

THE MIGRATIONS CRISES



YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT REPORT 2017



YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT

Launched in January 2016 by the **Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po (PSIA)**, to inaugurate the arrival of Dean Enrico Letta, the **Youth&Leaders Summit** brings together today's leading international affairs personalities with the next generation of world leaders and thinkers.

YOUTH & LEADERS: A UNIQUE CONCEPT

Bringing a fresh perspective to university organised conferences, the **Youth & Leaders Summit** is an unparalleled event with an innovative underlying concept: fostering discussion and debate between leading global affairs actors and PSIA students on complex international issues. The impressive diversity and capacity of the PSIA student body provided the impetus for the Summit, and the idea has been met with great enthusiasm by over 50 of the world's most prominent international actors for the 2016 and 2017 editions. PSIA students are also at the heart of the organisation and execution of the Summit, working as a team of over 40 dedicated logistics and communications assistants, speaker escorts and on-the-day event assistants. Their engagement is testament to the #PSIASpirit so characteristic of the school, and fundamental to the success of the Youth & Leaders Summit.

THE MIGRATION CRISES – 2017 THEME

The 2017 **Youth & Leaders Summit** took place on January 16th 2017 at Sciences Po's iconic Paris campus, as the 2nd successful edition dedicated to exchange and dialogue on some of the most pressing global issues. The 2017 edition was dedicated to tackling the theme of The Migration Crises, through a series of keynote speeches, panel debates and discussions with students. The current report and is designed to showcase the major outcomes and recommendations made during the debates.

SCIENCES PO AND PSIA

Sciences Po has been a pioneer of multidisciplinary education since 1872 and is constantly devising innovative approaches to tackling the most challenging global issues. Today, it is through the PSIA that Sciences Po continues to play an active and important role in the international arena. PSIA is one of the most highly regarded International Affairs schools in the world (ranked #5 by the 2015 QS World Rankings), as well as the largest, with 1500 students from across 100 countries. Public debate is at the heart of PSIA life and, each year, the school hosts numerous high-level events and platforms for discussion.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	p. 3
Summit Program	p. 4
Keynote Speaker	p. 6
Panel 1 Summary <i>The Migration Crises: Governments and Institutions Overwhelmed</i>	p. 12
Panel 2 Summary <i>The Migration Crises: Humanitarian Challenges</i>	p. 16
Panel 3 Summary <i>The Migration Crises: Security Issues</i>	p. 20
Panel 4 Summary <i>The Migration Crises: Economic and Demographic Dynamics</i>	p. 24
Le Monde Youth&Leaders Summit <i>Dean Enrico Letta's Editorial</i>	p. 28
About the Paris School of International Affairs, Sciences Po	p. 32

#YLSummit17



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sciences Po and PSIA would like to extend their gratitude to the sponsors, partners, faculty and students who were involved in making the 2017 edition of the Youth & Leaders a resounding success.

We would especially like to thank our main sponsor the **Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences** for their very generous support, and **Le Monde**, our media partner, for championing and featuring the Summit.

We are grateful to McCann Paris Agency, whose staff were key actors in the event logistics and helped ensure smooth running on-the-day.

A special word of appreciation must go to Lakhdar Brahimi for his intellectual contribution to designing the agenda for the 2017 edition of the Summit.

Thanks go also to Sciences Po's Department of Communications and to its Direction de la Stratégie et du Développement for their indispensable support both in the lead-up to and during the event.

And, last but not least, a very warm thanks is reserved for the 30 student members of the PSIA Youth & Leaders Team, who were all instrumental in the Summit's success. Without them, the energy of the day simply would not have reflected the same #PSIASpirit that we hold dear and are so proud of.



THE MIGRATION CRISES

MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 2017

#YLSummit17

MORNING SESSIONS

08:30 Welcome and registration

09:00 Welcome remarks by **Frédéric Mion** President, Sciences Po

09:10 OPENING KEYNOTE REMARKS

Dimitris Avramopoulos Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, European Union

Introduced by **Enrico Letta** Dean, PSIA, Sciences Po

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

09:40 PANEL 1

THE MIGRATION CRISES: GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OVERWHELMED

Introduced by **Jiaqi Liu** PSIA '2017

Moderated by **Arnaud Leparmentier** Editor-in-chief, *Le Monde*

With

Pascal Brice President of the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Asylum Seekers (OFPRA)

Jan Eliasson former Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations

Elisabeth Guigou President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French National Assembly • PSIA Faculty

