they may think, why they have to make efforts like hell if they cannot get the benefit of eliminating climate risks. This is a big and complex issue. However painful, we have to deal with climate issues, not setting them aside, and overcome the generation divide. There is a lot of criticism to what Greta Thunberg said at the UN Climate Summit. I saw many articles and videos on YouTube telling her, 'What you have said is brainwashed and exaggerates the climate risks.' However, this is not the way to persuade younger generations. History shows a very sad record. For example, there was the famous Rio Summit in 1992 if you remember. Many heads of state came to Rio to make wonderful speeches and agreed upon an action oriented declaration. They even discussed the need to decrease CO2 emissions to 1990 levels by the end of the 20th century. But did actions follow? No, nothing serious happened. We have to do something real and we cannot leave all these younger generations behind or keep the generation gap wide open. Our generation was challenged by this young girl from Sweden. That challenge should be responded to with sincerity and with concrete steps, on top of what we agreed upon in Paris in 2015. Let us do this at the 2020 UN Climate Summit, which should be observed by the entire population of the planet. This will be the first step to narrow the gap between us and the forthcoming generations.



Ali Zerouali

Director of Cooperation and International Development of the Moroccan Agency for Sustainable Energy

Can we imagine going back to fossil fuels for a moment? There would be so much pressure on the price of fossil resources that it would jeopardize the already sluggish growth taking place at the moment. Renewable energy differs from fossil fuels in that there is no competition between countries. When the wind blows, it blows for everyone; when the sun shines, it shines for everyone. The improvement in economic equalization around renewables resulting from rising investment and the ensuing economies of scale means that the more investments there are, the lower prices will be without competition between countries. It is therefore a real vector for cooperation between countries. In this context, five countries joined forces at COP 22 in Marrakech to boost the share of renewables in their energy mix by integrating renewable energy markets among themselves. They are France, Germany, Portugal, Spain and Morocco, and together they launched the Sustainable Electricity Trade Roadmap project. This was followed by a series of cost-benefit analyses that provided these countries with the necessary political comfort. With help from the World Bank, the European Commission and the UfM, the studies demonstrated that, at various levels, each country could generate tens of billions in profits by integrating their renewable energy markets. This led to the signing of a new declaration at the European Commission last December for the integration of the first Cross Border Green Corporate PPA market. The final discussions on an agreement between the five countries are almost finalized. It will allow renewable energy to be developed on a massive scale since the more the size of the networks and trade between countries expands, the more the share of renewables in the energy mix can grow.



3. Africa



CHAIR
Robert Dossou
Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Benin,
former President of the Constitutional Court,
President of the African Association of
International Law

The 1990s saw the rise of great expectations in Africa, which came onto the international stage. In addition, Africa's Heads of State have grown aware of the need to solve all the old problems that were holding Africa back. They did two important things. First, they adopted a set of legal instruments both at the level of the African continent itself and at the level of the Regional Economic Communities, bringing about a transformation of the Organization of African Unity and turning it into the African Union with a constitutive act more advanced than the OAU Charter. Then they adopted instruments and charters of governance. I am not going to list them. The regional economic communities were not to be outdone, especially ECOWAS, a former Secretary-General of which I see in the room. Very advanced legal instruments have been crafted and are in force. Through NEPAD, now the African Union Development Agency, African states have set up a system allowing them to share good practices. One of the hurdles holding us back is corruption and dysfunctions of all kinds. Steps are being taken here and there. The question is whether they are relevant, effective and being implemented as effectively as possible. This raises a whole set of questions, one of which seems important to me: does governance within each of our states contribute to the weight of the continent as a whole? One question follows the other.



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

Africa and Europe face the same risk of leaving the stage history, of no longer being on the radar of power in today's world, of being dominated by China and of being the victim of the current trade war between the United States and China. We face the same challenges. We must look together to see how we can continue to defend our interests and make our voices heard in the world, for example with regard to climate change, which is obviously much more threatening for our common Europe-Africa region than perhaps in other places. If we do not want to be left out of history in the making, I'm convinced that we must work towards a new alliance between Africa and Europe. Of course, it is essential first of all for each of us to put our own house in order, in other words for Europe to continue to consolidate itself and become more coherent and for Africa to carry out its own reforms. It's not too late, however, to start working together on the challenges we share: the climate, of course, security—we've talked a lot about the Sahel, but that's not all—youth employment—this is perhaps the major challenge, given the demographic situation—education, health and the joint control of migration. Uncontrolled migration is a tragedy for Africa because it is being drained of talent, and you've seen the effects of this in Europe: the rise of extremes and populism and the closing of borders. There is no solution unless we tackle these issues together.



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

On a national level, on the level of a country, success can broadly be defined by (1) a reasonable degree of safety and security for one's citizens; (2) appropriate physical infrastructures (water, power, transport and ICT) to enable economic activity to take place; (3) appropriate investments in the creation of human capital through health services and education; and (4) policies that encourage persons to put capital at risk in search of reward. All these require (5) reliable, sound and trusted institutions. Achieving this in 54 states is the core challenge that we face. We must also consider how to use the African regional organizations and the African Union, the continental institution to enable growth and sustainable development. We have to find ways of squaring that circle. If we are honest, we know that Africa has not been well served either by its colonial past or by aspects of the period after independence which began in Africa in 1957. Education has not been fit for purposes. As we heard in the plenary before lunch, health services often lagging in many parts of the continent, although splendid efforts are being made. The quality of African institutions themselves is not always up to standard. There is very little doubt that getting these five things right will lead to higher standards of opportunity and welfare for African citizens. However, we must take it seriously and collectively; it cannot be achieved only by governments.



Sheikh Tidiane Gadio
President of the Institute for Pan-African
Strategies, Peace, Security and Governance,
former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Senegal

Africa is vast. It can contain all of China, India, the United States, Japan and the European Union's Member States within its territory and there would still be room left over. So contrary to what we're being told, Africa is not overpopulated. Africa is overpopulated only because its economies are failing and it cannot take responsibility for its demographic growth. We have all the natural resources in large quantities (a third of the world's reserves, it is said). Thus, Africa should play a key role in the world's future. Many people have understood this. Africa is said to be dangerous, but they go there because they know that many things are at stake on our continent. Now, one of the criticisms I have of my continent is that we continue to build structures, systems like the AfCFTA, which is excellent by the way, because Africa wants to have a common market, but we still refuse to give politics a leading role. We refuse to talk about political union. We have followed the EU model. For 20 years I've argued that the EU was not our model. We want the model our leaders and great thinkers—Kwamé Nkrumah, Sheikh Anta Diop and Marcus Garvey—laid out before us. We want the United States of Africa. We want a united Africa. We do not want an Africa modeled on the EU, with 27 States, all independent, all sovereign, where decisions are difficult to make. We know that if the EU agreed to be politically united, the next day it would be the world's leading power.





3. Africa



Karim Lotfi Senhadji
CEO of OCP Africa

The world's population is around seven billion, which by 2050 is expected to be around nine billion, an increase of around 20%. Meanwhile, per capita arable land will de facto decrease and produce less. But if we look at the population's food needs in 2050, grain output will have to almost double compared to 2007. As the graph shows, most of this growth will come either from arable land that is not yet in use or from higher agricultural productivity. Knowing that regions such as the Americas, Europe or Asia are almost at peak productivity today, it goes without saying that Africa is the solution since more than 60% of arable land is still unused there. Above all, African agriculture is not currently at its highest potential since we have, as the graph shows, a fairly perfect correlation between the rational consumption of fertilizers and the productivity of different crops. On average, African countries consume 12 to 15 kilos per hectare, whereas the world average is around 100 kilos. We can clearly see that in terms of yield of what are called food crops, our productivity is about 2.5 below the world average. We see, on the one hand, that the world will have to overcome the challenge of food security. On the other hand, Africa has today all the potential to meet the challenge of global security, not only for its population, which will rise to one billion by 2050, but also for the rest of the world.



Pierre M'Pelé
Mercy Ships Ambassador for Africa and Africa Bureau Director

A few months ago, a large Ebola epidemic broke out in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Water has flowed under the bridge. Much has been said about the non-participation of the population. Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo is a very unstable area with rebellions and armed conflicts. It is also a very poor place where people survive in insecurity. I would like to prosaically explain the population's reaction. When the Ebola epidemic broke out, overnight, tons of equipment, more than 3,000 vehicles, thousands of technicians, managers and all the non-governmental, bilateral and multilateral organizations invaded this forgotten people who, in addition, were already facing a major measles epidemic and a cholera outbreak that killed three times as many people as Ebola. Nevertheless, because of the Ebola epidemic, everything happened overnight. When they were threatened by conflict, no one looked at what was happening in that part of Africa. They're all there because people in European, American, Japanese or Chinese cities feel threatened because the virus can reach those countries, where it is often forgotten that death can come at a young age. Moreover, the last epidemic in West Africa reached the United States. We can therefore safely say that it is when people in these countries feel threatened that they "help" Africa.



Juliette Tuakli
Founder and Medical Director of Family CHILD & Associates, Ghana; United Way Worldwide's Chair of Governance Committee

Climate change needs very serious attention. As a Rotarian, I can never forget a meeting barely five years ago with a group of French Rotarians. They had flown around the West African coastline 5 and 10 years ago. They drew what they saw on both occasions. It was shocking. We are losing our coasts and our coastlines, and yet, so little is commented upon about this looming dire situation. Our poor citizens build their homes and even cities on ground that we now know is going to be submerged in a few years! We must start considering green economies seriously, and though I am going to sound like a broken record, but this might be another space for civic society to play a role. As a private practitioner, I agree with those who discuss about public-private initiatives as being an effective way to go. However, our governments do not appear to always understand how important these partnerships are, and appear fearful of engaging with successful private groups. The push back appears mostly from the government side, not from the private sector side. Again this is an area where larger NGO's can facilitate successful community development and partnerships. I believe, as most private practitioners, that we focus better on cost effectiveness. We have to watch the bottom line and make sure we are getting value for our investments, in a timely way, which is not always the way governments run. I do think when you have a genuine relationship and a genuine partnership, it can be extremely valuable.



Aminata Touré
President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal, former Prime Minister of Senegal

We have an interest in working together on security. That means strengthening our international discussion mechanisms, starting with the United Nations, where you still have an old pattern that no longer corresponds in any way to the reality of today's world. How many BRICS sit on the Security Council? Africa does not have a permanent seat. It is organized, it needs to be modernized. I am speaking in the presence of a great figure from the United Nations system who represents the Secretary General in West Africa. These are issues that we must address together. We have a common future, because we have a demographic model where we are going to depend on each other no matter what we say. [...] Of course, we have to deal with the problems. Corruption is an issue, but it is an issue for the whole world. This is another stereotype that we have suffered from for a long time: Africa, the land of corruption. However, the biggest corruption scandals are not in Africa: Enron, Exxon, Madoff. This isn't just an African specialty, but we do need to strengthen our mechanisms for fighting corruption in Africa. This is extremely important. First of all, it allows us to safeguard our resources, to put the money where it needs to be put, but also to continue to build trust. Young people are not there just watching the elite driving nice cars and being in nice houses and doing nothing. If we do not take care of it, corruption will also be a factor of instability.



