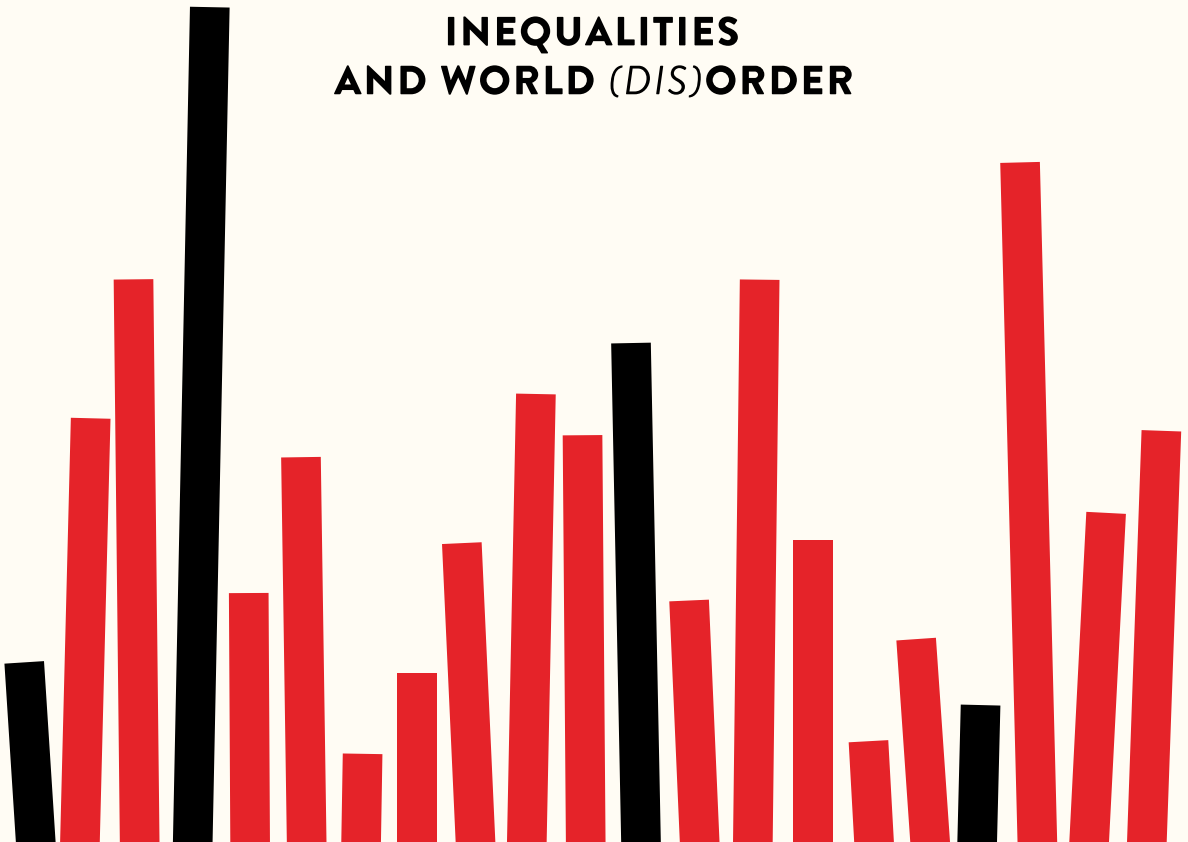


YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT REPORT 2018

INEQUALITIES AND WORLD *(DIS)*ORDER



INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER

MONDAY 22 JANUARY 2018



YOUTH & LEADERS

SUMMIT

Launched in January 2016 by the **Paris School of International Affairs at Sciences Po (PSIA)**, 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 60 of the world's most prominent international actors for the first three 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.

INEQUALITIES – 2018 THEME

The **Youth & Leaders Summit** took place on January 22nd 2018 at Sciences Po's iconic Paris campus, as the third successful edition dedicated to exchange and dialogue on some of the most pressing global issues. The 2018 edition was dedicated to tackling the theme of Inequalities, 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 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 #4 by the 2018 QS World Rankings), as well as the largest, with 1600 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.





#YLSummit18



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sciences Po and PSIA would like to extend their gratitude to the sponsors, partners, faculty and students who were involved in making the 2018 edition of the Youth & Leaders a resounding success.

We would especially like to thank our main sponsor **Engie** for their generous support, and **The New York Times**, our media partner, for championing and featuring the Summit. A special word of appreciation must go to Lakhdar Brahimi for his intellectual contribution to designing the agenda for the 2018 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 39 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.