Demetrios Papademetriou President, Migration Policy Institute Europe

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

11:10 Break

11:30 PANEL 2

THE MIGRATION CRISES: HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGES

Introduced by **Farangies Shah** PSIA '2018

Moderated by **Maryline Baumard** Journalist, *Le Monde*

With

Christine Beerli Vice-President, International Committee of the Red Cross

Irina Bokova Director-General, UNESCO

Emma Bonino former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy

Bruno Stagno-Ugarte Deputy Executive Director, Human Rights Watch • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Costa Rica • PSIA Faculty

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

13:00 Lunch break

AFTERNOON SESSIONS

14:30 PANEL 3

THE MIGRATION CRISES: SECURITY ISSUES

Introduced by **Julia Elisabetta Pitterman** PSIA '2018

Moderated by **Christophe Ayad** Journalist, *Le Monde*

With

Lakhdar Brahimi Elder • former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General

Benoit D'Aboville former French Permanent Representative and Ambassador to NATO • former Senior Auditor at the French National Audit Court • PSIA Faculty

Peter Ricketts former British Ambassador to France • former UK National Security Adviser

Laurence Tubiana Former Special Representative for the 2015 Paris Climate Conference • Affiliate Professor, Sciences Po • PSIA Faculty

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

16:00 Break

16:30 PANEL 4

THE MIGRATION CRISES: ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS

Introduced by **Oishee Kundu** PSIA '2017

Moderated by **Serge Michel** Journalist, *Le Monde*

With

Taeho Bark former Minister of Trade, Republic of Korea • Professor, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), Seoul National University • PSIA Faculty

Carlos Lopes former Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa • Professor, Graduate School for Development Policy and Practice, University of Cape Town

Philippe Martin Professor of Economics, Sciences Po • PSIA Faculty

Lionel Zinsou former Prime Minister of Benin • Chairman of the AfricaFrance Foundation