LUNCH & DINNER DEBATES





His Excellency Sheikh
Mohammed bin Abdulrahman
bin Jassim Al-Thani
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign
Affairs of the State of Qatar

Although the Middle East is a region of turmoil, we in Qatar view it as a critical region with global importance. It is the global intersection of air, sea and land, and even the birth of faith. We come, in fact, from a dynamic energy hub, a pillar of international financial networks, and a crossroads for human migration. Unfortunately, we also come from a region that is largely divided, with scattered conflict areas and a lack of trust and coordination. We ask time and time again why conflicts in the Middle East are a resistance to both regional and global diplomacy, and why some states are allowed to resort to a diplomacy of denial, rejecting diplomacy as a legitimate mode of international action. We have witnessed first hand how this strategy is highly destabilising and creates great uncertainty. Although this strategy is usually used by terrorist networks, warlords and militias, we have seen the trend of diplomacy of denial among some states in the region, who wage war, blockade and disrespect regional and international mechanisms. [...] All countries need to agree on a baseline of non-interference in the domestic and foreign affairs of states, and more importantly, not to use ethnic or confessional diversity or minorities as scapegoats for interference. We have to build nations of citizens, hoping these initial steps will provide incentives and pave the way for regional peace and prosperity. Expanding the scope of the agreement is also important, so that it is not only limited to security issues but also includes cooperation and dialogue with economic and political dimensions, to build trust and confidence among members.





Paul Kagame
President of the Republic of Rwanda

Today, Africa enjoys strong trade relations around the globe, whether with Europe, India, North America, or China. Indeed, we want more investment and trade with everybody, because it leaves us all better off. That is why coming together as a region has been so important for Africa. Internal barriers to travel and commerce in Africa continue to fall, though more still needs to be done. For example, Sierra Leone is the most recent country to announce visa on arrival for fellow Africans, joining around fifteen others. The African Continental Free Trade Area is now in force and trading will commence in July 2020. This agreement will radically reshape how Africa does business with itself and with the rest of the world. [...] The second point concerns the tone of anxiety and defeatism that dominates current policy debates. Above all, it's about the fear of losing something, rather than the ambition to do more and better. Even science and technology — the very engines of human progress — are increasingly seen as problematic, for example with artificial intelligence or genetically-modified crops. From there, it's a short step to the false belief that preserving a high standard of living in one place depends on preventing others from getting to the same level. If I may take the liberty of generalizing, this pessimism does not resonate in Africa. There is a determination to live better lives for ourselves. We have already seen evidence of tremendous advances, particularly in health, connectivity, governance, and incomes. Recovering that sense of hope and optimism, wherever it has been lost, is critical.





Kevin Rudd
President of the Asia Society Policy Institute,
former Prime Minister of Australia

On Xi Jinping's worldview, I always think the beginning of wisdom in international relations is to understand how the other side thinks and why they think that way. So we should adopt a view that we are sitting around a large table of the standing committee of the Politburo. There are only seven of them, they are all men, and they meet every week like a cabinet in a democratic state. They have formal cabinet documents and papers, and it is important to probe how they see the world under Xi Jinping's leadership. Therefore, here are what I see as their 10 core priorities, if they were to be described as Maslow's hierarchy of needs, starting from the biggest priority down to number 10, which is still important but not as important as number one. Priority number one in Xi Jinping's mind, and those of the standing committee, is keeping the Party in power, long term, not short term, not as a transition to democracy, but long term, as the permanent government of China. Xi Jinping's priority within that is for he himself to be long-term leader. He has, as you know, changed the Chinese constitution to allow for unlimited terms for the Chinese presidency. That will come up for final vote in 2022, and some of us think that if he gets his political way, we could see Xi Jinping in power until the mid-2030s, by which stage he will be in his early eighties, almost young enough to become a candidate for the presidency of the US. Priority number one, therefore, is to keep the Party in power, and within that, Xi Jinping staying in power.





GALA DINNER • SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13 • 20:15





Aminata Touré
President of the Economic, Social and Environmental Council of Senegal, former Prime Minister of Senegal

I would like to talk about Senegal and give a little background. We are 16 million, so a small population, but we are mostly known for our political stability. We are a country which is 97% Muslim, and our first President, in 1960, happened to be a Christian. We have been nurturing internal cohesion and inter-religious relationships quite peacefully. About the democracy, we have changed presidents peacefully over time. We have what we call a republican army, which means we have an army that follows the rules of democracy. These are the ingredients of Senegalese stability. [...] The plan, which is about how to make Senegal emerge as a developed country, has three pillars: 1/ The economy. It is very important to create wealth for the youth and for women; 2/ Human development. If you have an economy, you have resources. Senegal will be an oil and gas producing country. Regarding human capital, there is also an initiative: la délégation à l'entrepreneuriat rapide, a sort of a financial window to support specially women and youth in terms of supporting entrepreneurship and supporting small projects and small enterprises; 3/ Good governance, and Senegal has been recognized as one of the good countries, trying to really promote good governance. [...] I have to talk about the challenges, of course. One of these is youth employment. We have a gap in terms of industrialization. How will we import less in terms of goods and instead manufacture them here in Senegal? Ethiopia is doing a good job, and that is what we would also like to do. The second is the environment. I mentioned the 800 km of coast, and we are seeing encroachment of the sea on the land, which is also a challenge we are trying to face.



Arkebe Oqubay
Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia

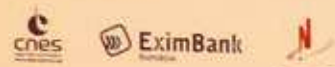
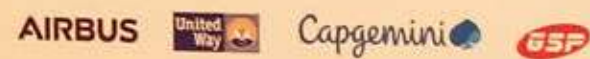
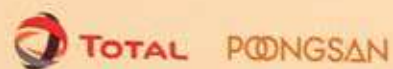
Ethiopia does not have petroleum, diamonds or other large resources, and its entire growth was achieved by the hard-working people of Ethiopia and its focus on attracting investment. Regarding improvements in the livelihood of the people, there have been some significant, although not sufficient achievements. A key indicator is average life expectancy – if people are able to live longer, it means there are relative improvements in health services, food security, education, etc. Looking at key progress in this respect, in 1991 average life expectancy was 44, and Africa's was 50. Average life expectancy in 2016 has reached 66. Africa's average in 2016 was 60. This is an important indicator, because growth has to benefit the whole society. We have a big population; it is the second most populous country in Africa, with 100 million, and every year the population grows by two million. [...] Therefore, education and human capital have been a prime focus. The second prime focus has been infrastructure. You cannot sustain rapid economic growth without infrastructure. [...] Ethiopia was one of the major FDI destinations in Africa in 2017, an increment of 50% that year. Between 2012 and 2017, FDI has increased fourfold, and the key aspect is that 89% of all FDI inflow to Ethiopia has been in manufacturing. [...] The population of Africa is 1.2 billion; by 2050 it will increase to 2.5 billion. This is a challenge for job creation, because currently Africa needs to create 20 million jobs every year, at a minimum, but this is also a huge opportunity. This is a demand, this is a market, this is a new economic opportunity.



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NETWORKING











Abdulaziz Othman bin Sager

When I received the invitation, I immediately accepted, knowing that the WPC is becoming the Davos of global politics. It is a great opportunity to express what we are looking for, what we need in the region, what sort of engagement we would like to see from the major international community.

Agnès Touraine

My sincerest thanks for this particularly interesting conference. The quality of the debates and speeches was once again of the highest standard and enabled the audience to gain a better understanding of the issues and scenarios.

Aminata Touré

The WPC is becoming an institution. It is always a pleasure to come and discuss the world's issues, not just problems, but strategies. It is a great time to exchange experiences and share challenges and solutions to all the world's problems.

Assia Bensalah Alaoui

The World Policy Conference is truly a high-level event bringing together distinguished speakers from all walks of life and, above all, from fundamentally different worlds, from politicians to businessmen, journalists and academic thinkers.

Bruno Weymuller

The 2019 WPC was really a very good «year», with remarkable, varied and enlightening talks. We are not necessarily upbeat about the state of the world, but the analysis of the problems should help us move towards solutions.

Sheikh Tidiane Gadio

The WPC has become a benchmark in the world on questions of international politics, in terms of orientation, security, geopolitics, world economy or relations between countries and continents.

Elisabeth Guigou

I think any discussion and exchange about our differences is a good thing. That is the point of this kind of conference: it brings together academics, politicians, economists and business leaders, and the cross-fertilization of these different perspectives is very important.

François Barrault

I take part in major events where there is always a transactional logic. Everyone is promoting a cause. What I like here is that the unifying glue is ideas and reflection without an outcome based on communities and without deals.

Hélène Rey

I think this conference contributes much to dialogue between people from different countries and backgrounds who share ideas on the current situation, especially global governance. Unfortunately, this is a major issue at the moment; we cannot say that governance is doing very well.

Hermine Durand

The WPC is also a time when I meet other young people from different countries who, like me, are interested in the latest advances in diplomacy and international relations.

Jean-Claude Gruffat

I have attended a little over half of the World Policy Conferences. When I see the progress that has been made, it is obviously due to the organizers' work but also to the quality of the people involved over the years. It is all very well to recognize the old ones, but I think it is also good to have younger people, more geographical diversity and more balance between men and women.

Jean-Claude Trichet

I think the WPC is somewhat unique in that it looks at global governance from a universal global perspective and a multi-factorial but still operational viewpoint.

Jean-Louis Gergorin

The WPC, as I have experienced it over the past two days, has an extremely interesting particularity: it focuses on substance and ideas. The speakers are here to promote and communicate ideas and proposals for action and policy, not to show off.

Jean-Yves Le Gall

The WPC is an excellent opportunity to take stock of the state of global governance, which is particularly important in this fast-changing world. Every year, the debates that take place here provide very interesting insights that are perhaps a bit different from what we hear elsewhere. When the proceedings are published, it really is a reference document.

Karim El Aynaoui

The main interest of this conference is the multiplicity of perspectives. There is a great diversity of participants, and it is very interesting to be able to take the pulse of what is happening in the world and assess the major issues, the major risks and general opinion.

Laurent Fabius

We are at a point in history when many countries unfortunately are moving towards isolationism and unilateralism. Most major global problems can only be solved globally. A conference like this one, where we can talk among world leaders about key global issues, is a very good opportunity to do so.

Mathilde Pak

I think we have a role to play, perhaps to bring a slightly more naive and somehow fresher approach in questioning experts and then go back home to our institutions and our work with new inspiration and ideas and to help make a difference afterwards.

Moubarack Lô

Being able to meet here every year builds a community that grows each year and allows us to reflect together, and then build a better world when we return home. It is this mutual understanding that makes the world move forward.

Patrick Pouyanné

CEOs are trained by listening to others in order to pick up new ideas or weak signals. So during conferences like this one, we are also scanning for weak signals. In that respect, I think the WPC is a great success.

