



WORLD
POLICY
CONFERENCE

World Policy Conference

First edition, to be attended by numerous Heads of state or government
and opened by French President Nicolas Sarkozy

October 6th-8th 2008, Evian, France



Introduction

Globalization would have had us believe that we have reached “the End of History”. A new belief emerged, according to which “intelligent markets” would solve all the planet’s problems.

Nearly twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, we have to acknowledge that this belief was naive. Private actors are rediscovering the importance of politics and hope that states will exercise their responsibilities fully, within a framework which has to be redefined. But the states themselves are disoriented, and the feeling that “there is nobody at the helm” is widespread on the planet. Bad governance is the major issue at the beginning of 21st century.

The World Policy Conference (WPC) aims to provide concrete answers to this question. The WPC will be convened each year around Heads of state or government from all continents, who are responsible for their own countries as well as “co-responsible” for the future of the planet. Their exchanges will be accompanied by workshops gathering the best experts and decision makers from the public and private sectors. Thus, the WPC is designed as a constructive process aiming to put politics back at the center of debate. A debate commensurate with the challenges of our time.

Thierry de Montbrial
President and founder

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World Policy Conference: concept and positioning

1. Concept

**What is the state of the world? Where is the world going?
What can be done to better the world?**

Ifri (Institut français des relations internationales), a **non-partisan European Research Institute with an international outreach**, is launching a **new type of dialogue**, centered around heads of state and government from all regions of the world.

The world in 2008 has not lived up to the hopes generated by the end of the Cold War. The world of today has been neither pacified nor unified by a triumphant globalization. It is governed neither by “good multilateralism” nor by “citizen companies” but is faced with an increasing heterogeneity of vested interests. Badly-controlled diffusion of technology, cultural confrontations, unequal distribution of natural resources, financial disturbances, threats to health and the environment, movement of populations, are all problems perceived to be of great concern. The rise of new powers disrupts the former order. Since politics has not adapted to the rate of technological and economic transformations, the capacity of governments and international institutions to find solutions is called into question.

The over-riding feeling is that the world is not being governed.

In the light of this statement, our Conference rests on **four beliefs**:

- The world is a **system which needs governance**.
- Globalization has contributed to **multiply non-governmental actors** (companies, market operators, NGOs...); governance and political choices must be based on a **dialogue between these actors and states**.
- **States must however regain a central role**: their mission is to determine the orientation of the “world system”.
- **It is necessary to define a suitable framework to discuss governance** of the “world system” with those who exercise political authority.

2. Uniqueness

The only one of its kind, the World Policy Conference (WPC), will be organized annually around top-level political decision-makers:

- during the **plenary sessions**, which are the core of the WPC, **each of the heads of state or government**, whatever the size and “power” of their country **will have the floor, equally and exclusively**. Thanks to our **media partners**, the answers they propose to the three initial questions (What is the state of the world? Where is the world going? What efforts can be done to better the world?), as well as their visions, their convictions and their commitments with respect to global issues concerning the future of humanity, will be put forward in a **maximum-visibility context**.
- **each head of state or government** will, if he or she wishes, be **the guest of honor at a lunch-debate**. Thorough exchanges with key figures and high-ranking experts will deepen his or her thoughts about his or her commitments as one of this world’s “**co-leaders**”.
- in **the workshops**, **heads of state or government** can be **represented** by selected representatives. These workshops will also gather **experts** and **leading figures from the political and business communities** as well as **members of civil society**, around the major issues selected. They will be moderated by experts (Ifri’s experts among them) and pre-eminent journalists of various nationalities.
- for the **follow-up of the Conference**, an **annual report** will be published **in English and in French**; a **website in English** managed by Ifri will allow the participants to carry on the debates; **every head of state or government will designate a “sherpa” within an informal follow-up committee**.

3. Objective

The WPC aims to become a place where, through efficient dialogue, **decision-makers will identify ways to design the future of the global system, ways to make the strategies of the actors compatible and ways to promote a shared vision of the general interest**. **Selected participants** (politicians, heads of multilateral organizations, corporate managers, eminent experts and journalists) whose total number should not exceed a thousand, will be **gathered around heads of state and government** in order to develop a **common political thinking process commensurate with the challenges of our time**.

The President of France will participate at this Conference.