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

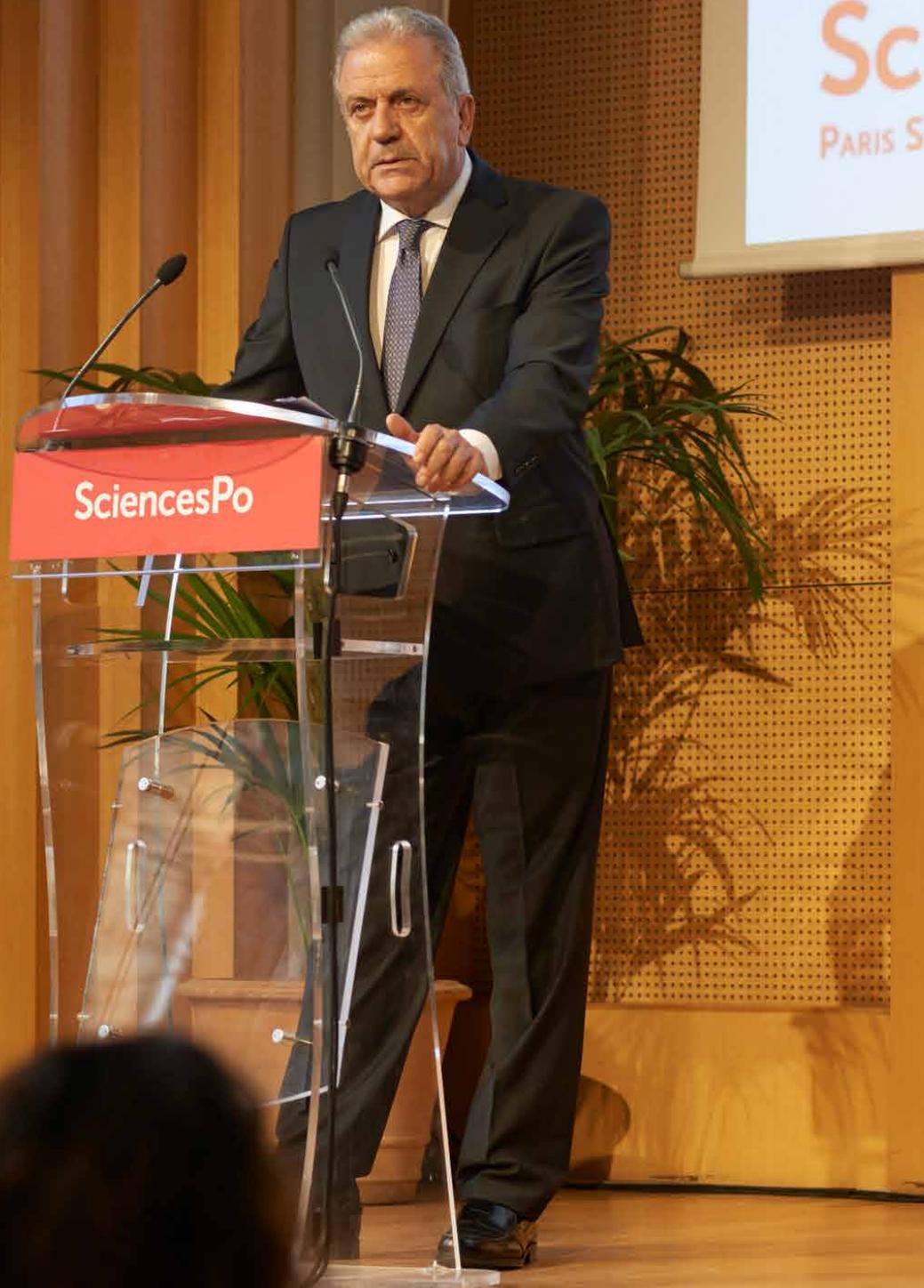
18:00 CLOSING KEYNOTE REMARKS

Filippo Grandi High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations

Introduced by **Vanessa Scherrer** Vice Dean, PSIA, Sciences Po

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

18:30 Concluding remarks by **Enrico Letta** Dean, PSIA, Sciences Po



“ If we look at the different developments in the world today, we must be prepared that many other people will continue to be displaced. This makes one thing crystal clear: we have entered the era of human mobility and diversity. ”

“ After peace and stability, freedom of movement is the most cherished wish of most Europeans, particularly the younger generation. But you don't need to be European to believe in peace, stability or free mobility. ”

“ Our main challenges today are global, and so should be our actions and solutions. ”

Dimitris Avramopoulos

Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, European Union

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Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, European Union

“ Mesdemoiselles, Mesdames et Messieurs, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is an honour for me to be with you at Sciences Po to open the Youth & Leaders Summit on a challenging and crucial topic: the migration crisis. I would like to thank the Dean, Enrico Letta, for having invited me to this outstanding institution in front of such a diverse and inspiring crowd of future global leaders.

Ladies and gentlemen, the phenomenon of migration today is seen both in Europe and around the world as one of the most difficult challenges our societies are confronted with. Today, more than 65 million people around the world are displaced from their homes. People move to escape poverty, climate change, war and instability. If we look at the different developments in the world today, we must be prepared that many other people will continue to be displaced.

This makes one thing crystal clear: we have entered the era of human mobility and diversity. Understandably, not everyone is comfortable with this reality, particularly in a context of rising security and terrorism threats. In fact, we see a resurgence of populism and xenophobia, of rhetoric that favours fences and closed borders.

Citizens want concrete solutions. They want safety and stability whether they live in France, the United States or Turkey. But our safety and stability is not isolated, it is shared. What happens in Syria, is felt not just in Turkey, but also in Greece, Germany

and Sweden. What happens in Northern Africa is felt in Italy, in France, in Belgium, in the United Kingdom. As our world becomes more globalised, it also becomes more interconnected. Our main challenges today are global, and so should be our actions and solutions.

Last September an historic UN General Assembly Summit on migration took place, where global leaders came together and agreed to step up their efforts to have better migration policies together. In the beginning of the migration crisis, our responses were uncoordinated, within Europe but also across the world.

Today, we are not where we were two years ago. Thousands of people have been resettled, to Europe, to the US, to Canada. Thousands of people have also been saved in the Mediterranean. The European Union has made an enormous effort to address the challenges of migration, both inside and outside Europe.

Inside the EU, we are now reforming our common asylum system to be more humane, fair and efficient. In order to relieve the pressure from Greece and Italy, we have already relocated more than 10,000 people in urgent need of protection to other countries in the EU. In parallel, we have reinforced the management of our external borders through the establishment of the European Border and Coast Guard last October. In order to further reduce irregular migration, we have enhanced legal channels,

not just for protection through resettlement, but also for talent from abroad to come work and live in the EU.

Finally, we cannot underestimate the importance of integration, because the cost of NOT investing in the full participation of migrants who can legally stay here, will far outweigh the investments that we make now. History has taught us that. When we look outside Europe, the European Union is the number one donor of humanitarian aid, taking action to provide lifesaving emergency aid to refugees with more than EUR 5 billion already mobilised.