James Stuewe

This is an incredible opportunity to get to learn, to be proud of some incredible conversations, learn from real thinkers on the planet, and I think this year there is an opportunity for young leaders to share and to give opinions to some of the other folks in the room and maybe in a way that they had not in the past.

Jeffry Frieden

The WPC is a great opportunity to pose here at the panels interesting observations about what is happening in the world of economics, the world of politics, and also an opportunity to speak with people who play a major role in both European and world affairs.

Josef Joffe

What a wonderful conference this has been: smart and diverse speakers, good discussions inside and outside the plenary, and full of good cheer.

Marcus Noland

The World Policy Conference is an unparalleled opportunity to get together with people from all over the world to discuss important policy matters across a range of issues. This a highly knowledgeable audience of people from very various professional backgrounds around the world.

Nobuo Tanaka

This is really a wonderful place to know what is happening in the world and the views of the experts or intelligent people. I come here to learn a lot, and I wish I can make a contribution to the group on energy, security, sustainability issues.

Peter Bruce-Clark

I have met heads of states, journalists, ambassadors, capital allocators, investors.. It has been very fascinating. I think this is a wonderful global community. As I am in the Silicon Valley I don't get to do that all the time.

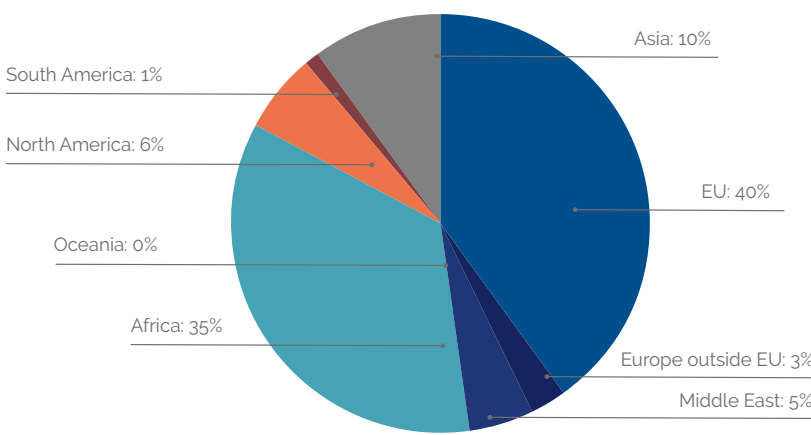
Susan Liautaud

Thank you so much again for the honor of participating in the WPC. I can't begin to tell you how impressed I am at how you pull this off so smoothly, elegantly, and at such a high intellectual level every year. It is truly the highlight of the conferences.

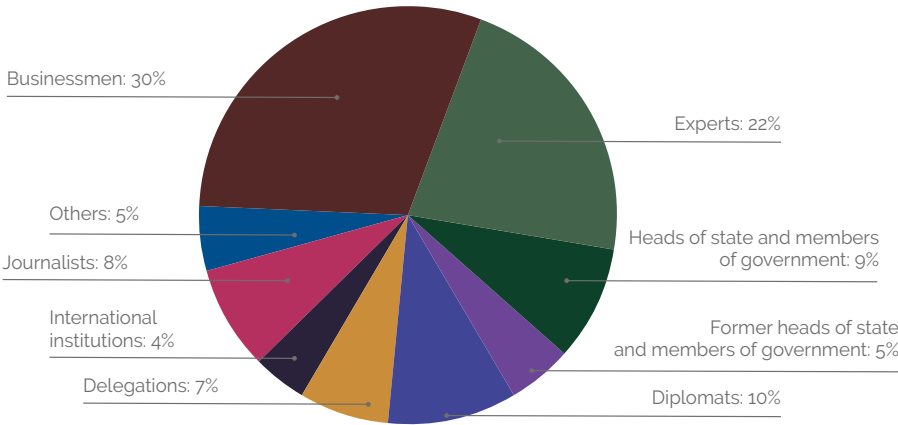




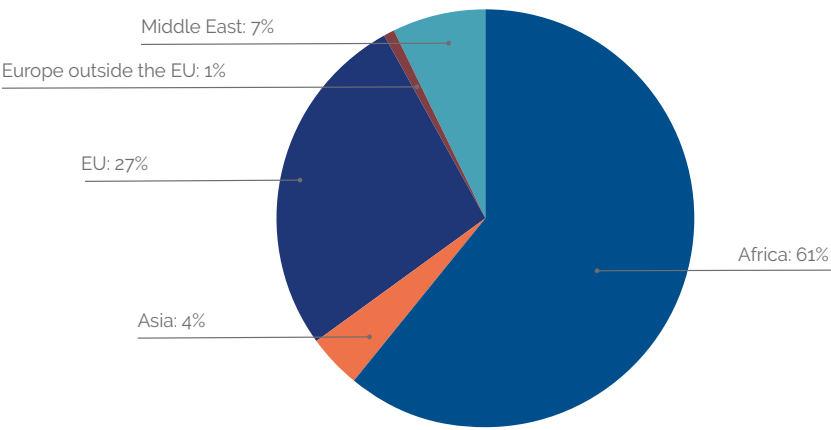
KEY DATA



Participants - Geographical breakdown
(341 participants from 50 countries)



Participants - Breakdown by function
(341 participants from 50 countries)



Geographical breakdown of main published articles
(total: 108 articles)

INVITED GUESTS





INVITED GUESTS

Abaddi, Ahmed

Secretary-General of the Rabita Muhammadia of 'Ulamas (Muhammadan League of Scholars). He heads committees within the US-Morocco Strategic Dialogue and Morocco's Higher Council of Education, and is a member of Morocco's National Human Rights Council and Economic, Social and Environmental Council.

Abiteboul, Jean

Former President of Cheniere Supply and Marketing, a 100% subsidiary of Cheniere Energy Inc., a Houston-based company specializing in liquefied natural gas importation and exportation, and now acting as a senior consultant in the energy field.

Abouddahab, Zakaria

Professor at Mohammed V University. Research associate at the Royal Institute of Strategic Studies and Expert-Evaluator at the National Center for Scientific and Technical Research. His career combines Public Law, International Relations, Political Science and Finance.

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. He was chief agricultural negotiator in the free trade agreement between Morocco and the US. He is a member of the Hassan II Academy of Sciences and Technology and Professor at the Institute of Agronomy and Veterinary Medicine Hassan II.

Ajbilou, Aziz

Secretary-General of the Ministry of General Affairs and Governance, Morocco. Former professor at INSEA and Director of the Center for Demographic Research and Studies.

Aijiti, Jihane

Head of Business Development, Digital and Communication within OCP Africa. She manages partnerships and development projects that aim at improving the ecosystem around smallholder farmers.

Alaux-Lorain, Jean

French Civil Servant in training from the Corps des mines. He studied Mathematics and Machine Learning at Ecole Normale Supérieure. Before joining the public sector, he worked for Facebook AI Research and McKinsey in Paris.

Allard, Patrick

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

Al-Hamad AL-Mana, Fahad bin Ibrahim

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the State of Qatar in the Kingdom of Morocco. He served in the Department of European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was Ambassador of the State of Qatar in the Republic of Argentina.

Al-Thani, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar. He currently serves as the Chairman of Qatar Investment Authority and Qatar Development Fund. Previously he held the position of Assistant Foreign Minister for International Cooperation Affairs.

Angelov, Simeon

Former Executive Director of the Balkan Political Club. He was Secretary for the International Cooperation, Office of the President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Advisor to UNESCO on the Scientific Cooperation among the countries of South-East Europe.

Aoi, Chiyuki

Professor of International Security at the Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo. Visiting Professor at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. She served as a member of the Shinzo Abe administration Council on Security and Defense Capabilities.

Appert, Olivier

Chairman of France Brevets and scientific Advisor of the Energy Center of IFRI, he has been President of the French Energy Council and also General Delegate of the French Academy of Engineering. Former Chairman and CEO of IFP Energies Nouvelles.

Asghar, Hamid

Ambassador of Pakistan to Morocco since June 2019. He started his diplomatic career with the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1992 and held numerous positions around the world over the last 24 years.

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.

Bark, Taeho

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

Barrault, François

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

Bassou, Abdelhak

Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South. Former Director of the Royal Institute of Police. He held several positions within the Directorate General of the Moroccan National Security.

Bekele-Thomas, Nardos

Resident Coordinator of the United Nations in South Africa, she was previously Senior Director of the Office of the Secretary-General. She also served as UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative in the Republic of Kenya and in the Republic of Benin.

Belarbi, Larbi

Chairman of the Academic Committee of Al Akhawayn Ifrane University, member of the Board of Directors of Ecole Centrale Paris in Casablanca and Vice President of the Moroccan Association of Economic Intelligence.

Ben Labat, Mohamed Mahmoud

Ambassador of the Republic of Mali to the Kingdom of Morocco

Benali, Leila R.

Chief Economist, Head of Strategy, Energy Economics & Sustainability, Arab Petroleum Investments Corporation, she is an international expert in energy, strategic planning, investments, finance and energy diplomacy.

Benali, Nadia

Secretary-General, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Morocco. She has accumulated more than 20 years of experience in many high level positions in both the Ministry of Economy and Finance and the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

Benbrahim El Andaloussi, Hamid

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

Benitez Estragó, Oscar Rodolfo

Ambassador of the Republic of Paraguay to the Kingdom of Morocco.

Benmessaoud, Yasmina

State Engineer in Telecommunications from the Polytechnic University of Madrid and an MBA graduate from the National School of Ponts et Chaussées Paris, she manages the Market Intelligence and Strategic Studies Department of Masen (Moroccan Agency for Sustainable Energy).

Benomar, Driss

CEO of Alomra, a Moroccan security consulting group, and President of the Atlantis think tank.

Bensalah Alaoui, Assia

Ambassador-at-large of His Majesty the King of Morocco. Vice President of the Association of Moroccan-Japanese Friendship (AMJ). She serves on a number of boards of trustees of international organizations and think tanks, including the Institut Royal des Etudes Stratégiques (IRES).

Benslimane, Abla

Director of Corporate Affairs in charge of Fiscal and Regulatory issues, Public Relations, and Illicit Trade Prevention for Philip Morris Morocco. She was political analyst at the US embassy in Rabat and worked with the US State Department Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs.

Biloa, Marie-Roger

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

Bittermann, Jim

CNN's senior European correspondent in Paris since 1996. Previously he was an ABC Paris correspondent and the NBC Paris and Rome correspondents. He is the co-President and co-founder of the European-American Press Club.

Blanchard, Olivier

French macroeconomist. Fred Bergsten Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute in Washington, and Robert M. Solow Professor of Economics Emeritus at MIT. Former Chief Economist of the IMF.

Bouabid, Othman

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

Boudchiche, Bouchra

Director of American Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Previously, she was Director of Protocol, Head of the Division of Privileges and Immunities.

Boujradi, Abdelkrim

General Secretary, Interministerial Delegation for Human Rights, Morocco.