MORNING SESSION

08:30 *Welcome and registration*

09:00 **WELCOME**
Frédéric Mion President, Sciences Po

09:10 **OPENING SPEECH**
Édouard Philippe Prime Minister, France

09:30 **KEYNOTE SPEECH**
William J. Burns President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

10:00 *Break*

10:30 **PANEL 1**
LEFT BEHIND: IS SOMEONE LISTENING?
Introduction: **Daniela Dos Santos Quaresma** PSIA Student, Master in International Security
Chair: **Steven Erlanger** Chief Diplomatic Correspondent Europe, New York Times

With
Donald Kaberuka former President of the African Development Bank • former Minister of Finance, Rwanda

Maria Nowak Founder, ADIE (Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative Economique)

Teresa Ribera Director of IDDRI, Sciences Po • former State Secretary for Climate Change, Spain

Luca Visentini Secretary General, European Trade Union Commission

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

12:00 **KEYNOTE SPEECH**
Cecilia Malmström European Commissioner for Trade

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

12:30 *Lunch break*

AFTERNOON SESSION

14:00 **PANEL 2**
DOES INEQUALITY CAUSE CONFLICT?
Introduction: **Serafine Dinkel** PSIA Student, Master in International Security
Chair: **Christine Ockrent** journalist • former Editor in chief, L'Express

With
Mohamed ElBaradei Nobel Peace Prize laureate • former Director, International Atomic Energy Agency

Lakhdar Brahimi Elder • former UN Special Envoy for Syria • former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Algeria

Philippe Martin Professor of Economics, Sciences Po

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

15:30 *Break*

16:00 **PANEL 3**
WHY ARE INSTITUTIONS FAILING?
Introduction: **Adam Fifield** PSIA Student, Master in International Development
Chair: **Steven Erlanger** Chief Diplomatic Correspondent Europe, New York Times

With
Patrick Le Galès Professor of Political Science, Sciences Po • Dean, Urban School, Sciences Po

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala Chair, GAVI (Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization) • former Managing Director, World Bank • former Minister of Finance, Nigeria

Yanis Varoufakis founder, DiEM25 • former Minister of Finance, Greece

Followed by a discussion with PSIA students and the audience

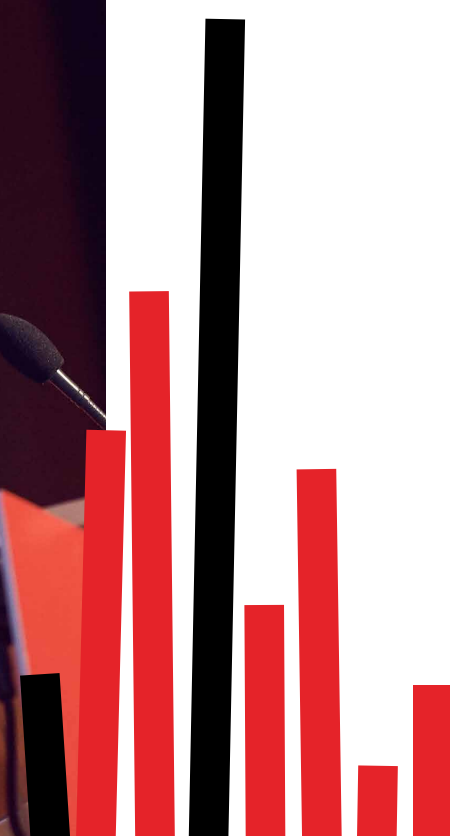
17:30 **CONCLUDING REMARKS**
Enrico Letta Dean, PSIA, Sciences Po • former Prime Minister, Italy



“ You don’t need to travel to see inequality. You can see it in your own neighborhood. ”

“ New inequalities are also building: the digital divide is one of them, and those who are not connected will be left behind. ”

Edouard Philippe
Prime Minister,
France



Edouard Philippe

Prime Minister, France

“ Mr President, Dean, Distinguished Professors, Ladies and gentlemen, French and international students, dear friends,

It was a good idea to invite me, Mr President. You know, spending so many years in your company when I was very young gave me a very real experience of what inequality is. I'm talking about the inequality between a man like yourself: amiable, well read, sharp, witty, elegant from birth or very soon thereafter, and the ordinary garden variety of student, like myself at the time. The students who sweated blood, hitting the books and struggling with essays to earn lower marks than yours on the whole. And, in contrast to your always impeccable appearance, they came out of the ordeal with frantic gazes, wrinkled shirts and aching backs.

Since then I have done my utmost to close the gap. For example, I regularly come back to the school you direct, despite a schedule that is somewhat busier than it was twenty years ago. It's always a good idea to go back to school from time to time. Especially when it is a "free" school that teaches you to think freely about the world you live in. Furthermore, besides reading books, I can think of nothing that is more invigorating than rubbing elbows with students. All the more so when these students are getting ready to succeed,

to put it politely, the people they are destined to meet. The famous decision-makers, of which, as I gather from the title of this event and from your invitation to me, I am one. Therefore, we are all future decision-makers or future ex-decision-makers. It's a very good thing.