World Policy Conference: program and workshop themes

- From Monday 6 to Wednesday 8 October, seven plenary sessions will be organized. During these sessions, each of the Heads of state or government (from twelve to fifteen) will have the floor, equally and exclusively.
- From Monday 6 to Wednesday 8 October, there will be about 20 lunch-debates around heads of state or government and other leading figures.
- Each afternoon before the dinner (Monday 6 and Gala on Tuesday 7), there will be 10 thematic workshops around highly qualified personalities (from three to five, coming from different parts of the world).

Agenda

Sunday 5th

17:00-20:00 Registration

19:00-22:00 Welcoming open buffet

Monday 6th

9:00-13:00 Two plenary sessions with world leaders

13:00-14:30 Parallel lunch-debates

15:30-17:30 Parallel workshops:

- The United States: what does the world expect from the “indispensable nation”?
- Terrorisms: what answers to what threats?
- Russia: domestic developments and external policies
- Sub-Saharan Africa: implosion or takeoff?
- Latin America: populism and development
- The economy of knowledge, or education, still deserves an effort
- Triumph of money: time for regulation and moralization
- Israël/Palestine, a crucial international issue: what commitments for external actors?
- Global governance facing the global health risk
- Credit crisis, financial crisis, economic crisis: what to do?

18:30-20:00 Plenary session with world leaders

21:00-22:30 Dinner

Tuesday 7th

9:00-12:30 Two plenary sessions with world leaders

13:00-14:30 Parallel lunch-debates

15:30-17:30 Parallel workshops:

- Which governance for which stability?
- China: domestic developments and assertion of power
- Is Europe with 27 and more members sustainable?
- Regulation of migrations, a world issue
- Escaping the dangers of trade wars and of competitive devaluations
- Is the Gulf becoming an arc of hope?
- An Arc of crisis from Iraq to Pakistan
- Japan: what power, what strategies?
- India: regional power and/or world actor?
- Energy and climate: what diplomatic challenges?

21:00-23:00 Gala dinner

Wednesday 8th

9:00-12:30 Two plenary sessions with world leaders

13:00-15:15 Closing lunch-debates

Themes of the workshops

1. The United States: what does the world expect from the “indispensable nation”?

The “unipolar moment” of post-Cold War came to a close but, for the predictable future, the United States still remains the power of reference. On the eve of a presidential elections and after a strong erosion of the soft power of the United States, what should the world expect from the “indispensable nation”? Is the United States ready to reassess its role positively, taking into account the other powers and multilateral organizations in a world becoming multipolar?

2. Russia: domestic developments and external policies

Russia is “back”, in particular because the rising price of hydrocarbons stimulates its economic growth and increases its international leverage. How to stabilize this growth which is excessively reliant on raw materials? Will Russia’s new “cards” determine a new capacity of proposal, and a new approach over spaces involving its strategic interests? What should the world expect from Russia - and through which policies? Conversely, what should Moscow expect from its partners?

3. China: domestic developments and assertion of power

What effects will the economic emergence of China, whether it continues or stops, have on the economies of the area and those of the world at large? More broadly, should the redefinition of equilibrium, on a regional and world scale, be based on China’s assertion of its global power? How can Chinese strategy be made compatible with those of other regional or global actors?



4. Japan: what power, what strategies?

Because of its economy and its military and technological force - and especially because it stands as “a nuclear threshold” country - Japan is a major power, insufficiently considered as such. Tokyo is now readjusting its international surface to the evolution of its society, and the ongoing mutation of regional power struggles, crucially affected mainly by the emergence of China. How must we assess the place of Japan within Asia, whose internal structure and world weight are undergoing a rapid change? Beyond Asia, what does Japan want, and what does the world hope for Japan?

5. India: regional power and/or world actor?

The shape of tomorrow’s multipolarity in great part depends on the structure and modalities of the growth of India. Will India want and manage to play both the cards of economic emergence and those of political power? India will have to redefine its regional relations (China, Pakistan...), and at a more global level, to say what role it intends to play in world affairs and in the elaboration of common rules.

6. Latin America: populism and development

Will the uncertain status of a number of Latin American regimes tempted by a form of populism affect, in the long run, the development of the continent, and in what respects might it affect the world? How can Latin America - especially Brazil - weigh on tomorrow’s world politics?