Brauner, Karl

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

Bruce-Clark, Peter

Operating Partner at Social Impact Capital. He is former Head of Business Development at RCI. Prior to that, he created an early-stage AI venture-capital firm, and a specialist strategy and management consultancy for institutional investors, Kalytix Partners.

Caillé, André

Director of several corporations, including Junex Inc., an oil and gas exploration corporation. He is on the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Canada. He was Chancellor of the University of Montreal, Chairman of the World Energy Council and Deputy Minister of the Environment of Quebec.

Carbajal, Rocio

Deputy Head of Mission at the Mexican embassy in Morocco. Prior to that, she was in charge of political and multilateral affairs in France, in Rome for the Vatican and in Brussels for the EU. She was an Advisor in the office of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

Chalmin, Philippe

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

Chambas (Ibn), Mohamed

Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Office for West Africa and the Sahel. He was the African Union-UN Joint Special Representative for Darfur and Head of the African Union-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur.

Chamussy, Nicolas

Airbus Space Advisor. Former Head of Space Systems at Airbus Defence and Space and former Chief of Staff to the CEO of Airbus. Previously he worked in the French public administration at the Ministries of Defense (including as Advisor to the Minister of Defense) and Finance.

Chan, Ronnie C.

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

Charbit, Stéphane

Managing Director in the Sovereign Advisory department of Rothschild & Co. He advises a number of governments on economic development, financial policy and debt management strategy.

Chegraoui, Khalid

Professor of History and Political Anthropology, Institute of African Studies, Mohammed V University (UM5), and Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South.

Cherkaoui, Mohamed

Emeritus Director of research at the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris and member of the Academia Europaea and the European Academy of Sociology.

Cherkaoui, Mouna

Professor of Economics at the University Mohammed V, Rabat. She previously served as an Advisor to the Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research.

Cleary, Sean

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.

Comănescu, Gabriel

Founder, CEO and Chairman of the Board, Grup Servicii Petroliere. President of GSP Holding.

Cooper, Richard

Maurits C. Boas Professor of International Economics at Harvard University. Former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston and former Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs at the US Department of State.

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, Minister of Agriculture.

Cozon, Stanislas

Executive Vice President, Capgemini. He was Managing Director in charge of global industry sectors within Capgemini.

Daele (van), Frans

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.





INVITED GUESTS

Dăianu, Daniel

Professor of economics, The School of Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest. Chairman of the Fiscal Council and Advisor to the Governor (Euro area affairs). Former member of the Board of the Central Bank of Romania and former Finance Minister of Romania.

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).

David, Dominique

Advisor to the Executive Chairman of Ifri, Editor of Politique étrangère and co-Director of the annual report Ramses.

Debrouwere, Sebastiaan

Global Business Development Manager at Circ, Berlin. Formerly at McKinsey & Company in Brussels, Belgium.

Desfilis, José

Senior Partner, Desfilis. He can handle complex operations involving finance and taxation.

Desouches, Christine

Honorary Lecturer at the University of Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne), expert-consultant to international organizations and member of the Strategic Advisory Board of Ifri.

Dong, Manyuan

Vice President, China Institute of International Studies. He is a Senior Research Fellow specialized in Middle East studies and ethnic issues.

Dossou, Robert

Former Professor at the University of Paris I and at the University of Abomey-Calavi, lawyer at the Bar of Paris and the Bar of Benin. Former Chairman of the Bar, he was a Member of Parliament, Minister of Planning and then Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Doukkali, Mohammed Rachid

Vice Dean of Mohammed VI Polytechnic University and Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South. He is President of the Moroccan Association of Agricultural Economics and associate member of the General Council of Agricultural Development of Morocco.

Drouin, François

President of ETI Finance, GAGEO and IFIMM. Former Chairman of the Board for the Autoroutes et Tunnel du Mont Blanc and of Société Française du Tunnel Routier du Fréjus, former Vice President of the French Public Investment Bank (BPI).

Dryef, M'hammed

Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South. He has held several responsibility positions including: Chief of Staff at the Ministry of Interior, Governor Director of the Casablanca Urban Agency and Director General for National Security.

Duçka, Dorian

Former Deputy Minister of Energy and Industry of Albania. He serves as External Advisor on Investments to the Prime Minister of Albania and was Director of the European Integration and International Projects at the Ministry of the Economy, Trade, and Energy.

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.

Eaves, Sally

Emergent Technology CTO, Global Strategy Advisor, Professor in Advanced Technologies. Founder of Aspirational Futures, she specializes in the application and integration of Blockchain, Artificial Intelligence and associated emergent technologies for business and societal benefit.

Eizenstat, Stuart

Senior Counsel and co-Head of International trade and finance, Covington & Burling LLP. He has held key senior positions, including Chief White House Domestic Policy Advisor to President Carter and US Ambassador to the European Union.

El Aynaoui, Karim

President of the Policy Center for the New South and Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of Mohammed VI Polytechnic University. He also serves as Advisor to the CEO and Chairman of OCP Group.

El Guerrab, M'jid

Member of Parliament for the 9th constituency of French people living outside France (Maghreb and West Africa). A member of the «Liberté et territoires» group, he was a member of the Defense and Armed Forces Committee before joining the French National Assembly's Finance Committee.

El Habti, Hicham

Deputy Secretary-General of OCP Group and Secretary-General of Mohammed VI Polytechnic University. He is a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and Ponts et Chaussées (France).

El-Khoury, Golda

Director of UNESCO Cluster Office in Rabat and UNESCO Representative for the Maghreb. She was Chief of Section Youth and Sport and Chief of section of social inclusion.

El Mahjoubi, Nadia

Diplomat and First Secretary of Foreign Affairs, seconded to the Royal Cabinet as collaborator of the Counselor of His Majesty the King Mohammed VI, Mr. André Azoulay.

Emilsson, Peje

Founder and Executive Chairman of Kreab, Stockholm. He is majority owner of Kreab, Kunskapsskolan Education, Demoskop and Silver Life. He was Chef de Cabinet of ICC, the world business organization.

Erlanger, Steven

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

Eyl-Mazzega, Marc-Antoine

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

Fabius, Laurent

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

Felbermayr, Gabriel

President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy (Institut für Weltwirtschaft – IfW). After working as an Associate Consultant with McKinsey & Co, Vienna, he held various teaching positions at the University of Tübingen and at the University of Hohenheim.

Foucher, Michel

Chair of applied Geopolitics at College of World Studies (FMSH). He is Senior Advisor to the Compagnie Jacques Cœur. He was French Ambassador to Latvia and Advisor to the French Foreign Minister.

Frieden, Jeffry

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

Gadio, Sheikh Tidiane

President of the Institute for Pan-African Strategies, Peace-Security-Governance. He is also President of the Citizens Pan-African Movement (Luy Jot Jotna). Former Senior Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal.

Gallagher, Brian A.

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

Gascón, Lorenzo

Academician of the Royal Academy of Economic and Financial Sciences of Spain, of the Royal European Academy of Doctors, and Academician and Vice President Principal of the Academy of European Culture.

Gergorin, Jean-Louis

Member emeritus of the French Conseil d'État, owner of JLG Strategy, and Senior Lecturer at Sciences Po Paris. He was Executive Vice President and member of the Executive Committee of Airbus, and Director of Policy Planning of the French Foreign Ministry.

Ghita, Cosmin

CEO of Nuclearelectrica and non-executive Director of Amromco BV. He has worked for the Romanian government as Advisor to the Prime Minister on energy market and security of supply.

Ghorfi, Thami

Dean of ESCA Ecole de Management, Casablanca, Morocco, he teaches Communication Strategy and Change Management.

Girard, Renaud

Senior reporter and war correspondent at Le Figaro. He is also a 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.

Giustiniani, Alvis

Vice President, Illicit Trade Prevention, Philip Morris international. Before that, he was Area Vice President in Philip Morris Asia, based in Hong Kong.

Gomart, Thomas

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

Gruffat, Jean-Claude

Chairman of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, Washington DC. Managing Director of Galileo Global Securities LLC New York and Director of United Way Worldwide. Former Managing Director of Citigroup New York, former Citi Country Officer for France, and former Executive Vice President and Management Board member of Banque Indosuez.

Guérin, Gilles

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

Guigou, Elisabeth

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

Hakuziyaremye, Soraya

Minister of Trade and Industry of Rwanda. Before her appointment as Minister, she was Senior Vice President in Financial Institutions/Financial Markets Risk at ING Bank in London.

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.

Harebamungu, Mathias

Ambassador of the Republic of Rwanda to Senegal. Doctor of physical and urban planning at the Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3, former Minister of State at the Rwandan Ministry of Education, former Secretary-General at the same Ministry.

Harlé, Emmanuel

Founding Partner of Industries et Finances Partenaires and PracSys I&S. He was Investment Director for Astorg, a Suez Group subsidiary. He has set up the France Capital Development Fund specialized in majority buyouts and build-up transactions.

Hecker, Marc

Director of publications at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) and Editor-in-Chief of Politique étrangère.

Hoagland, Jim

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

Horii, Akinari

Special Advisor and member of the Board of Directors of the Canon Institute for Global Studies, a research think tank in Tokyo, and non-executive member of the Audit and Supervisory Board of Tokio Marine Holdings. Former Assistant Governor of the Bank of Japan.

Hur, Kyung-wook

Senior Advisor to Bae, Kim & Lee LLC and President of Korean Brettonwoods Club. He is also board member of Samsung Life Insurance and GS Shareholding Company. Former Ambassador of Korea to the OECD, former Vice Minister for the Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

Ibourk, Aomar

Professor at Cadi Ayyad University of Marrakech (UCAM) and Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South.

Itoh, Motoshige

Emeritus Professor of the University of Tokyo and Professor at Gakushuin University. Former Dean of the Graduate School. He has been in various positions advising the Prime Minister as well as various ministers in Japan.

Jansen, Sabine

Professor in International Relations at the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, Paris, and Research Fellow at the Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherches en sciences de l'action- CNAM, Paris.

Joffe, Josef

Publisher-Editor of the German weekly Die Zeit. Previously he was columnist and editorial page Editor of Süddeutsche Zeitung. He is a regular contributor to the op-ed pages of Wall Street Journal, New York Times, Washington Post, Time and Newsweek.

Kabbaj, Mohamed

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

Kadiri, Laaziz

Chairman of the Economic Diplomacy Commission, Africa and South-South, CGEM. Founder of LK Invest.

Kagame, Paul

President of the Republic of Rwanda. He recently served as the Chairperson of the African Union and is the current Chairman of the East African Community.

Kaiser, Karl

Senior Associate, Project on Europe and the Transatlantic Relationship, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Adjunct Professor Emeritus, Harvard Kennedy School. He was a Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Bonn/Berlin, and an Advisor to Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt.

Karakullukçu, Memduh

Vice Chairman and Founding President of the Global Relations Forum in Istanbul. He was Advisor to Istanbul Technical University's President and Founding Managing Director of ITU ARI Science Park.





INVITED GUESTS

Kastouéva-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.

Kerdoudi, Jawad

Founder of the Moroccan Institute of International Relations. He teaches International Trade and International Relations in Casablanca and Rabat.