It's a very good thing, because decision-making is a huge responsibility. No pressure, but the world, your world and, more importantly, your children's world, will depend more or less on the decisions you make. Big and little decisions. Conscious and less conscious decisions. That's the way it is: you cannot evade your responsibilities. You can be sad or alarmed. Or else, you can be happy about it, because it means you can take action. At every level. When decisions are good, when they are a step in the right direction, there are no small decisions, only helpful decisions. Albert Camus put it in a way that I find quite comforting: "Superhuman is the term for tasks men take a long time to accomplish, that's all". (Speech at Brooklyn College, New York, 1 May 1946).

Now, more than ever, there is certainly no lack of challenges, of "superhuman tasks". But when we take a closer look at these challenges, we see that they all have something in common, they all have inequality as a cause or a consequence. Generally speaking, if we are not careful, these

inequalities will build up, be self-sustaining and widen.

I saw as much in my former life, as the mayor of a large city. Obviously, as Prime Minister, this issue and this responsibility are on a different scale.

I/ The fact is that the world today is facing a cruel paradox.

1/ The world has hardly ever been so prosperous and the prospects for economic development greater.

Global GDP grew by more than 3% in 2017. These trends are not seen only in Asia or the United States. Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, should see growth of more than 3% in 2018, according to the World Bank's forecasts.

2/ Yet, prosperity has hardly benefited to so few.

27%. That is the percentage of global growth captured by the wealthiest 1% around the world. This is what has shown the first report by the World Inequality Lab launched by Thomas Piketty.

The world has never had so many billionaires. At this rate, the Forbes ranking will be as thick as a phone book! In the United States the wealth of the super-rich has soared to levels not seen since the roaring twenties when Jay Gatsby was still staring at the blinking green light at the end of Daisy Buchanan's dock: the top

0.1 percent own more than 20% of the country's wealth... But the new fortunes being made are not always clustered where you would think. China now has more billionaires than any other country. And last year, Beijing became the global billionaire capital, ahead of New York.

Such concentration of wealth undermines the cohesion that our societies are built on. This is true in the United States, where everyone is talking about the collapse of the middle class. The same middle class - "the great middle class" depicted by Ralph Ellison, Saul Bellow, Flannery O'Connor or Philip Roth - that was the driving force behind America's economic power after the Second World War when small property owners turned to white collar employees.

3/ More worrying, new causes of inequality have emerged:

a/ The digital divide:

Less than 50 percent of the global population has Internet access. In 2017, the connection rate in Africa was 23%.

And yet, digital technology is to progress what electricity or coal in the nineteenth century. Individuals, businesses and territories that cannot "connect" to the rest of the world will be left behind.

That's why, one of the first decisions that the President of the French Republic and I made was to ensure access to high-speed and very high-

speed Internet connections everywhere in France.

b/ Climate change is the great inequality:

The President of the French Republic stressed the point in his speech at Xi'an in China on 8 January 2018: "We know that the disruption hits the poorest countries hardest (...). This is the double injustice of climate disruption. The most vulnerable countries are the ones that are not yet developed and they are now afflicted by the consequences of damage from previous decades and even centuries. We have a special responsibility in this matter."

People who are much more qualified than I am will tell you about it in greater detail. In the French Government, we have a highly qualified person for this issue. I'm talking about Nicolas Hulot.

For those who are interested, when I was about your age, I read a book that was fascinating. It was a bit frightening too. This book, which is really an essay, is called "Collapse". The author, as you undoubtedly know, is Jared Diamond. It is difficult to sum up the 600 dense pages of the book in a few words. You simply need to know that the author makes an unflinching study of how environmental damage affects certain societies. And that reading the book was enough to convince me to change our behaviour radically.

Nothing I just said is news to you. That is why I will not talk more about the facts. You don't need to travel far

to see inequality. You can see it in your own neighbourhood. Inequality is in literature, read Hugo, Zola, Dickens and Steinbeck. Inequality is a perpetual subject of inquiry for economists, from Marx to Rawls. Open any newspaper and you will see inequality in the photos, in the articles, showing us inequality that we would like to think of as from another time.

There are several attitudes possible for dealing with this: we can ignore it, saying that, after all, inequality has been around since the world began. Or we can be sad about it, without doing anything more. Or we can be disheartened: where should we start, and more especially, with whom? For what result? Or we can fight it. The right response, the right attitude, the one I choose, is the latter.

Once we have decided to fight inequality, we need to do it the right way. I will not speak about the eternal combat of "freedom versus equality", which you know by heart in such a school. Let's simply remember that history has provided ample and sad proof that total freedom, and total equality, both have tragic consequences.

II/ So, what are our solutions?

1/ First, at the national level.

You'll have to admit, Mr President, that summing up will be a challenge. The subject would warrant a second speech on general policy lasting about an hour and a half without a break.