7. Sub-Saharan Africa: implosion or takeoff?

Africa may be viewed both as the continent of hope (economic takeoff in some countries, regional organization, progress of democracy) and as threatened of implosion (crisis of the States, strong inequalities of development, increasing number of domestic conflicts, etc.). What methods could best contribute to develop the cards of the African countries? And what is, what could be the role of outside actors?

8. Is Europe with 27 and more members sustainable?

A European Union with nearly thirty members is inevitably more heterogeneous. The EU will remain, and further expand, but around what projects? Will it have to relinquish the goal of achieving political power? Should the EU become an actor in the new multipolar world? In what sense? Over what geographical areas and foreign policies will this Union be able to be influential?

9. Israël/Palestine, a crucial international issue: what commitments for external actors?

Most international actors agree that the coexistence of both states could bring a solution to the conflict. The urgency of the situation demands putting out of the way opponents to this idea. Is the perpetuation of the status quo not carrying the most dangerous risks? What part, - in ways yet to be defined - can important global or regional actors (first and foremost the United States, but also the Arab states, Russia, EU, UN, NATO...) concretely take to solve this issue?

10. An Arc of crisis from Iraq to Pakistan

The Iraqi disaster could lead to the activation of a “Shia arc” and/or to the break-up of the country, the further deterioration of the relations between Western powers and Teheran, internal instability in Pakistan, no clear way out of the war in Afghanistan. All these elements turn the region into a particularly alarming arc of crisis. What internal stabilisation means at political societies level, what regional means of equilibrium can be used? Which actors could help negotiating ways out of the crisis?

11. Which governance for which stability?

The “multilateralism” developed during and after the cold war showed both its merits (arms control and disarmament, NPT, role of UN and the regional security institutions, International Penal Tribunal...) and its limits (crisis management, proliferation...). After a period of systematic “dismantling” of multilateralism, and while new powers emerge, how to conciliate “multipolarity” and “multilateralism”? Which institutions, which procedures are necessary to get towards an organized multipolar world?

12. Triumph of money: time for regulation and moralization

A global economy is an economy where markets play an increasing role. Recent experience indicates the growing influence of private funds (hedge funds) or public ones (sovereign wealth funds). The way they operate is a source of concern. In addition, grey money (drugs, arms, smuggling...) is on the increase and finds shelter in opaque “tax paradises”. How can the funds contribute more efficiently to world growth? How to organize interaction between private and public actors? How to fight more effectively against crime money? What is the responsibility of the states in regulating these actors and these flows?

13. Escaping the dangers of trade wars and of competitive devaluations

Expansion of international trade remains one of the most powerful engines of world's growth; it will continue to play this role provided states follow suitable policies: Which prospects to give to further liberalization of exchanges? How should states face delocalizations yet to come? How to prevent increasing balance of payments disequilibria becoming unmanageable? How to treat the theoretically questioned but politically undeniable relation between exchange rates and trade policies?

14. The economy of knowledge, or education, still deserves an effort

The “economy of knowledge” constitutes a major challenge for the economies on the whole, whether emergent or developed. Few countries have been successful in that matter. Governments encounter many difficulties to achieve their ambition. In Europe, the Lisbon strategy is a failure. How to organize more effectively the efforts in favour of education? Where to focus the effort? Which initiatives to take so that innovation can create new growth opportunities? How to facilitate the adhesion of the social strata to these changes?

15. Credit crisis, financial crisis, economic crisis: what to do?

The current crisis appears to be more serious than those of the last 20 years Why? Which lesson to draw from the errors done? Did we show an excessive zeal in deregulating? Which initiatives to take to avoid the repetition of this, presumably in new fashion, in the future? What new rules for the financial planet?



16. Regulation of migrations, a world issue

The human migrations South to North, South to South, or within developed countries constitute an important aspect of globalization, badly apprehended and badly controlled. The question is too complex (development issues, internal stability of “exporting” societies, “importing” societies or transit issues...) to be dealt with only at national, or only at international level. A management mode combining domestic and foreign policies, and taking cues from all states, North and South, remains to be invented.