Kerguiziau de Kervasdoué, Jean (de)

Emeritus Professor of Economy and Health Management at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and founder of the Pasteur/CNAM School of Public Health. Former Consultant to the OECD, former Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Health in charge of French hospitals.

Kim, Hong Kyun

Former Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Issues and Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Korea to the Six-Party Talks. Former Deputy Minister for Political Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea.

Kiros Bitsue, Kidane

Teacher and Researcher, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University.

Koleilat Khatib, Dania

Affiliated Scholar at the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut. As Middle East policy expert, she specializes in US-Arab relations.

Koté, Zakalia

Ambassador of Burkina Faso to the Kingdom of Morocco. He was President of Chamber at the Court of Auditors and Minister of Justice Keeper of the Seals.

Kotti, Randy

Engineering student of the French Corps des mines. He is a graduate of the Ecole polytechnique in Economics and Data Science.

Kowal, Pawel

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

Kumaran, Shambhu S.

Ambassador of India to the Kingdom of Morocco. Between January 2016-May 2019, he was on deputation to the Ministry of Defense as Joint Secretary (Planning and International Cooperation).

Laamoumri, Ahmed

Secretary-General of the Ministry of Reform of Administration and Public Service. He was Director of Studies, Communication and Cooperation in the Ministry of charge of modernization of the administration.

Lablanchy, Jean-Pierre

Medical Doctor and Psychiatrist, registered in Paris, and member of the Supervisory Board of EDEIS. He has worked in close collaboration with pharmaceutical firms (pharmaceutical laboratories Debat, laboratories Lisapharm) and with the National Agronomic Institute (Paris-Grignon).

Lafont, Bruno

Honorary Chairman of Lafarge. He was co-Chair of the Board of Directors of LafargeHolcim and Chairman and CEO of Lafarge. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development.

Laichoubi, 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.

Le Gal, Hélène

Ambassador of France to the Kingdom of Morocco. Former Ambassador of France to Israel. She was Consul General of France in Quebec City, then Africa Advisor to the Presidency of the Republic.

Le Gall, Jean-Yves

President of the Centre National d'Etudes Spatiales, the French space agency. He is also Chair of the Council of the European Space Agency and President of the International Astronautical Federation.

Lee, Hye-min

Senior Advisor of KIM & CHANG and Visiting Professor of the Graduate School of International Studies of Seoul National University. Former G20 Sherpa and Ambassador for International Economic Affairs, Republic of Korea. Former Ambassador to France.

Letta, Enrico

Dean of the Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po. President of the Jacques Delors Institute. He was the Prime Minister of Italy from April 2013 to February 2014.

Leung, Chun-ying

Vice Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Former Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, People's Republic of China. 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 the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Affiliate Emeritus Professor in Finance at Paris-Dauphine University, non-executive Chairman of Les Echos.

Li, Eric

Founder and Managing Partner of Chengwei Capital. He is also Chairman of Guancha.cn, a trustee of Fudan University's China Institute and Chairman of its Advisory Board.

Li, Li

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Morocco after a long career and responsibility positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China.

Liautaud, Susan

Founder and Managing Director of Susan Liautaud & Associates Limited. She serves as Interim Chair of Council and Vice Chair of Court of Governors of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Lipsky, John

Peterson Distinguished Scholar, Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Formerly, he served as First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.

Lô, Moubarack

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

Lohn, Carsten

Vice President - Chief of Staff for Strategy, Mergers and Acquisitions and Public Affairs at Airbus SAS. He joined Airbus in 1997 and held various management positions across different sites and countries. Prior to that, he worked in aerospace companies worldwide, such as Raytheon Aircraft in the United States or IPTN in Indonesia.

Lotfi Senhadji, Karim

Chief Executive Officer of OCP Africa (OCP Group subsidiary). Prior to that, he spent more than seven years at OCP Group in different leadership positions.

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.

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 US Ambassador to Luxembourg.

M'Pelé, Pierre

Mercy Ships Ambassador for Africa. Physician specialized in epidemiology, public health, infectious diseases and tropical medicine. He was WHO Representative in several African countries.

Machrouh, Jamal

Senior Fellow at the Policy Center for the New South. Professor of International Relations at the National School of Business and Management, Ibn Tofail University, Kénitra.

Maila, Joseph

Professor of geopolitics, mediation and international relations at ESSEC, School of Management. Visiting Professor at the University of Montreal. He was Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

Makram-Ebeid, Mona

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

Malgin, Artem

Vice Rector of the MGIMO University and Professor of the Department of International Relations and Russia's Foreign Policy. Member of the Valdai Discussion Club Scientific Council and 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.

Marcadier, Laurent

Assets and Persons Protection Director and Senior Advisor in charge of Legal Affairs of LVMH. He started his career as a judicial magistrate and has served as Chief of Staff of the Secretary of State for Justice before being appointed at the Ministry of the Interior.

Mariton, Hervé

Former Minister, former member of the French Parliament, Mayor of Crest since 1995 and chairman of the Franco-British Council.

Marrakchi, Taoufik

Retired Colonel-Major of the Royal Armed Forces. He was Professor of Geopolitics, Strategy, Security and Defense in many institutions, such as the Moroccan Diplomacy Academy (AMED), the Royal School of Gendarmerie Officers (EROG) and the Royal Naval School (ERN).

Masmoudi, Hicham

Head of the International Economic Department of Bank AL-Maghrib. He was also a statistician at Nielsen Company and a temporary lecturer at Hassan II University in Casablanca.

Masuda, Tatsuo

Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Nagoya University of Commerce and Business on energy-climate nexus. He was Director of the International Energy Agency.

Mellouk, Mostapha

President and founder of Casablanca Media Partners Group. He was designated African Media Leader in 2012, and was elected Member of the International Academy of Television, Arts & Science in New York. He chairs the communication commission of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM).

Metaich, Mustapha

Co-founder and managing Partner at EMC. He teaches Data Science at the Ecole Centrale of Casablanca. Doctor in Industrial Engineering, he has worked in many multinational firms such as TECHNIP and EDF.

Methqal, Mohamed

Ambassador General Director of the Morocco International Cooperation Agency. He was the Special Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and 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. He is an Honorary Professor for Foreign Policy at the University of Cologne, Germany.

Mezouar, Salaheddine

President of the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM). He was Director and CEO of the Spanish company TAVEX. He served as Minister of Industry, Trade, and Restructuring of the Economy, Minister of Economy and Finance and as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.

Mokaddem, Leila Farah

Country Director of the African Development Bank Country Office in Morocco. Former Resident Representative of the Senegal Regional Office. She worked at the Tunisian Ministry of Economy and the IMF.

Møller, Michael

Former Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva. He served as Executive Director of the Kofi Annan Foundation and as UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cyprus.

Moratinos, Miguel Ángel

High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain. He was Ambassador of Spain in Israel and the EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process.

Moreira, Carlos

Founder, Chairman and CEO of WISeKey. He served as United Nations Expert on cybersecurity during 17 years.

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.

Motii, Nadia

Professor of Business Management and Human Resources at the University Mohammed V, Rabat. She was Advisor to the President of Mohammed V University.

Moulin, Jacques

CEO of IDATE DigiWorld. He was Chief Executive Officer of Sofrecom, a subsidiary of the Orange group, specializing in engineering consulting.

Mouline, Saïd

CEO of the Moroccan Agency for Energy Efficiency (AMEE). He was President of the Energy, Climate and Green Economy Commission at the General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM). He worked within the Cabinet of the Minister of Energy and Mines and was Head of the Public Private Partnerships at COP 22 committee.

Mourre, Marc

Executive Chairman of Global Markets Commodities at Natixis. Previously, he was Managing Director, Vice Chairman of the Commodities Division and Chairman of the firm's African business at Morgan Stanley.

Muñiz, Manuel

Dean of the School of Global and Public Affairs 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 of ECE Consultants SAL. Chairman of Phoenician Fund Holding in Lebanon, and Executive Director of the Mouflon Fund in Cyprus. He was a consultant at the OECD and a Professor of Economics.





Nicolet, Patrick

Capgemini's Group Chief Technology Officer responsible for the technology and innovation agenda for the organization. In addition, he oversees company-wide internal information systems and cybersecurity.

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Professor of Public Law at the University Paris Descartes. She has been Secretary-General of the French Society for International Law since 2016. She is also a member of the strategic committee of Ifri.

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Senior Minister and Special Advisor to the Prime Minister of Ethiopia. He is the former Mayor of Addis Ababa. He currently serves as Chair of the board of several leading public organizations and international advisory boards.

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Executive Chairman and Director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. He served as UN Assistant Secretary-General and Senior Advisor to the UN Special Envoy for Syria.

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Pouyanné, Patrick

Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Total. He held various positions in the French Industry Ministry and in ministerial offices before joining Total in 1997.

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.

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

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Director of Government Affairs for Middle East and Africa at Philip Morris International, based in Lausanne, Switzerland. He is responsible for leading and providing strategic advice to 69 countries on public affairs and policy to advance the company's objective to design a smoke-free future.

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General Confederation of Moroccan Enterprises (CGEM).

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Foreign Desk Editor of Les Echos. Previously, she was the daily's New York correspondent, where she covered the financial crisis and the two Obama presidential elections. She is the Vice President of the European-American Press Club in Paris and a member of the French Diplomatic Press Association.

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Founding Partner of Okan Partners, strategy and financial advisory boutique dedicated to Africa since 2012. He worked at McKinsey, PAI Partners and Ardian, and has developed an expertise in financial advisory and fundraising in Africa.

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Former President and Chief Executive Officer of the International Fertilizer Development Center. Currently he advises several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa on their agricultural sector development.

Rozental, Andrés

President of Rozental & Asociados, he also holds non-executive board position in several multinational companies in Brazil and Mexico. He was a career diplomat for more than 35 years, having served his country as Mexico's ambassador to the UK, as Deputy Foreign Minister and as Ambassador to Sweden. He founded the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations.

Rudd, Kevin

The Honorable Kevin Rudd served as Australia's 26th Prime Minister and as Foreign Minister. He led Australia's response during the Global Financial Crisis and co-founded the G20. President of the Asia Society Policy Institute in New York since 2015.

Sager (bin), Abdulaziz Othman

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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.

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Retired Colonel of the Royal Gendarmerie, Consultant and Director of Securi-Consulting. He was Chief of Studies and Legislation at the Royal Gendarmerie Headquarters and Commander of the Royal Gendarmerie Training Center in Marrakech.

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Founder and Executive Chairman of Newbridge Advisory, which advises corporate leaders on geopolitics and political risk. Former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service, MI6. He was UK's Ambassador to the United Nations and Egypt. Political Director of the Foreign Office and Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Scheurer, Guillaume

Ambassador of Switzerland to Morocco. Former Ambassador to Ukraine and to Moldova. He held numerous positions in the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, including Deputy Head of the Swiss Delegation to the OSCE and Deputy Head of the Swiss embassy in Washington, D.C.