We are helping displaced people within Syria as well as Syrian refugees and their host communities in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt. The implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement of last March is part of our comprehensive approach. It has drastically reduced both crossings but also deaths in the Aegean.

Similarly, with our new Partnership Framework we have also started a genuine political dialogue with key countries of origin and transit, mainly in Africa.

We try to help them to better manage migration holistically, focusing on the fight against criminal smugglers networks, improving border and migration management but also cooperation on readmissions of irregular migrants.

Most importantly, we want to help address the real root causes and why people leave

in the first place, by investing in better opportunities and futures. This is why we have created the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, worth EUR 2.2 billion for tailor-made, flexible and quick assistance. We have also set up a new EU External Investment Plan with the aim of unlocking at least EUR 44 billion of investments in partner countries, promoting growth and jobs and addressing the long term drivers behind migration.

While important progress has been made over the past two years, in Europe as well as globally, we are not there yet, and the refugee crisis is not over yet. There is no quick fix to the migration challenges today. This creates increasing frustration, impatience and, most worryingly, intolerance. At a moment when we should push through, we see the risk of withdrawal.

In the European Union, the challenges of migration have increasingly divided our unity. They have put our core values of cohesion and responsibility under pressure, if not even at stake. In particular, one of the major achievements of the EU: Schengen and the free movement of EU citizens without internal border controls is put into question today while many of you might take for granted.

Some of the European students here today have never known anything else than travelling freely across European borders without having to show their passport. I am part of a generation that does remember the stamps, the queues and the uncertainty sometimes of crossing borders in Europe.

In many other places in the world today, passports are not always a privilege, and borders are not openings as I'm sure some of you in this room will know. After peace and stability, freedom of movement is the most cherished wish of most Europeans, particularly the younger generation. But you don't need to be European to believe in peace, stability or free mobility.

Dear friends, as students at the prestigious Sciences Po in Paris, you will appreciate the importance of history and the lessons it can teach us when we look at our present and our future. You are all studying in a country which is one of the founders and pillars of the European Union and of European unity. While this year, we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Rome Treaty, we are not where the European Founding Fathers would have expected us to be.

Instead of proving that this Union is open, tolerant and inclusive - a true Union - we are seeing shadows from our recent past which we never thought we would see again. We find ourselves at a historic crossroad, facing challenging times. Most worryingly, some seem to have forgotten the very essence of why the European Union exists in the first place: to ensure peace and stability.

Instead, we see walls and fences being erected; populism and xenophobia are gaining ground and are threatening our democracies. We find ourselves in the city that has been hit twice by atrocious terrorist attacks in one year - but it is a threat that is not limited to Paris or France alone. We have a country - the Unit-

ed Kingdom - that has voted to leave the European Union, and we have new leadership across the Atlantic. The US has been one of the main actors leading to a united Europe after World War II. Moreover, the US is made mainly of European migrants - Italians, Greeks, Irish, Germans. I hope our strong cultural and historical ties will prevail in the future in a positive spirit.

Next year we will commemorate the 100 anniversary of the end of the First World War. In three years, we will celebrate 75 years of peace since the end of the Second World War, across the globe. But the aftermath of this war, and this hard-fought peace and stability risk being forgotten and taken for granted. This is why we need the future generation of leaders that is sitting in front of us here to be ready to take up the challenges we have in front of us.

And I wish to finish my speech by addressing these future young leaders in particular. My dear friends, As you read history, as you witness political developments around you, as you start to engage actively in political and civil society, do not overlook the lessons of the past. Use the unique transnational relationships that you have built here, to further strengthen our global society.

I hope that the values of commitment and excellence as well as of inclusion, equality, diversity and tolerance that have been impressed on you in this renowned institution will guide you in your endeavours to maintain and complete the project that we lead, and to build a better, safer, more welcoming and thriving future for all of us. ”



YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT



> *THE MIGRATION CRISES*

GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OVERWHELMED



> THE MIGRATION CRISES

GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS OVERWHELMED

Introduced by **Jiaqi Liu**, Master in Human Rights and Humanitarian Action, PSIA '2017

Moderator

Arnaud Leparmentier, Editor-in-Chief, Le Monde

Panelists

Pascal Brice, President of the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Asylum Seekers (OFPRA)

Jan Eliasson, Former Deputy-Secretary General of the United Nations

Elisabeth Guigou, Member of the French Parliament, Chairwoman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs • PSIA Faculty

Demetrios Papademetriou, President, Migration Policy Institute Europe

Migration is here to stay

Migration is a salient feature of our world today. Great numbers of people moved in a chaotic way towards Europe in the last half of 2015 and beginning of 2016. Migration will continue to increase and present different characteristics.