Unfortunately, neither you nor I have the time for it. So, I will just mention a few actions. Here they are:

- First of all, protecting everyone in France from absolute poverty. For a Government, this means raising minimum social benefits, as we have done, to keep pace with the rising cost of living and ensuring that those in need have real access to benefits. Very often, the people entitled to the benefits don't even know about them.

- Second, reducing inequality means ensuring that everyone, everywhere in France, has access to essentials, such as medical care, public services, transport solutions and quality Internet connections. Of course, we cannot carpet the whole country with major amenities. But we can do some things that are both very simple and very helpful, such as boosting telemedicine, facilitating online administrative formalities and developing different modes of transport.

- Reducing inequality means investing in our most precious assets: knowledge and skills. Most importantly, this means investing more in those with the least, the least well off school children, drop-outs, jobseekers and workers who need new skills to keep their jobs. In a mobile and rapidly changing world, this means providing better protection for people through school, apprenticeships and career training. Skills are the best protection and the most powerful means of advancement.

- Reducing inequality means providing every citizen with a safety net when things go wrong. After all, we are all potentially vulnerable. One day, we could find ourselves jobless, ill, bereaved or elderly. In such situations, there must be solidarity.

So, in a few very brief words, there you have what a Government can and should do. Imperfectly to be sure. I have absolutely no pretention of solving the problem once and for all. In this area, as in so many others, modesty is required. Especially when you take action at the international level.

2/ Because we must also take action at the international level:

As I said: the scope for action is smaller. But that doesn't mean that a country, such as France, which is heard and sometimes admired, should not take action. For France holds a special place among nations. And one of its greatest strengths, and a reason people listen to France, is that it tries to provide solutions for global injustices. What are these solutions?

- An unwavering commitment to defend common goods, especially the climate. Obviously, this means providing financial support for initiatives. It also means providing support for what we call "adaptation", in other words, projects aimed at fighting the already very real effects of climate change.

- The President of the French Republic called for a revitalisation of multilateralism at

the last General Assembly of the United Nations. It means encouraging the involvement of countries that have been more discreet until now. I'm thinking of China, for example. Its participation in COP21 was absolutely crucial.

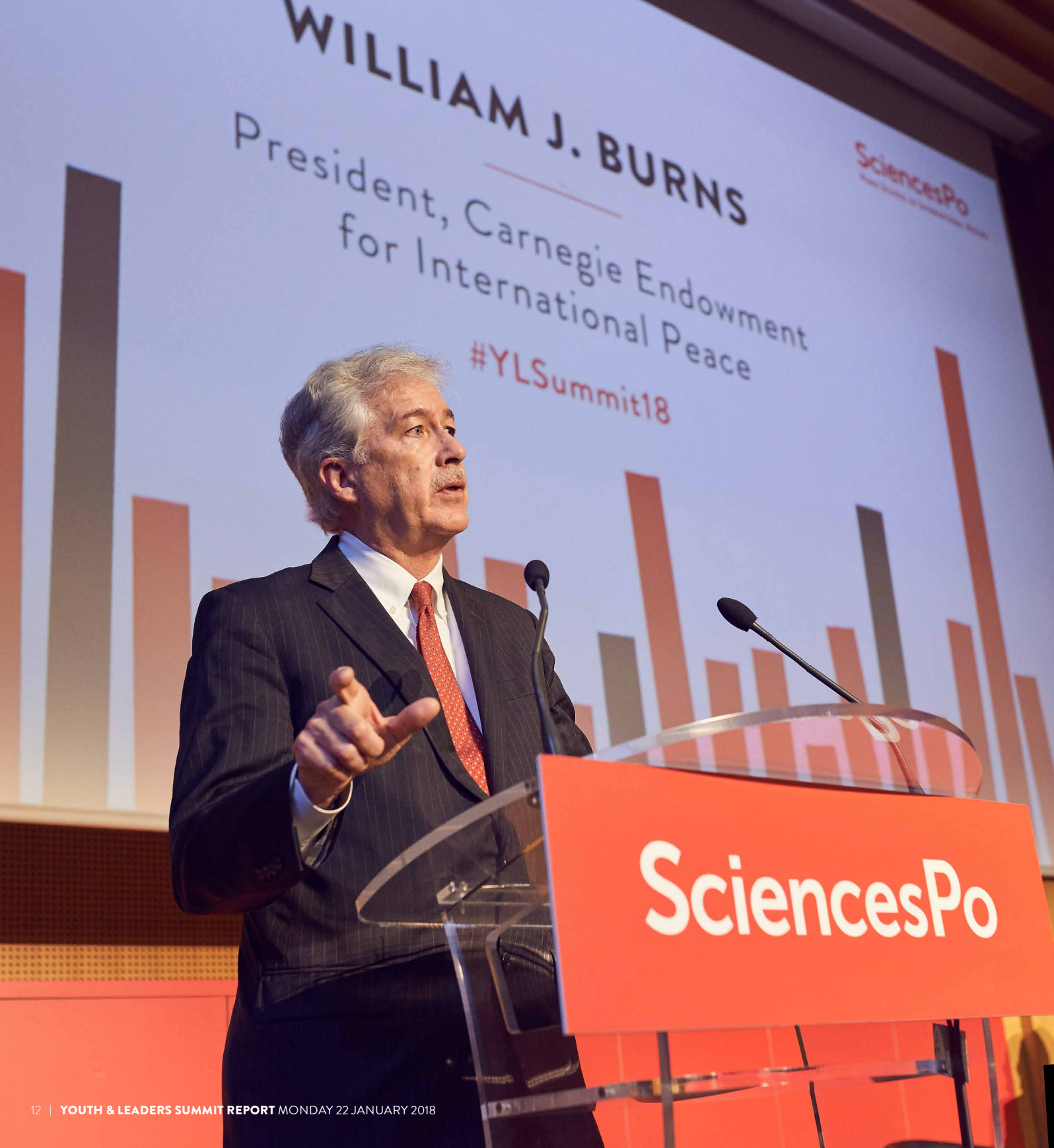
- Recasting and increasing our Official Development Assistance, since global crises are fuelled by inequality and feelings of injustice. The President of the French Republic has made a commitment to increase this assistance to 0.55% of gross national income by 2022. Supporting equal opportunities for development: access to education, as well as to health, food and energy.