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

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Former General Commissioner for Investment. He served as Chairman of the French Foreign Affairs Council until 2017 and currently serves as Special Representative of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Franco-Japanese partnership.

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President of Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals. He is also Vice President of Telefónica Chile and Councillor of Telecomunicaciones de São Paulo S/A -TELESP. He served as Vice President of the Spanish Government, Minister of Defense and Mayor of Barcelona.

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Former Member of the Israeli Knesset. He served in a number of high-level cabinet positions, including Minister of the Interior, Minister of Housing and Construction, Minister of Finance, Minister of Justice, Minister of Intelligence Affairs and the Committee of Atomic Energy.

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Professor Robert Sigal is the CEO of the American Hospital of Paris, since 2017. He worked at the Institut Gustave Roussy, where he served as Executive Medical Doctor, after practicing as a physician, chief of radiology, and university professor.

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Doctor of International Economics and postgraduate in Political Science. He is former Secretary-General of the Union for the Mediterranean. He was Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to the European Union and to France.

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

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Lawyer, Partner, Ionescu si Sava. He was the Head of the Prime Minister's Chancellery during Victor Ponta government.

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Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation. He was Deputy Chairman of the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the USSR and Director of Division in the Ministry of Finance.

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

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CEO of Pronutri, Activa and Nutrilab laboratories. He extended the scope of Pronutri with international subsidiaries in Europe, the USA and Asia, making Nutripuncture™ a worldwide brand.

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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 prévision*) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first Director (1973-1979). He has authored more than twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System - The Dynamics of Economic and Political Power* (UBC Press, Vancouver, Toronto, 2013) and *Living in Troubled Times, A New Political Era* (World Scientific, 2018). He is a Grand Officer of the Légion d'honneur, Grand Officer of the Ordre National du Mérite. He has been awarded the Order of the Rising Sun – Gold and Silver Star, Japan (2009) and other state honors by the French and several foreign governments. Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des mines, and received a Ph.D. in Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.



OPENING SPEECHES
FULL VERSIONS





Thierry de Montbrial

Founder and Chairman of the WPC

At the 11th WPC a year ago in Rabat, the prevailing view among experts was that the world economy was doing well and had a bright outlook, subject only to political shocks that might affect it. However, there was no shortage of them, even beyond the trade war. In the Middle East, Iran has not yielded to the sanctions imposed by the United States. Saudi Arabia, which is entangled in Yemen, has just shown its great vulnerability to its opponents despite the hundreds of billions of dollars invested in its defense. On the one hand, the Iranian leadership is showing its resistance despite its complexity, or what could euphemistically be called its diversity. On the other, the Saudi Crown Prince has still not established his credibility, either in the political realm or in relation to its economic projects. The ad hoc alliances seem very fragile, and if no incident has degenerated to date, this is probably due to Donald Trump's now clearly stated intention not to let himself be dragged into a new war. Here, as elsewhere, America prefers to use economic weapons, hoping that they will eventually produce the expected results. To this end, it bullies its allies and other partners by imposing its own foreign policy and laws on them. As a result, trust in the United States is eroding everywhere, creating a great deal of uncertainty.

Geo-economics is a term used to describe a situation where states, starting with the first, are increasingly and methodically using non-military levers of economic power to achieve their political objectives. Such an approach, once unconvincing, as the history of international economic sanctions reminds us, has become much more effective—although not decisive, far from it—due to the revolution in information and communication technologies. It is also through geo-economics that, without questioning its military ambitions, China is successfully extending its influence worldwide. But unlike the United States, it does so in the name of development or poverty reduction and by declaring itself in favor of multilateralism.

But let us return to the Middle East. The Iranian-Saudi rivalry has, at least for a time, eclipsed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States has vigorously taken Saudi Arabia's side in that rivalry. The "Islamic State" has lost its territories. But it survives, hidden and fearsome. Continuing the policy of distancing himself from his predecessor, Trump allowed it to survive. In fact, the danger of Islamist terrorism has not decreased anywhere. It even seems to be increasing, as in the Sahel. In short, Middle Eastern instability in the broad sense of the term remains at the center of global geopolitics.

Nothing has been settled in the East Asia either, although the three meetings between Donald Trump and Kim Jong-un may have given traditional diplomacy, which is however undermined by the US president, a slim chance. But it is clear that the North Korean dictator will not give up nuclear weapons in the foreseeable future. And it is hard to see Donald Trump giving up this objective and being satisfied with a kind of JCPOA. Here again, he continues to rely on sanctions.

In East Asia, the most significant event in recent months has been the uprising of part of Hong Kong's population against the grip of the Beijing government, which until a few months ago could have been thought to be well established 22 years after the handover and 28 years before the territory's definitive return to the mother country. The unrest casts a shadow over the People's Republic of China as it celebrates its 70th anniversary with great fanfare and its economic growth is slowing down because of the trade war and domestic reasons. It is all very well for the Chinese to accuse the Anglo-Americans of being at work, and perhaps they are not completely wrong. Similarly, the Kremlin has never been completely wrong about the role of the United States in Ukraine since the 1990s. But conspiracy theories never explain everything. I do not know if the French yellow vest movement has contributed to the weekly rallies that have been transforming Algeria's political landscape for months. I am even less sure that it could have inspired the Hong Kong demonstrators. What I do know, however, is that in the Internet age, very special conditions are needed to bring a people into line. However, these conditions are not met in Algeria or Hong Kong. In the first case, nobody can predict the end of the crisis. In the second, we know the main player and its determination to get things back on track, especially since, behind Hong Kong, there is Taiwan—a vital issue from the Chinese point of view. The Beijing government's problem is the cost in the broad sense of restoring order, and therefore the method.

For several years now, nationalism has been rising around the world. Europe has not escaped the phenomenon of "illiberal democracies". The European Union's resistance to the endless story of Brexit and the results of the European elections in May have shown once again that the worst-case scenario is seldom the most likely outcome. Nevertheless, every hypothesis must always be clearly considered. On this subject I would like to say a few words about India. After a campaign of rare violence, Narendra Modi's BJP won a major victory despite a worrying economic slowdown. Moreover, doubts have arisen here and there about the reality of the growth rate posted, as well as China's. But observers have not sufficiently noted that behind Modi's victory lies a sophisticated project to transform India, on track to become the world's most populous country, into a huge "ethnic democracy". This expression from political science was initially coined to refer to Israel, which is intended to be a Jewish and democratic state. Modi's project, already tested by his previous work in his state of Gujarat and widely tested nationally during his first term, is to make India a Hindu democratic state. Specifically, the 20% of the non-Hindu population, including 170 million Muslims and a small Christian minority, are openly becoming second-class citizens. Upon his re-election, Modi unilaterally transformed the status of Kashmir, causing a crisis that, in turn, will amplify the Indian nationalist wave, some of whose consequences can be foreseen, such as the rise of terrorism in India. This is also expressed in terms of a desire for power, albeit in a different form from China. There is also a plan to introduce a facial recognition system in "the world's largest democracy", as in China. All this must be of lasting interest to us.

Speaking of India, how could we not mention a now well-established geopolitical model: the "Indo-Pacific" model, which largely covers what was once called the Indian world. As we know, the field of geopolitics is the ideology about territories. The ideology here includes a strategic dimension (a contribution to China's containment) and an economic dimension (the development of a pool of excellence for the fourth industrial revolution). The WPC cannot keep silent on this subject.

In this opening address to the 12th WPC, I left out many topics that will be discussed in the next three days. Some are of a regional nature, such as in Latin America (I am thinking in particular of Bolsonaro's Brazil and Maduro's Venezuela). Climate and the environment remain at the top of the agenda. I will conclude by stressing once again the need for the middle powers to have a clear understanding of international reality in order to take better control of their destiny. Once again, too, I would like to stress the importance of the European Union, which goes beyond that of its members, because only a solid Europe can measure up against the two imperial powers competing in the coming decades, or against other giants such as India or Japan.

Europe's security is closely linked to that of its flanks, and I am among those who welcome, in this regard, the prospect of a possible rapprochement with Russia. It will probably be many years before the European Union is in a position to pursue a truly common foreign policy. But there is no need to wait that long to work together to strengthen the development and security of our southern neighbors, such as the Maghreb and Sahel countries, whose destiny is intertwined with ours. We are meeting for the fifth time in Morocco because we are convinced of this reality, and because in the co-construction of North-South security we see a positive contribution to the international system as a whole. In a world as new as the one opening with 5G, the WPC should not underestimate either its own originality or its positioning. We must work together to strengthen each other.

Amadou Gon Coulibaly

Prime Minister of Côte d'Ivoire

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I take part in the 12th World Policy Conference in Marrakech.

To begin, I would like to convey the cordial greetings of the President of Côte d'Ivoire, H. E. Mr. Alassane Ouattara, to His Majesty Mohamed VI, King of Morocco, may God help him. On his behalf, I would like to express my pleasure at the outstanding friendship and cooperation between our two countries. I would also like to express my gratitude to Thierry de Montbrial, President of the French Institute of International Relations, for having once again invited me to this important event, which offers decision-makers, researchers and opinion leaders an opportunity every year to discuss the challenges of today's and tomorrow's world. It is an honor for me to share this time with you.



Ladies and gentlemen,

I have just arrived from Lyon, where I represented H. E. President Ouattara at the sixth replenishment conference of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. It was a great moment of international solidarity and successful multilateralism, since the \$14 billion goal was almost reached. The event bringing us together today also offers us an opportunity to reflect in depth on the challenges facing Africa and the world. As you know, Africa is on a solid foundation to become a major pillar of global growth and prosperity. Exceeding the global average, its growth rate was 3.5% in 2017 and 2018. It is forecasted to reach 4% in 2019 and 4.1% in 2020.

However, this is still not enough to meet today's main two challenges in Africa, namely the massive creation of jobs, especially for young people, who account for nearly 70% of the population, and poverty reduction. We must face these challenges together, as they have an increasingly important impact on the issue of migration as well as on the issue of terrorist threats in Africa. With regard to the massive creation of jobs for our youth, which represents our continent's present and future, we must structurally transform African economies. Today this structural transformation is a key component of the policies pursued by various governments. It requires quickening the pace of the development of African industry, which remains very uncompetitive due to excessively high input costs and relatively small markets.

In that regard, most African countries are implementing major transport and energy infrastructure rehabilitation and development projects to create economies of scale and cut factor costs. Thus, from 2011 to 2019, electricity output capacity in Côte d'Ivoire, which has had an average economic growth of 8% a year since 2012, has risen by nearly 60%. The number of electrified localities doubled over the same period and the country has massively invested in building industrial zones and transport infrastructure.

From Marrakech, I will travel to Washington for the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, where I intend to raise the issue of infrastructure financing in Africa, beyond Côte d'Ivoire. We must imagine the possibility that World Bank resources could be used as leverage to raise the funds necessary to meet infrastructure financing needs in Africa.