The countries of origin will change and the reasons why people leave their homes will be different. For instance, Demetrios Papademetriou argued that the migration challenge of tomorrow will be Africa, particularly Niger, where the median age is 15, and the population has been increasing exponentially.

The reasons of migration create a grey zone between refugees and migrants. To illustrate this, Jan Eliasson told the story of a family in Aleppo who fled not because of the bombing but because their children had not gone to school for 18 months. International law should cover all kinds of migration in the 21st century, but this is not the case. At a time when migration is a permanent characteristic of our world, we need to develop a framework for human mobility.

Looking back at the performance of governments and institutions, Elisabeth Guigou emphasized that politicians have not met expectations and have been overwhelmed by the migration flow. Similarly, Pascal Brice claimed that in the face of migration, Europe did not stand by its core values.

Where do we go from here?

The creation of a sustainable policy for refugees in Europe, and an efficient development policy in the countries of origin, have been deemed to be the most important actions to facilitate moving forward. The European migration policy needs to tackle the challenge of conciliating security and mobility. This would prevent Europe from closing its borders to the people seeking refuge here.

Policy makers need to remain true to European values. The welcoming of refugees should be done in a dignified and orderly manner. Brice emphasized that state mechanisms for dealing with asylum claims do exist in France, but that we need a European-wide framework.

Development work outside Europe has been identified as equally important in

tackling chaotic and large flows of migration. Papademetriou has suggested that European Governments should work closely with foreign governments, especially those in Africa, to implement development policies in an efficient way.

Guigou also called for legal channels that allow migrants to come to Europe, such as more scholarships that allow them to study. Papademetriou argued that in order to address the chaotic nature of migration, we need to know what type of protection we can offer refugees and where, implement proper resettlement programs and be ready to deal with non-conventional refugees.

The panel also addressed the fact that many migrants have been met with skepticism. To address this, we should all develop better listening skills and create platforms where differing opinions can play out. The topic for these dialogues should be the incorporation of new members in our European societies, and the development of a new community together.

Eliasson stressed that we need to analyze how migration can be seen as a positive factor. In order to meet the national and global challenges of migration, everyone needs to participate with creative solutions.

A joint effort

The panelists emphasized that it is essential for civil society to work alongside governments and institutions in welcoming and integrating migrants and refugees. Some students' questions were concerned with the fact that civil society has already taken up the slack in the refugee crisis, as governments have been overwhelmed.

Brice argued that people and NGOs have a fundamental role alongside governments in welcoming people to France and Europe. Governments and institutions have their own responsibilities and civil society can fulfill a different role.

For example, civil society is very important in the integration process, as was made evident by a question from a student who is a Syrian refugee, visual artist and Sciences Po student. He asked how we can foster better dialogue between migrants and European citizens. According to Guigou, the actions of civil society and NGOs are essential to promote cultural exchange. Eliasson also advocated for civil society and governments to join forces: "Nobody can do everything but everybody can do something."

Panel Summary by **Cristina Chiran**, PSIA '2018



> *THE MIGRATION CRISES*

HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGES



HUMANITARIAN CHALLENGES

Introduced by **Farangies Shah**, Master in International Public Management, PSIA '2018

Moderator

Marilyne Baumard, Journalist, Le Monde

Panelists

Christine Beerli, Vice-President, International Committee of the Red Cross

Irina Bokova, Director-General, UNESCO

Emma Bonino, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Italy

Bruno Stagno-Ugarte, Deputy Executive Director for Advocacy, Human Rights Watch • former Minister of Foreign Affairs to Costa Rica • PSIA Faculty

This is not a “crisis”

We tend to use the term “crisis” to describe the worldwide increase in migration over the past years: “Europe is being flooded by utility-maximizing asylum seekers coming to exploit our welfare systems and extract our privileges.” This crisis rhetoric is dangerous. It blurs and politicizes reality – it creates fear and uncertainty. It securitizes the migration field so that we seek protection in our nation-states, surrounded by the comfort of solid walls. Emma Bonino made a strong case to stop buying into this false stereotyping, led by populists and xenophobes who portray migration as a sudden threat to our society and values. The whole panel was united in the view that this is indeed not a crisis as such – it is a crisis of politics and migration management, not numbers. Bonino argued that the situation is a result of politicians’ failure to look ahead – politicians have a tendency to be “surprised” time and again. Both Christine Beerli and Bonino highlighted that while the phenomena of migration has roots that trace back to the beginning of humanity, there seems to be a notion in the public debate that the migration challenges started in 2015. Rather, we have had large-scale migration in Europe and elsewhere for a long time.