I needed a conclusion worthy of the subject and fitting to the challenge. Some may find the challenge a bit overwhelming. I found my closing words in the work of Camus. Him again. You see, I love men and women who love freedom.

In a speech given in 1956, entitled "Call for a civilian truce in Algeria", Camus said: "A strong heart, intelligence, and courage are enough to overcome fate. All it takes is will: will that is not blind, but firm and deliberate."

So, this is what I wish for you, what I wish for all of us: firm and deliberate will. And I know of no better place to forge that will than right here at Sciences Po. ”





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“ You see modern international order being shaped by very consequential disorders. ”

“ I do remain an optimist: I have faith in the resilience of statesmen in trying to face common challenges and insecurity in the world today, faith in us all to deal with these beyond States, faith in the resilience within States in democracy. ”

“ And I have faith in the next generation, in all of you, to embark on complicated careers in a complicated international landscape, but filled with opportunities. ”

William Burns
President,
Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace

William Burns

President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

“ Thank you very much for that kind introduction excellences, ladies and gentlemen. Good morning. I am very glad to be in Paris and very glad to be at Sciences Po – an institution which I greatly admire. I also have to admit that I am very glad to escape Washington DC for a little while and all the many dysfunctions of the era of Donald Trump. (...)

What I'll try to do is simply offer three or four observations on some of what I see as the biggest sources of disorder on the international landscape today. (...)

First, challenges to order among states. I spent almost three and a half decades as an American diplomat and lived through some very distinct eras in terms of the distribution of power among states. (...)

It just seems to me that when you look at an era in which great power rivalry has returned, you also see international order shaped increasingly by a series of very consequential regional disorders. One of the most obvious examples is in Asia where the rise of China is probably the most consequential phenomenon on the international landscape today. As all of you know, history is full of collisions between rising powers and established powers and if we are honest with ourselves, there is that risk in relations between the United States and China but I don't think that is inevitable.

I don't think it is foreordained. It is the challenge of statecraft to build in US-China relations a stable mechanism of cooperation and competition and to take advantage of the reality that our economies are increasingly entangled with one and other and that a whole variety of states in Asia and the Pacific have a stake in the construction of a kind of order that allows for security and prosperity for all and isn't aimed so much at containing China as at shaping its rise.

We have an opportunity, from the point of view at least of American foreign policy to make common cause with rising powers like India and with our traditional trading allies in Japan and South Korea, in dealing with and working with China on some quite serious challenges such as North Korea's nuclear missile programs.

I don't need to tell anyone in this room that I think Europe faces as many challenges to regional order as at any point since the end of the Cold War. Whether they are internally generated, I think of Britain's deeply unfortunate decision to leave the European Union and the challenges posed by nationalist and nativist impulses in central Europe; but also externally generated as well. (...)

I served twice, over the course of my checkered career, as a diplomat in Russia and that was a long exercise

in humility about my powers of prediction with regard to Russian behavior. But I think it is a pretty safe prediction that Vladimir Putin will be reelected President of Russia in a couple of months. I think it is a pretty safe prediction that Russia's foreign policy is going to continue to be a pretty combustible combination of grievance and ambition and insecurity. It's not that Russia is ten feet tall. In many ways it is handicapped by a one-dimensional economy, way too dependent on hydrocarbons, and by demographic realities that have caused a long-term decline in its population.