Moreover, African States have all been endeavoring in recent years to improve the business climate with the aim of effectively attracting foreign direct investment and further fostering the growth of the private sector, which remains the source of employment. The number of African countries in the top 100 of the World Bank's Doing Business ranking has almost doubled in 10 years, from five to nine between 2010 and 2019. Côte d'Ivoire has also ranked three times in the top 10 reforming countries in the Doing Business ranking, in 2014, 2015 and 2019.

With regard to poverty reduction, the policies pursued by various governments seem to be paying off. The extreme poverty rate in Africa fell from 57% in 1990 to 43% in 2012 and 35% in 2015, according to the African Development Bank.

In this respect, I would like to reiterate my satisfaction with the results of the sixth replenishment conference of the Global Fund to Fight HIV, tuberculosis and malaria. I hope all the international initiatives to raise funds for health and education will be equally successful. Of course, African countries must support this international solidarity, in line with our vision of multilateralism, with national counterparts in their budgets, which must grow from year to year for the social sectors.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Despite the quality of the economic policies implemented across the continent to consolidate its economic and social development, Africa faces a new threat that risks slowing its economic growth. Rising protectionism fueled by various trade wars could cause major problems for the continent, namely:

- The decline in African exports due to tighter quality and safety standards for many products

- The slowdown in Africa's industrialization because of stiff competition from manufactured products

- The fall in foreign investment in Africa on account of new difficulties encountered by the main investors.

To meet this new threat, Africa must step up trade within the regional economic communities as well as effectively set up the African Continental Free Trade Area representing a market of 1.2 billion consumers and the emergence of a middle class of about 800 million people. This will foster intra-African trade, which currently stands at 16%, thereby mitigating the impact of external shocks.

In addition, Africa will need to further strengthen the establishment of trade agreements with its favored partners.

In this regard, I would like to welcome the Economic Partnership Agreement between Côte d'Ivoire and the European Union, its main trading partner. The accord entered into force this year, bolstering the historic relationship between Côte d'Ivoire and Europe. We are confident that it will be extended to all the ECOWAS countries.

That is why we affirm our preference for multilateralism, which fosters consensus-based decision-making allowing the weakest to economically participate in writing up the rules that regulate international trade.

In this respect, the United Nations system, the expression of multilateralism, has for decades contributed to the promotion of international trade, the definition of sustainable development objectives, crisis prevention and sustainable conflict resolution.

Various UN resolutions and its peacekeeping mission have enabled Côte d'Ivoire, a country weakened by a decade of economic, political and military crises, to relaunch its economic and social development.

The country's exemplary exit from the crisis and the progress made have enabled Côte d'Ivoire to share its experience on the United Nations Security Council as a non-permanent member for the 2018-2019 term.

In conclusion, I would like to return to the issue of terrorism on our continent, particularly in West Africa.

West Africa faces an alarming deterioration in security with an increase in terrorist acts.

Terrorism is spreading in West Africa: 11,500 people have been killed, over 2,200 attacks recorded and millions of people displaced in the past five years. Terrorism threatens to have a major impact on the area's economic prospects.

In this connection, I welcome the initiative of the ECOWAS Heads of State who approved the establishment of a \$1 billion fund, including \$500 million financed entirely by WAEMU countries, with a view to strengthening the regional fight against terrorism.

This approach strengthens ongoing international initiatives in the Sahel, including Operation Barkhane, the United Nations Mission in Mali and the G5 Sahel.

Ladies and gentlemen,

As I pointed out at the beginning of my remarks, Africa is on track to become a pillar of global growth and prosperity and meet the challenges mentioned above. This responsibility belongs to all of us, but first and foremost to African leaders.

With this conviction in mind, I would like to end my remarks by repeating my sincere thanks to Thierry de Montbrial.

I wish you every success in your work and thank you for your kind attention.

Message of Édouard Philippe

Prime Minister of France

"Politics is a bit like the weather. Whether it's a clear or cloudy day, you always have to break through the clouds of the future." You probably recognize these words of His Majesty King Hassan II. The 12th World Policy Conference opens as the clouds hovering over our future are numerous and the weather is gloomy to say the least.

Allow me to begin by warmly greeting all the World Policy Conference participants and congratulating its President, Thierry de Montbrial, on the success of his initiative, which is now included in the calendar of major international meetings. I would also like to extend my warmest greetings to the Moroccan authorities, whose involvement in this forum,





which they are hosting for the fifth time under the High Patronage of His Majesty the King, is unfailing. Morocco is the natural setting for such an event. The Mediterranean does not separate us; it brings us closer together, not only for geographical or historical reasons but also because we face similar challenges on both sides of its shores. I am thinking of the fight against climate change, the effects of which we are all feeling, particularly on our coastal areas. I am thinking of controlling migratory flows or promoting more equitable growth. And the Kingdom plays a vital role in helping us to face them collectively.

Let me say a few words about some of the issues that seem to me to be the most urgent as we speak.

1. The first involves settling crises that threaten the planet's stability. For each crisis, we must support the construction of political solutions. The Iranian crisis is probably the most acute. Our goals have not changed. They are to ensure that Iran never acquires nuclear weapons, while preserving peace in the region. At the last United Nations General Assembly in New York, President Macron laid down the conditions for a de-escalation and then a peaceful, political settlement of the crisis. It is now up to the parties to take advantage of it to rekindle a constructive dynamic.

2. The second challenge is the environment, including climate change and biodiversity. France has considerably stepped up its efforts in this regard, especially since the One Planet Summit. Today's urgency is to implement the Paris Agreement and ensure that our diplomatic and trade agendas take environmental issues into account. Our peoples expect action in their daily lives and at the international level. We have supplemented our goals in the area of climate with an agenda for forests and oceans. The €500 million that were released within the framework of the UNGA to save the Amazon fall within this framework. Also, France will host the World Congress of the International Union for Conservation of Nature in Marseille in June 2020.

3. The third is sustainable development. Eleven years separate us from the implementation of Agenda 2030, which has now raised awareness. But that is no longer enough. Our entire development model must be transformed to reduce inequality, especially between women and men. France has made the fight against inequality the guiding principle of its G7 presidency by setting specific goals, such as access to education and health services. Initiatives are multiplying around the world. I am thinking of the Partnership for Education, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the Sahel Alliance. We must continue and accelerate these efforts because, as we know, violence and imbalances often have their roots in despair.

4. The fourth and last is the construction of "reasonably open" globalization benefitting everyone much more fairly than it does today. The world's stability, even if relative, benefits trade and globalization. But globalization must also contribute to global stability. That is why we will support the reform of the World Trade Organization at a time when some are questioning multilateralism. We are in favor of free and open trade, which is a very powerful factor for peace. For it to continue to be, trade must become more loyal and be based on reciprocity. The rule of law is a key lever to achieve this. Here around the Mediterranean, we have known that since at least ancient Rome: law is the best ally of exchange.

Which brings me to a point of method. None of these challenges will be met without updating the rules of multilateralism. More than ever, we need legitimate, effective and universal institutions to prevent abuses or build political solutions to common problems. That is the spirit in which France and Germany launched this year an Alliance for Multilateralism, which met for the first time at the UNGA in New York on September 26. With many others, we believe that following common rules, which are not set in stone and must obviously be changed, remains the best guarantee for peacefully settling the conflicts and challenges that threaten the planet's stability. Force feeds nothing but force.

By way of a more positive conclusion, I would like to stress the exemplary nature of the partnership between France and Morocco. It covers all areas: economic and social development, peace and security, research and innovation, culture and youth. It is accompanied by continuous, highly valuable dialogue on global issues while opening up to Africa. From this viewpoint, the partnership is a genuine attempt to build a more balanced and mutually beneficial globalization. It is also a way for us French-speakers to "respond to the rebirth of the world", as Léopold Sédar Senghor so rightly wrote.

Thank you.

Paul Kagame

President of the Republic of Rwanda

I thank Thierry for the kind introduction and for the invitation.

I also congratulate you and his team for the distinctive quality of the World Policy Conference. This is a forum focused on anticipating and shaping the future, rather than trying to hold back change. That perspective is refreshing for those of us who experience the world from somewhere in the middle, not one of the poles. So I am very happy to be back to continue the productive conversation started eight years ago when Thierry was kind enough also like today to host me in Paris.

Tonight, I would much rather talk with you than at you. And we all know dinner is also waiting. So let me make two simple but topical points.

The first is that Africa is nobody's prize to win or lose. Not at all. It is our responsibility as Africans to take charge of our own interests and develop our continent to its full potential. In fact, this has always been the main issue. We have been waiting far too long, actually for centuries. Trade shapes a nation's economy in powerful ways. The search for comparative advantage generally leads to gains in competitiveness and wealth.

That's why, at a certain point, the concept of 'aid for trade' gained currency. The idea was to build a country's trade capacity so that it could transition from dependency to self-reliance and eventually to prosperity. This should have been the approach all along. Today, Africa enjoys strong trade relations around the globe, whether with Europe, India, North America, or China. Indeed, we want more investment and trade with everybody, because it leaves us all better off.

That is why coming together as a region has been so important for Africa. Internal barriers to travel and commerce in Africa continue to fall, though more still needs to be done. For example, Sierra Leone is the most recent country to announce visa on arrival for fellow Africans, joining around fifteen others. However, that is still less than one-third of Africa. The African Continental Free Trade Area is now in force and trading will commence in July 2020. This agreement will radically reshape how Africa does business with itself and with the rest of the world.

The revitalization of the African Union Peace Fund, which now stands at more than \$125 million has enhanced the credibility of Africa's security partnerships, and it should continue to grow. The second point concerns the tone of anxiety and defeatism that dominates current policy debates. Above all, it is about the fear of losing something, rather than the ambition to do more and better.

Even science and technology—the very engines of human progress—are increasingly seen as problematic, for example with artificial intelligence or genetically-modified crops. From there, it is a short step to the false belief that preserving a high standard of living in one place depends on preventing others from getting to the same level.

Barriers go up; trust vanishes. If I may take the liberty of generalizing, this pessimism does not resonate in Africa. There is a determination to live better lives for ourselves. We have already seen evidence of tremendous advances, particularly in health, connectivity, governance, and incomes. Recovering that sense of hope and optimism, wherever it has been lost, is critical. We can be better partners. Meaning all of us here and beyond working together. That is what will get us back on track toward a better world, where everyone benefits.

Once again, I thank the World Policy Conference for this wonderful evening. And thank you all for your attention and interest. I look forward to our continued discussion.



United Kingdom – Middle East Monitor – 12/10/2019

In a speech at the World Policy Conference (WPC) in Marrakesh, Morocco, on Saturday, HE the Foreign Minister [Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al-Thani] recalled the invitation of HH the Amir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani to conclude a regional security treaty in the Middle East. He pointed out that the region desperately needs a sustainable framework to ensure long-term peace and stability, considering that the sequence of events in the region demonstrated the practical need for a sustainable approach to regional collective security.

France – Atlas Info – 13/10/2019

"Je voudrais insister sur l'exemplarité du partenariat qui lie la France et le Maroc. Un partenariat qui se décline dans toutes les dimensions : le développement économique et social, la paix et la sécurité, la recherche et l'innovation, la culture et la jeunesse", s'est félicité M. Philippe dans un message prononcé en son nom par l'Ambassadrice de France au Maroc, Mme Hélène Le Gal, à l'ouverture des travaux de la 12ème édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC/12-14 octobre).