17. Energy and climate: what diplomatic challenges?

Energy has always been an international key stake. This is a question which has reached new dimensions primarily because of the explosion of demand. If the scarcity of resources comes from lack of investments, how to stimulate them? Is it necessary to put nuclear power back on the agenda? How to make national interests compatible? In addition, climatic change has become everywhere in the world a declared priority of foreign policy. Which proposals to make in order to create after Bali the “carbon governance” that the planet needs? Will Europe be able, and at what price, to exercise the leadership which it believes it obtained from the agreement of Kyoto?

18. Global governance facing the global health risk

The risk of pandemia is a still insufficiently perceived aspect of globalization. Facing it means to develop an essential “global public wealth” offer, because neither the market nor the existing organizations (WHO) are providing sufficient answers. Globalization calls clearly here for new forms of governance, adding decentralized initiatives to those of states. How to organize this interaction, to legitimate a more active intervention of one and the other, how to ensure the effectiveness of their interventions? Which international governance to set up for this process? What priorities to set, for what missions, and with what means?

19. Is the Gulf becoming an arc of hope?

Caught between a spectacular economic development partly based on the rising price of hydrocarbons and the growth of geopolitical and geo-economic risks mainly resulting from its geographic position, the Arabian Gulf Peninsula is at a crossroad. Will it move towards the geography of hope of Asia, with the dream of its many city States of becoming “new Singapore” or will it drift into the geography of tension of the Greater Middle-East?

20. Terrorisms: what answers to what threats?

Can there be a consensus between states on the way of approaching the terrorist phenomena, on their importance for international equilibria in general, and on multilateral measures intended to fight them? Does the technological dimension, and in particular the proliferation of weapons of massdestruction, basically modify the meaning and the effects of terrorist activities? If so, how can the international society respond to this challenge?

Conference venue





Evian

Located in the Alps, on the French border of Lemman lake, Evian faces Switzerland (Lausanne). The city benefits from breathtaking scenery, a remarkable lake-front location, with a majestic mountains background. Those who have seen it consistently rank it among the finest international resorts in the world.

Throughout the years Evian has preserved and emphasized its cultural inheritance. Famous for its mineral water, the city has also become a dynamic and welcoming conference venue. Evian is famous for having hosted some of the most prestigious international conferences, including the world summit of G8 in 2003.

Access:

By car:

- Paris 580 km by A6/A40/N206/RN5
- Lyon 190 km by A42/A40/N206/RN5
- Annecy 85 km by A41/N206/RN5
- Geneva 45 km by RN5

The highway within Switzerland: exit at Villeneuve, 25 km to Evian

By train:

- Evian SNCF train station
- Daily routes Paris via Bellegrade
- TGV (fast lines) direct Paris - Evian, on weekends (high/low seasons)
- SNCF reservation center - information:
 - France: 3635
 - International: +33 (0)8 92 35 35 35
 - www.voyages-sncf.com

By plane:

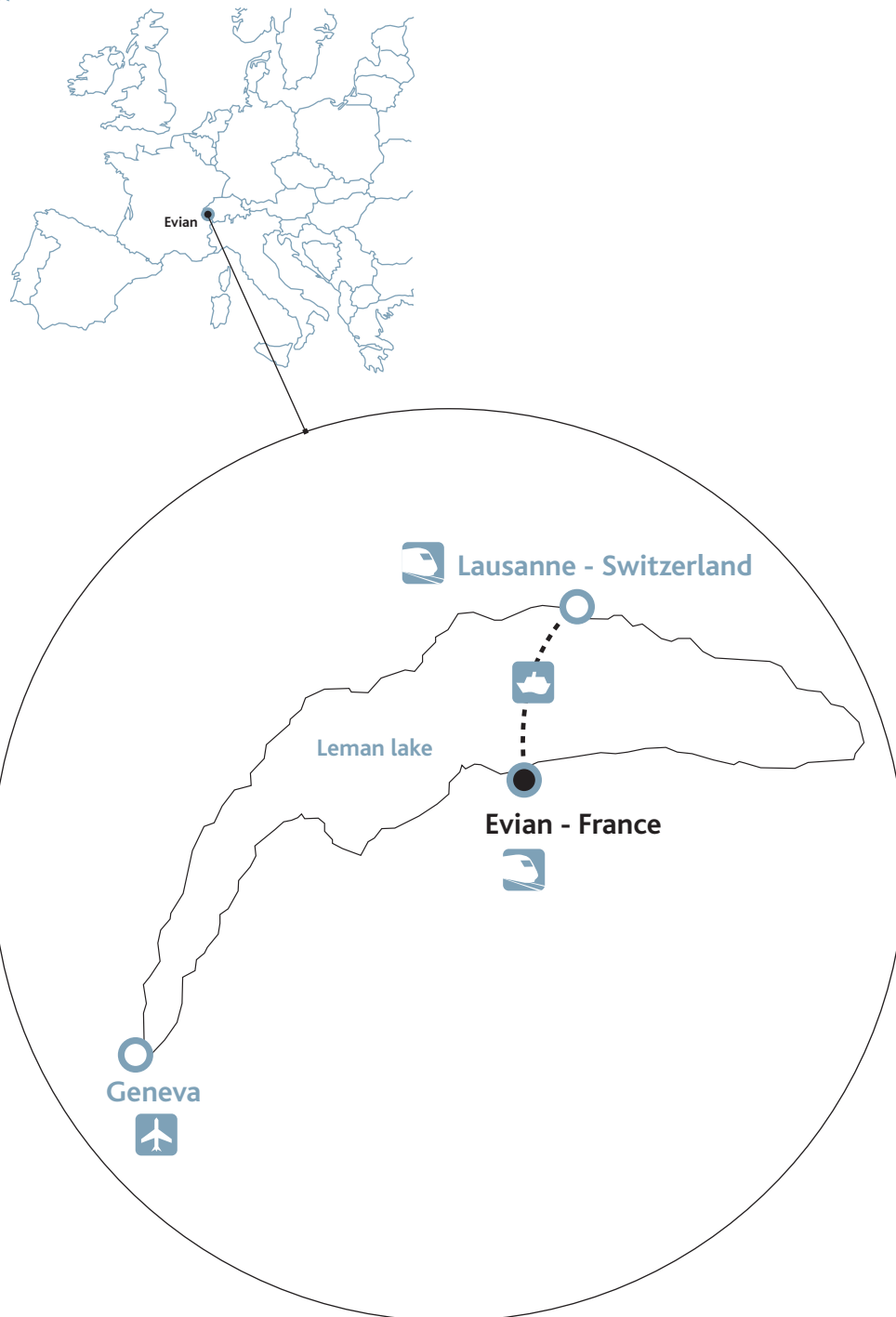
- Geneva international airport is 50 km away
- Flight information: +41 900 57 15 00
- Welcome desk (France): +41 22 798 20 00

Local transportation:

- Geneva / Evian:
 - Taxis
 - Helicopter service
 - Forum shuttle service
- Lausanne / Evian:
 - Regular shuttle service by boat (crossing time: 35 mn)
 - Forum shuttle service by boat
- Geneva / Lausanne:
 - Taxis
 - Direct train from airport

Hotels:

A large selection of hotels in Evian (ranging from two to four star categories) and Lausanne (ranging from two to five star categories) are available. Please visit our website, for more detailed information: www.worldpolicyconference.org.



How to attend the World Policy Conference?

For additional information regarding the WPC, or for assistance in making your arrangements to attend, we invite you to contact us via any of the following:

1. Registration/Information

For further information:

www.worldpolicyconference.org

Fax: +33 (0)1 58 47 99 10

2. Content/Program

Ifri - Institut français des relations internationales

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3. Production/Partnership

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4. Press/Accreditation

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Accreditation is compulsory for journalists who want to attend the World Policy Conference.

An Ifri initiative, produced by **Euro RSCG Worldwide Events**.

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le nouvel
Observateur

Press partnership for the first edition
of the World Policy Conference



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W O R L D
P O L I C Y
C O N F E R E N C E

H.E. Nicolas Sarkozy, the President of France, will open the World Policy Conference.