But in Vladimir Putin, you see a leader that has been agile tactically, that has been willing to play rough and who tends to see a target rich environment around him – opportunities to take advantage of vulnerabilities. Whether in the Ukraine several years ago where if he couldn't have what he wanted most, which was a deferential government in Kiev, he could have the next best thing from the point of view of the Kremlin, which was a dysfunctional Ukraine. Or in Syria, where he took advantage of a vacuum of external involvement and deep and bloody chaos in Syria itself. Or in 2016 in terms of hacking and interference in the American elections, which I have always been convinced is as much to do with the vulnerability of our own political system, as it was about the acumen of

a relatively small number of Russian hackers.

That leads me to another set of regional disorders in the Middle East, which many of you are very well aware of. Seven years ago, the revolts of the Arab Spring began as a reaction against peoples' sense of indignity, the absence of economic and political opportunities, and the inequalities across many Arab societies.

The Arab Spring produced a collapse of much of the old Arab state systems and created a vacuum over which hangs a big question – what comes next? There is no shortage of people across the Middle East who think they have answers to that question. Whether it is Sunni extremist groups like ISIS, whether its predatory regional powers like Iran, or Sunni-Arab authoritarian regimes trying to recover their grip on power. You see the resurgence of competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran across the Middle East.

And you see what I think is deeply unfortunately a sense of neglect: whether it's of the terrible humanitarian catastrophe unfolding in the Yemen today; neglect of the Palestinian-Israeli issue which is going to result in the long-term detriment of the Israelis and the Palestinians; and neglect of the deeper drivers of disorder across the Middle East today – the sense of indignity and inequalities which produced the Arab Spring in the first place and which will cause a rebirth of those kind of upheavals in the future if

regimes and societies don't deal with them.

I think other areas of the world, which often suffer from neglect, at least in terms of US foreign policy, include Africa and our own hemisphere, the Western Hemisphere. What you have seen from Washington over the course of this past year are not only some deeply objectionable statements from the President about a whole continent in Africa but also a sense of diffidence and almost dismissiveness about Africa's significance. The truth is that for all the obvious challenges that Africans face, whether it is unresolved regional conflicts or corruption or problems of inequality, there are also huge opportunities as well. The same is true in the Western Hemisphere too, where if the United States would spend less time focused on building walls and more time on building connections, I think people across our hemisphere including Americans ourselves would be much better off.

That leads me to my second observation, which is about challenges to order beyond states. I continue to believe that the nation-state continues to be at the core of the international system, but it is true that over the last few decades, its monopoly on power has been gradually eroded.

What you have seen is not only a multiplication of non-state actors from the very benign like the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation to the very malign like ISIS and

Al-Qaeda; but also the impact of powerful transformative forces like globalization and especially the technological revolution, which have produced progress in many parts of the world with hundreds of millions of people lifted out of poverty and into the middle class, advances in human health and life expectancy which would have been hard to even imagine a few decades ago. But that technological revolution has also created some pretty significant dilemmas as well: deep inequalities in many parts of the world including my own society, huge growing gaps between rich and poor and the challenge of producing rules of the road to deal with the technological revolution. With increased power of machines, AI and biotechnology – it will be essential to try to adapt existing international institutions, institutions beyond states and governments, which in truth oftentimes reflect the power realities of several decades ago rather than the realities of 2018 – whether it is financial institutions or the United Nations itself.

My third observation is about challenges to order within states. Here you see political systems – whether they're democratic systems or authoritarian systems – struggling with some of those transformative forces, which I described earlier. In democratic systems which put a premium on openness and respect for pluralism, you see a crisis of governance. In Washington today, you see a prime example of that as well – of societies are

struggling to deal with people left behind by globalization and fear increasing inequalities, but also people who are retreating behind more traditional kinds of cultural and ethnic identity in many parts of the world as well. Social media and the technological revolution can tend to create echo-chambers and reinforce that kind of narrow focus on cultural identity rather than connect people, which is the huge possibility of technological change.

And then you also see authoritarian regimes which in many respects are struggling with those same kind of forces, trying on one hand to take advantage of nationalist impulses, tribalism, sectarianism and mercantilism in terms of closing off trade opportunities; but also trying to take advantage of technological tools whether its in China, to use new technology as a way of tightening political control of a system, or in Russia as I mentioned before, taking advantage of technology to bring influence to bear against other countries and other political systems around the world as with the hacking in our 2016 election.

My last observation is about my own country. Americans, as you may have noticed, tend to be self-absorbed sometimes and think that the world revolves around us. The truth is that increasingly it doesn't - we are no longer the dominant power that were during that two-decade unipolar moment and that we were to a large extent during the Cold War. But I would still argue - and I

don't mean this to be a statement of American arrogance - that we are still, or at least we have the potential, to be the preeminent power in the world. Whether it is in terms of objective measures such as military and economic strength, or demography - we are a relatively young and mobile society, if we can ever get immigration reform right - and geography as a source of strength for the United States. Our two liquid assets, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, insulate us to some extent from forces that some other states are more vulnerable too.