Humanitarian efforts and development go hand in hand

The real humanitarian drama does not take place in Europe. Around the world, 60 million people are forcibly displaced, 40 million of who are internally displaced in their own country. On this note, Irina Bokova of UNESCO emphasized that UN agencies are making a closer link between humanitarian efforts and development. Humanitarian challenges cannot be solved without also working to achieve development goals on areas like education and gender. Currently, only 3 percent of humanitarian aid is directed to education. Bokova suggested that this should be raised to 10 percent. The need for increased investment in education particularly applies to countries like Lebanon that neighbor and receive nations where people are displaced, as enormous pressures on hold back their own educational systems. Bruno Stagno-Ugarte argued that the gap between humanitarian work and development work is due to the fact that humanitarian appeals are conducted through an exclusive focus on monetary contributions, thus divorcing humanitarian work from progress towards basic human rights. The respect for human rights and international law is essential. As Beerli expressed said, “If these frameworks were indeed respected, we would have fewer forced displacements.”



Living together

An oft under-communicated aspect of migration flows is the importance of proper integration policies. This was, however, a vital topic for the panel. Bonino advocated for a conscious decision about how we live together: “Refugees and migrants are our values and we need to take care of them.” Beerli and Bokova brought up the necessity of education from an integration perspective. Bokova especially emphasized educating people on the values of cultural diversity and heritage.

While the panel agreed that the issues discussed were political challenges in need of political solutions, they also reminded us of the crucial role youth can play in finding these measures. Stagno-Ugarte made a clear appeal to young people and our task to reclaim the political landscape by bringing the collective back to the center: “And by the end of day, across generations, we’re all people. In the words of Emma Bonino: “It’s not illegal to use a little bit of heart as well.”

Panel Summary by
Enja Saethren, PSIA '2018

> THE MIGRATION CRISES

SECURITY ISSUES

Introduced by **Julia Elisabetta Pitterman**, Master in International Security, PSIA '2018

Moderator

Christophe Ayad, Journalist, Le Monde

Panelists

Lakhdar Brahimi, Elder • former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General • PSIA Faculty

Benoit D'Aboville, former French Permanent Representative and Ambassador to NATO • PSIA Faculty

Peter Ricketts, former Ambassador to France • former UK National Security Advisor

Laurence Tubiana, former Special Representative for the 2015 Paris Climate Conference • Affiliate Professor, Sciences Po • PSIA Faculty

Looking at the Big Picture

Lakhdar Brahimi, member of The Elders, initiated the discussion with an insightful metaphor to illustrate the importance of understanding the big picture when dealing with conflicts in order to prevent further insecurity. He cited Iraq and Libya as two countries now dealing with even more insecurity after interference from external powers.

Benoit D'Aboville explained the continuum of insecurity abroad and its ramifications on the European continent: national defence policies now need to take into account both external and internal security. He emphasized that European cooperation and multilateralism are vital to combat security threats and that the migration crisis should not be reduced to a slogan or a Tweet.

He also pointed out that migrants are not homogenous and that asylum seekers and economic migrants need to be distinguished. D'Aboville also discussed the necessity of a European Common Foreign and Security Policy to manage insecurity in neighbouring countries and eradicate smuggling networks linked to terrorist activities and increasingly wealthy criminal networks.

Perception or Reality of EU Insecurity?

Should Europe rightfully call this a migration crisis or is it only a perception? Peter Ricketts noted that the Syrian conflict has placed the greatest burden on neighbouring countries such as Turkey and Lebanon in terms of migration. "These fragile countries are carrying a huge load which has implications for their stability," he said. Do the migrants flowing into Europe pose a real security issue, or are we dealing with political manipulation? Erroneously, he said, some believe that an increase in migration is positively correlated with terrorism.

What should be done? The Syrian conflict needs to be settled, the international community should focus on building a more inclusive government in Iraq to create effective pressure against Da'esh and help the countries on the front lines who are struggling to host refugees with few resources. The international community also needs to redouble efforts to address the causes of home grown radicalization and minimize the risk of terrorists who use migrant channels. Finally, law enforcement agencies must share and work off of the same databases.