Sénégal – Agence de presse sénégalaise (APS) – 12/10/2019

Aminata Touré, présidente du Conseil économique social et environnemental du Sénégal, a appelé samedi à Marrakech les dirigeants africains à placer la femme au cœur du processus de développement du continent. Intervenant en marge de la 12ème édition de la conférence politique mondiale (World Policy Conference, WPC), elle a insisté sur le fait que les femmes peuvent apporter beaucoup de dynamisme au continent.

Switzerland – Le Temps – 15/10/2019

La 12e édition de la World Policy Conference, que préside Thierry de Montbrial et qui vient de se terminer à Marrakech, s'est penchée sur la situation de la Chine. [...] Kevin Rudd, l'ancien premier ministre australien qui est un fin connaisseur de ce pays, souligne que le dirigeant actuel ne croit pas en l'efficacité du marché : le parti doit l'encadrer.

Russia – Trade representation of Russia in Morocco – 16/10/2019

Торговое представительство приняло участие в международной конференции в сфере международных отношений и мировой политики «World Policy Conference» (12–14 октября 2019 г., Марракеш). От российской стороны участниками конференции стали заместитель Министра финансов Российской Федерации С.А. Сторчак и проректор МГИМО МИД России А.В. Мальгин.

France – Les Echos – 11/10/2019

Le monde paraît plus périlleux que jamais. Les foyers de conflits se multiplient, aux frontières, dans les institutions internationales, et peut-être bientôt sur les marchés financiers. Le chaos ambiant est une occasion pour les Etats de s'émanciper des vieilles alliances et de tenter de construire une nouvelle gouvernance. Autant de questions qui seront abordées à la « World Policy Conference » ce week-end à Marrakech, dont « Les Echos » sont partenaires.

France – Le Point – 16/10/2019

Se réunir et mettre en commun analyses et divergences afin de comprendre les bouleversements incessants qui structurent et déstructurent dans un mouvement ininterrompu la société internationale : ces buts ont été affichés lors de sessions de discussion denses auxquelles ont succédé des îlots d'échanges informels en marge. « Les échanges d'idées se font aussi bien lors des débats publics qu'en marge, lors de discussions en petits groupes que nous avons. Le WPC nous permet de nous retrouver et d'échanger officiellement », explique au Point Afrique l'un des participants.

Morocco – Libération – 16/10/2019

Placée sous le Haut Patronage de S.M le Roi Mohammed VI, la WPC a réussi à assurer une diversité des points de vue, une pluralité des débats et des échanges riches, fructueux et de haute qualité.

Elle a aussi permis à tous les publics concernés de porter une réflexion éclairée et pertinente sur les préoccupations et les bouleversements incessants que connaît le monde actuellement.

Qatar – Gulf Times – 14/10/2019

HE the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Sheikh Mohamed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani has called for expanding regional security in the Middle East. Addressing the World Policy Conference (WPC) in Marrakesh, Morocco, on Saturday, he called for the conclusion of an agreement based on the fundamental principles of security, the rules of good governance and the achievement of minimum level of security to achieve peace and prosperity, stressing that despite the geopolitical tensions in the region, Qatar still believes in the feasibility of this arrangement.

Vietnam – RFI Vietnam – 15/10/2019

Trong hai ngày cuối tuần 12 và 13/10/2019, "World Policy Conference" diễn ra ti Marrakech, Maroc. Nhìn li tình hình th gii trong năm qua, gii chuyên gia địa chính trị không mý lc quan cho rng vin cnh địa chính trị năm 2020 chng khác gì nh mý "qu lu dn đã rút cht".

Korea - Maeil Business Newspaper/Maekyung – 22/10/2019

티에리 드 몽브리알 WPC 의장은 "유럽이 내부적으로 분열한다면 글로벌 리더십을 발휘할 수 있는 기회는 사라질 것"이라며 유럽의 단결을 강하게 주문했다. 엔리코 레타 전 이탈리아 총리는 더 나아가 "만일 유럽이 연대하지 않는다면 유럽 각국은 분리돼 10년 후 미국이나 중국의 식민지로 전락할 것"이라고 경고했다.

Morocco – Hespresse – 12/10/2019

لكن حاضرة، السياسية الإرادة" أن الدولي، المندى هذا في المشاركون أمام حديته في الایفواري، المسؤول وألد لدى سيكون الدراسات من الانتهاء وحين سيدياو، ودول المغرب بين التجارية للعمليات عميقة دراسة في نرغب جنوب-جنوب بتعاون يرتبطان البلدين أن كوليبالي وألد [...] ". القرار لاتخاذ موقوف أساس المجموعة ولد قادة العميق للتفكير فرصة توفر "World Policy Conference" من عشرة الثانية النسخة أن إلى وأشار جداً، مثالي والعالم إفريقيا تحديات حول.

Morocco – Le Matin – 13/10/2019

Unique par son format au nombre restreint de participants, la World Policy Conference (WPC) a ouvert ses travaux samedi à Marrakech, marqués par la présence du Président rwandais, Paul Kagame, qui a pris part samedi soir à un dîner-débat. Offrant un espace de réflexion et de dialogue essentiel autour des grands enjeux de la gouvernance mondiale, tout en permettant de développer des liens durables, cette 12e édition a donné la parole à un parterre d'éminentes personnalités du monde de la politique, de l'économie et des médias.

Morocco – L'Economiste – 15/10/2019

« Non, nous n'allons pas vers les objectifs fixés par l'Accord de Paris sur le climat. Pas au rythme actuel ». Les propos sont de Laurent Fabius, ancien président de la COP21 et ancien ministre français de l'Intérieur. L'occasion était une conversation sous le thème « le climat et l'environnement » tenue dans le cadre de la 12e édition de la World Policy Conference (WPC).



Rwanda – KT Press – 13/10/2019

Rwanda's President Paul Kagame has told leaders and policy makers attending a World Policy Conference in Marrakesh, Morocco, that Africa is nobody's prize to win or lose, adding that it is the responsibility of Africans to take charge of the continent's interests. [...] The President was speaking as the guest of honour at the conference where he took part in an interactive session moderated by Thierry de Montbrial, Founder of the World Policy Conference.

Lebanon – L'Orient Le Jour – 14/10/2019

Le thème « technologie, société et politique » a suscité un intérêt particulier parmi l'assistance en raison de ses effets évidents sur la vie quotidienne des populations. Les intervenants ont notamment relevé que la révolution numérique et les développements à grande échelle des moyens de communication, notamment au niveau des réseaux sociaux, ont bouleversé les rapports de l'homme avec la technologie et le monde du travail.

Côte d'Ivoire – Fraternité Matin – 12/10/2019

Le Premier ministre ivoirien, Amadou Gon Coulibaly, est arrivé vendredi à Marrakech (Maroc) pour participer pendant deux jours à la 12e édition de la World Policy Conference. Le chef du gouvernement représente le président Alassane Ouattara. Au nombre des thématiques qui seront discutées figurent la mondialisation, les enjeux de la technologie dans la société et en politique, les perspectives économiques, l'environnement et l'avenir du système monétaire international.

Saudi Arabia – Arab News – 16/10/2019

The World Policy Conference was held in Marrakesh, Morocco, over the weekend. At the inauguration, the president of the French Institute of International Relations, Thierry de Montbrial, stressed on the importance of multilateralism in attempts to solve today's problems. This need was reiterated in a speech made on behalf of French Prime Minister Edouard Philippe.



“

Thierry de Montbrial

We try to cover the key geopolitical issues. There are these geopolitical aspects, and then there are also more and more economic issues, technological issues and issues that straddle politics and economics a bit. For example, multilateralism is increasingly in retreat, as we all know, but another very alarming issue is the growing politicization of the economy, particularly through sanctions that are indirectly imposed even on the Americans' friends.

“

Louis Schweitzer

On China, we have heard that the United States has a vision of global competition for the first time since the end of the Soviet Union. This excessive stance can in some ways hide underlying trends. What has been said today makes me think there is an undercurrent that is not limited to Mr. Trump's excessive statements.

“

Robert Dossou

Africa is not an abandoned continent, a continent in distress. It is a continent with many assets and a bright outlook. But at the same time, it faces many challenges and must deal very seriously with the issue of internal governance. The core of internal governance is the institution of the state. The state as an institution has problems, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.

“

Hélène Rey

We are facing a problem of political decision-making. The macroeconomic policy mix should be different from the one we have now, with much more activism on the fiscal front. This is good because we have to invest a lot in the climate transition. We should take advantage of low interest rates and make long-term investments. We would win on all fronts.

“

François Barrault

Technology is shrinking the time and power it takes to process the information that humans perceive with their eyes and ears. When the machine runs faster, then we will really be able to talk about increased intelligence, i.e. a set of processes that will be outsourced by the machine. This transformation must occur in a harmless, controlled context.

“

Jean-Yves Le Gall

The key themes, if you like, are what is happening at the global level with, of course, the United States, China, brewing regional conflicts, technology and the effects of technological change on society as a backdrop. Tomorrow I'll discuss this theme, explaining how space can make a great contribution, especially to the fight against climate change.

“

Jean-Claude Trichet

We are constantly negotiating on a global level. There is a continental drift, the rise not just of China, but also of India, Indonesia, Vietnam, all the emerging countries, which is bringing about a very significant structural transformation of the world. That said, the United States is handling these trade negotiations so erratically and unpredictably that it adds quite considerably to the real problems that already need to be addressed.

“

Aminata Touré

The global center of economic activity will shift to Africa. It is not by chance that all these large groups are locating there and that Africa is becoming fashionable. Africans themselves must be at the forefront of this economic development, and for that we must also develop partnerships, not only cultural and religious partnerships, such as, for example, the very strong one between Senegal and Morocco, but also economic partnerships, so that we can form strong blocks and groups to really pull our continent up.

“

Laurent Fabius

Law is a key component. International lawyers are currently looking into the possibility of building a framework of international environmental law that would define the environmental rights and duties of individuals, companies and states. This exists in economic and social matters, but not in environmental ones.

“

Jean-Louis Gergorin

New technology, such as artificial intelligence, will benefit attackers more than defenders. There is a lot to be done in defense. We must protect ourselves from computer intrusion and hacking. To do this, we must know the attacker better. Threat intelligence, that is, intelligence about threats, is vital.



“

Leung Chun-ying

I do not think it is a question of the US position on climate change or on the trade deals with China that could stop or even reverse globalization. And in the final analysis, we have to emphasize on the importance of the enterprising spirit of mankind in pushing globalization forward.

“

Susan Liautaud

We are seeing all manner of infiltration through advertising and social media. Everyone has heard about fake news. It is very hard to figure out what is actually the truth. In part because of the sheer volume of information that we have, in part because we do not understand how the algorithms are working that are sorting what comes to us.





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WPC

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