When we have used our power and our influence wisely, it has been because of a sense of enlightened self-interest - a sense that our interests, American interests over time, are better served by creating opportunities for other states as well. That is what drove the Marshall plan 70 years ago - the sense that Europe's recovery, France's recovery, was enormously important to long-term American interest. That is what drove the PEP-FAR initiative - billions of dollars of US assistance to support committed leaders and committed civil society activists in Africa and other parts of the world to deal with the scourge of HIV/AIDS, which today has helped to bring the entire planet to the verge of an AIDS free generation.

But what I fear we're seeing today, and have seen over the past year, has much more emphasis on the 'self' part of that equation and far less on the 'enlightened' part. It is a kind of detachment from a

sense of commitment to multilateralism and international order that comes at great peril to the US and also to the prospect of a more just and inclusive international order across the globe. That detachment has already produced the American withdrawal from the Paris Climate Treaty and I think it brings the very real risk of the United States pulling away from the Iran Nuclear agreement, which I helped to negotiate many years ago.

But I think the deeper concern I have is not so much to do with those decisions on the surface, dangerous and reckless as they are, but with what is happening beneath the surface: the corrosion of the American idea, with all our imperfections, the sense to which at least at our best, we've embodied a sense of possibility, mobility, a sense of respect for tolerance and human dignity. What we are seeing runs across that and corrodes it and undermines it as well.

You are also seeing corrosion with regard to another source of American strength, which is a sense of initiative - our willingness not just to invest in alliances and partnerships but to work to mobilize coalitions of countries to deal with some of those significant inequalities and disorders on the international landscape. That is what sets us apart from lonelier great powers like China and Russia today.

There is also the corrosion of institutions beneath the surface like my old institution, the State Department, where

I spent three and a half decades. 30% of our embassies today don't have ambassadors. There is a 30% budget cut that is being discussed in the State Department today and being pushed forward by the administration. There was a 50% decline this past year in the number of applicants to enter the American diplomatic service. There is a hemorrhaging of talent today in the State Department. That tends to reinforce a kind of great inversion in the roles of force and diplomacy where force becomes a tool of first resort simply because it is the most powerful and effective instrument that we have and diplomacy becomes a sort of under-resourced after thought.

(...) I'll try to end on an uplifting note, which may sound a little strange after this litany of challenges and disorders that I described, because I do remain an optimist about what is possible when dealing with inequalities and disorders on the international landscape.

(...) I think tomorrow is going to be very challenging for all of us but I have considerable faith in the resilience of statesmen to try and build a better sense of order among states and to take advantage of the economic interdependence of states and the common challenges, whether of climate, or food, water and health inequalities and other insecurities.

I have a lot of faith in the capacity of all of us to deal with some of those challenges to order beyond states in the sense of harnessing the power and the promise of technology and mitigating its downsides and inevitable dislocations.

I have faith in the resilience within states of open political systems and of democratic systems, as France has demonstrated since its last election, to renew itself and to deal with these challenges. I wonder, to be honest, about the capacity of authoritarian regimes such as China to continue to be able to wall

off a relatively open economic system from a very closed political system as well.

I also have faith in the resilience of my own society, and our capacity beyond the Trump era, to renew ourselves, because I have always thought that for the United States, our influence in the world comes more through our example rather than the power of preaching.

Last but not least, I have a lot of faith in the resilience of the next generation - of all of you, as you embark on what I am sure will be incredibly promising careers in international affairs. (...)

The inheritance that you are going to get from my generation is a very difficult one in many respects but it is also filled with opportunities as well, so I wish you every good fortune in realizing the promise of those opportunities. Thank you. ”





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“ Fighting inequality is about doing what we can, when we can: a constant daily fight, even when, and maybe especially, when people don't want to listen. ”

“ I want to see the power of Trade empowering women in a much greater manner than today. ”

“ Trade is, if used in the right way, a formidable tool for growth and can help the world develop sustainably and inclusively. ”

Cecilia Malmström
Commissioner for Trade,
European Union

Cecilia Malmström

Commissioner for Trade, European Union

“ Ladies and gentlemen, Thank you Mr Dean for the kind introduction and for inviting me here today. It is always nice to visit this distinguished university, from where so many notable alumni have come.

To begin our conversation today, I would like to recall one particular alumna. She was a formidable politician and a great European. The first President of the European Parliament. An Auschwitz survivor who remembered Europe before we had peace. A proud Frenchwoman, one of the 40 immortals of the Académie française. And a pioneer of women's equality in her campaign for legal access to contraception and abortion.