Ramifications of a Changing Climate on Security

Laurence Tubiana explained that, in light of Donald Trump as the new American president, the only way for climate change to be taken seriously is to frame it as a national security threat. Nonetheless, we have passed the point at which its existence can be debated. Climate change has already arrived and unfortunately we can no longer prevent environmental disasters. Climate change is a "very pressing, global issue that impacts growth" and deepens extreme poverty by preventing people from accessing natural resources, which creates insecurity. This generates local conflicts that lead to migration.

What should be done? We need to intensify adaptation policies, create more resilient agricultural production models, anticipate migration flows, support the enhancement of civil society in source countries and develop their economic sector. We need to empower people in affected countries by giving them visibility at the international level.

Panel Summary by
Julia Elisabetta Pitterman, PSIA '2018



> *THE MIGRATION CRISES*

ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS



ECONOMIC AND
DEMOGRAPHIC
DYNAMICS

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ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS

Introduced by **Oishee Kundu**, Master in International Economic Policy, PSIA '2017

Moderator

Serge Michel, Journalist, Le Monde

Panelists

Taeho Bark, Former Minister of Trade, Republic of Korea • Professor, Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), Seoul National University • PSIA Faculty

Carlos Lopes, Former Executive Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa • Professor, Graduate School for Development Policy and Practice, University of Cape Town

Philippe Martin, Professor of Economics, Sciences Po

Lionel Zinsou, Former Prime Minister of Benin

An appraisal of the dynamics at work

Does migration come about because of a lack of economic development? Prime Minister Lionel Zinsou strongly disagrees with the conception that migration diminishes when economic development increases. While it is not easy to predict where the next migration wave will come from, the demographic challenges can be appreciated by noting the rapid ageing of populations in industrialized nations and the growing number of young people in the developing world. Serge Michel noted that 300 million jobs will need to be created on the African continent by 2030 to meet demands. He asked what needs to be done in Africa and in western nations to prepare for inevitable demographic shifts.

How does migration impact the economy? Philippe Martin explained that migration, like trade, generates benefits at the global level as per capita GDP increases in destination countries due to the arrival of new migrants. But like trade, migration affects inequality, which is only recently being recognized by economists. The migration of low-skill workers has an impact on the wage gap

and increases the inequality between low-skill and high-skill workers. This is where the political debate is.

Absorbing migrants

All of the panelists agreed that the solution is not to close borders. An appreciation of the economic and demographic dynamics must lead to policies that will aid in the absorption of migrants. How quickly can the migrant, the homo economics, start functioning in its new habitat? That may help to realize the long run effects of migration more quickly.

Student questions ranged from whether having a higher minimum wage or laws that prevent employers from paying lower wages to migrants could solve the problem, to why it is difficult for high-skilled refugees to transfer their skills in European labor markets. Professor Martin, while supporting a higher minimum wage, warned against tinkering with wages since it would affect labor supply. A better solution could be to train and augment the skills of both migrants and existing nationals to solve inequality and the wage gap. With regards to France, however, Professor Martin

acknowledged that the country has not been doing well to support high-skill persons seeking asylum. Unfortunately, France is not the exceptional case and many western nations find it difficult to efficiently integrate high skilled refugees. "In France, migrants need to go to the university to regulate their skills, but if you go to university as an asylum-seeker, you lose your monetary support." Therefore, high skilled workers are not able to transfer their skills quickly to the French market.

Absorbing migrants will also require new ways of defining citizenship, identity and cultures. How cultures evolve together is something that is yet to be seen, mused Prime Minister Zinsou.

A wider social contract

Dr. Lopes developed applied Rousseau's Social Contract to today and noted that solidarity is not being demanded in a simple manner at the community, national or international

levels. As industrialized nations grow older and developing countries have greater numbers of young people, the world will have to interact across generations and across borders. While some argue that automation will help developed countries to function despite an ageing population, they forget that "robots don't pay for social security."

Professor Martin emphasized that the most substantial challenge is to redistribute gains. The welfare state seems to be acceptable only in homogenous societies, which leaves a pessimistic thought about the future and the idea of solidarity therein. Professor Taeho Bark emphasizes that monetary redistribution may not be enough compensation for the ones who lose from trade and migration. He referred to both the Brexit vote and the US election and noted that we need to redesign compensation schemes.