Heads of state or government, senior statesmen and senior government officials

(other expected leaders are not mentioned in this list)

H.M. King Abdullah II bin Al Hussein

King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

H.E. Sheikh Hamad bin Jasim bin Jaber Al-Thani

Prime Minister of the State of Qatar

H.E. Kofi Annan

Former Secretary-General of the United Nations

H.E. Carl Bildt

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden
Former Prime Minister of Sweden

H.E. Zbigniew Brzezinski

Former United States National Security Advisor

H.E. Patricia Espinosa Cantellano

Foreign Minister of the United Mexican States

H.E. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer

Secretary-General of NATO

H.E. Abdullah Gül

President of the Republic of Turkey

H.E. Seung-Soo Han

Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea

H.E. Toomas Hendrik Ilves

President of the Republic of Estonia

H.E. Jean-Claude Juncker

Prime Minister of Luxembourg

H.E. Kóstas Karamanlís

Prime Minister of the Hellenic Republic

H.E. Henry Kissinger

Former United States Secretary of State

H.E. Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Former President of the Republic of Poland

H.E. Shimon Peres

President of the State of Israel

H.E. Hans Gerd Poettering

President of the European Parliament

H.E. Boris Tadic

President of the Republic of Serbia

H.E. Jean-Claude Trichet

President of the European Central Bank

H.E. Abdoulaye Wade

President of the Republic of Senegal

H.E. Viktor Yushchenko

President of the Republic of Ukraine

H.E. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero

President of the Government of Spain

H.E. Robert Bruce Zoellick

President of the World Bank Group

H.E. Jacob Zuma

President of the African National Congress

Leading experts

(other expected experts and Ifri's experts are not mentioned in this list)

Avineri, Shlomo

Professor of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Bergsten, Fred

American economist, author, and political adviser. Former Assistant Secretary for International Affairs at the US Treasury Department. President of the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

Blackwill, Robert D.

Senior Fellow of the RAND Corporation. Former US Ambassador to India. Former United States National Security Council Deputy for Iraq.

Chan, Heng Chee

Ambassador of the Republic of Singapore to the United States. Professor at the National University of Singapore.

Collomb, Bertrand

Honorary President of Lafarge. President of the *Association Française des Entreprises Privées* (AFEP). President of the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD). President of the board of directors of *Ifri*.

Dervis, Kemal

Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Foucher, Michel

Former French Ambassador to Latvia. Ex-director of CAP.

Fukuyama, Francis

Professor at the Johns Hopkins University.

Funabachi, Yoichi

Chief diplomatic correspondent and columnist for the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*.

Gadonneix, Pierre

EDF's Chairman and CEO since 15 September 2004.

Goldman, Marshall

Professor of Economics at Wellesley College. Expert on the economy of the former Soviet Union. Associate director of the Harvard Russian Research Center.

Han, Sung-Joo

Chairman of the *Asan* institute for policy studies. Chairman of the East Asian Vision Group and a Co-Chairman of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific. Former ROK Foreign Minister.

Iglesias, Enrique

Secretary-General of the SEGIB. Former President of BID. Former Uruguay Foreign Minister.

Ischinger, Wolfgang

German diplomat. Former Ambassador to the Court of St James's (the UK). Chairman of the Munich Security Conference. Global Head of Government Affairs Allianz SE.

Karaganov, Serguei

Chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defence Policy. Dean of the School of International Economics and Foreign Affairs of the State University - Higher School of Economics (SU-HSE), Moscow.

Mahbubani, Kishore

Dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

Monti, Mario

President of the Bocconi University of Milan. First chairman of Bruegel, a European think tank founded in 2005.

Olivennes, Denis

Delegated General Director and Director of the publication of *Nouvel Observateur*.

Paoli, Stéphane

Chief Editor of *France Inter*.

Perthes, Volker

Director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs and Chairman and Director of the Board of *SWP*, Berlin.

Saint-Paul, Gérard

General Director of the Information and Programs of *France 24*.

Sandschneider, Eberhard

Director of the Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Policy (DGAP) in Berlin.

Satoh, Yukio

Former Ambassador to the United Nations. Head of the Japan Institute of International Affairs in Tokyo.

Siegmán, Henry

Director for the US/Middle East Project, Council on Foreign Relations.

Stern, Nicholas

Director of the Asia Research Centre of the London School of Economics.

Tharoor, Shashi

Chairman of Dubai-based Afras Ventures. Former under-secretary general of the United Nations. Fellow of the New York Institute of the Humanities.

Thornhill, John

Editor of *Financial Times*.

Vedrine, Hubert

Former France Foreign Minister.

Wang, Jisi

President of the International Studies Institute of Beijing University.

Yim, Sung-Joon

President of the Korea Foundation. Former National Security Advisor to President Kim Dae-Jung. Former Ambassador to Canada and Egypt.



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