Panel Summary by
Oishee Kundu, PSIA '2018



EDITORIAL

Si la crise migratoire ne trouve pas de solutions structurelles cette année, la gouvernance européenne et mondiale risque d'éclater. Est-ce là un propos trop catastrophique? Ne peut-on pas penser que la situation va se stabiliser sans trop de dégâts collatéraux ?

par **Enrico Letta**

Franchement je trouve que tout dirigeant politique, tout homme d'état qui approcherait ce début d'année en sous-estimant le phénomène ne serait pas à la hauteur de son rôle. La toute dernière chance, c'est maintenant. On peut et on doit passer du chaos de la situation d'urgence à un cadre structuré de réponses institutionnelles. On a été dépassé par la dimension du problème il y a deux ans mais on peut tirer leçon de tout cela et éviter que cela ne se répète. Voilà, selon moi, le plus grand défi politique de l'année 2017 pour l'Union Européenne. Après deux années terribles, une grande catastrophe humanitaire, des milliers de morts, des dégâts politiques et sociaux, on ne peut pas se permettre que la nouvelle année ne soit pas l'année des solutions.

Il y a déjà une bonne nouvelle pour 2017: Antonio Guterres est le nouveau Secrétaire General de l'ONU. La première édition du Youth & Leaders Summit lancé par l'Ecole des affaires internationales

de Sciences Po (PSIA) en janvier dernier avait traité précisément l'agenda du futur leader de l'ONU. Et le dialogue entre notre millier d'étudiants et les vingt leaders du monde entier qui se retrouvait à Paris, dans le grand amphithéâtre de Sciences Po, avait placé en tête de cet agenda la prise en charge du phénomène migratoire de la part de la plus importante institution mondiale. Meilleure solution ne pouvait être trouvée qu'Antonio Guterres, ancien premier ministre portugais, et donc leader politique tout azimut, le premier avec cette caractéristique à la tête du Palais de vitres de la 42^{ème} avenue de New York. Mais avant tout Guterres fut le Haut-Commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés, et son successeur Filippo Grandi clôturera d'ailleurs le Youth & Leaders Summit du 16 janvier, qui traitera des crises migratoires. Guterres est également européen, et a donc une fine connaissance du fonctionnement des institutions communautaires: il saura identifier les

blocages potentiels ainsi que les négociations nécessaires à la réussite. Il est bien évident qu'un homme seul ne suffira pas à faire basculer la tendance. 2017 doit être l'année des solutions structurelles à l'échelle mondiale. Les migrants étaient au nombre de 75 millions en 1975, et sont aujourd'hui 250 millions. On ne peut en tirer qu'une seule conclusion : ce n'est pas un phénomène transitoire. Il s'agit d'une des conséquences naturelles, prévisibles et structurelles de la mondialisation. Il s'agit aussi du symptôme de situations sécuritaires dramatiques dans de nombreuses régions du monde depuis plusieurs années déjà.

Les solutions sont connues, et se fondent sur la nécessité d'une vraie politique de développement pour l'Afrique, d'une révision des traités internationaux, d'une gestion des flux faite dans l'ordre et dans la légitimité, de politiques d'intégration efficaces, et enfin, pour l'Europe, d'une gestion



commune, sous le drapeau européen, des frontières.

Pour l'Europe nous pouvons transformer la crise en grande opportunité. Une Union qui fait l'objet de la défiance de ses citoyens et qui est affaiblie par les nationalismes peut retrouver son souffle en réussissant à faire face à des enjeux aussi importants à l'échelle mondiale que les migrations. Elle peut démontrer que ce phénomène, existant et inévitable, ne peut être résolu par des solutions uniquement à l'échelle régionale. Celles-ci ont déjà été tentées, et sont totalement inefficaces. Seule une coopération au niveau européen permettra le spectre nécessaire à la construction et l'implémentation de solutions. L'Europe redeviendrait donc ainsi utile, et retrouverait son rôle de force de solutions, et non plus source de problèmes.

Enrico Letta, Doyen de l'Ecole des Affaires internationales de Sciences Po (PSIA), ancien Président du Conseil italien.

L'Ecole des Affaires internationales de Sciences Po réunit au cœur de Paris une communauté de 1500 étudiants de Master venus de 105 pays dans le monde pour étudier les grandes questions internationales dont ils seront les acteurs de demain.

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YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT



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At the forefront of global affairs education. A global school based in Paris, PSIA attracts the best students and faculty world-wide, and has an international student population that exceeds 70%. With 1300 students coming from 100 different countries, PSIA is the only school of international affairs in France, and among the largest in Europe.

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Enrico Letta, Dean of PSIA, former Prime Minister of Italy

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