I, of course, am talking about Madame Simone Veil. Another notable alumna of this institution, President Emmanuel Macron, once called her, “The best of France.”

Few people had an impact on France like she did. At just 17 years old, she was deported to a death camp. Her mother, her father and her brother never returned. Only her two sisters survived with her. After the liberation, she came to study at Sciences Po. Somehow she found the strength to overcome all past horrors, and later used her strength to fight for others and their rights.

It is good to look back on the struggles of those who came before us. They inspire and guide us as we are struggling against the great injustices

of our generation; Climate change, racism, inequality. Fighting injustice is not always as exciting as we expect. It is actually rare to experience breakthrough moments. More often, it is about doing what we can, where we can, tirelessly asserting the principles, we believe to be right, and building on the work of those who came before us. Even when people don't want to listen. Especially when people don't want to listen.

In the European Union we do our outmost to contribute to a better world, to protect our citizens, to create possibilities and a future for each and every European. We use different tools to do that.

I work in trade, so that's where I can make an impact. Trade is a formidable tool for growth and it has lifted millions of people out of poverty. Trade agreements are a way to shape globalisation, to put up common rules and increase transparency and predictability.

But it is clear that our citizens want trade to be fair. To be sustainable. To set high standards on consumers' rights, on labour rights, environmental rights and human rights. The European Trade policy is set up in the strategic document “Trade for all”. It states that trade should be efficient, transparent and value based. “Trade for all” means trade for the 99% as well as the 1%. For the 51% as well as the 49%. Trade for men and for women.

Trade matters to women; women matter to trade. 118 WTO members recognised this in Argentina last year. They adopted the Buenos Aires Declaration on Women and Trade. It seeks to remove barriers and foster women's participation in trade. Each woman who benefits from trade, is a woman who can open new markets and new opportunities. Each woman who opens a new market, is a woman who can promote her ideas and support her community. Each woman who can support her community, is a woman who can transform the status of women in that community, and beyond.

Our research suggests that in the EU, the jobs of one in nine women in the workforce depend on exports. That's a lot of jobs. But it still points to a huge gender disparity. For men, the figure is one in six; 50% higher.

we talk about a gender pay gap. There is also a gender gap in trade. We need to fill it, be it with trade and investment, or other complementary policies.

Beyond Europe, trade and investment, when used correctly, can help the world develop sustainably and inclusively. We know that women are poorer than men, so women and girls have less opportunities, less access to finance, education and information. That is why you can have such positive effects, if you engage women in trade. Trade has been positive for women

in export areas such as agriculture. Trade favours women working in service sectors as well. And EU trade agreements can support women in other ways too.

Getting people to accept equality on paper is one thing, but we must continue to push if we want to see it in practice. We can do this in several ways: We could include gender-specific provisions in our bilateral free trade agreements, as we will do with Chile. We can listen to women's groups as we formulate trade-related programmes, and maximise the impact on equality and empowerment. We can get better statistical data – a practice we started when we launched our first quantitative assessment of trade, jobs and gender last year.

In our trade policies, we treat people equally, but just because our policies are gender-neutral doesn't mean they are gender sensitive. I want to see the power of trade empowering women.

Though trade can be used to empower people, many do not feel that trade is working for them. People have concerns about globalisation. And some of their concerns are genuine and legitimate. Populists and nationalists took advantage of this by offering easy answers, and they continue to spread pseudo-solutions in many places around the world. They insist that we can hide behind borders and walls. That there is protection in protectionism. But the EU does not see things this way.

We want to build bridges, not walls. We want to create alli-

ances to work in international fora. We want to defend the Climate agreement. We want to set global rules. We want to trade

Global trade is vital to the EU economy. We are connected to the world in an unprecedented way. Every €1 billion in exports supports 14,000 extra jobs in Europe. 31 million jobs exist because of European exports. And this is not just an abstract number. That is 31 million more people at work. 31 million more people contributing to social safety nets. 31 million more people with peace of mind thanks to global trade. So we need more of these jobs.

We need to make sure globalisation works at home too. Domestic policies of EU Member States need to respond to challenges in education, investment, fiscal and social domains.

The EU has already started to provide some answers. We proposed the European Pillar of Social Rights. These 20 principles, from the right to fair wages to the right to health care, show the EU stands up for the rights of its citizens in a fast changing world.

The EU's regional policy also improves the well-being of citizens. It aims to remove economic, social and territorial inequalities between regions. We cannot rest as long as poverty and injustice exist in Europe. This is not in line with our values. And it is our values that have made the EU the most equal place in the world.

Our “Trade for All” strategy aims to deliver the benefits of

trade to everyone. We do this in several ways:

At the multilateral level, we have secured agreements to fight distortions in agricultural markets, to free up trade in information technology, and to improve access to medicines in the developing world. Last year the Trade Facilitation Agreement, a World Trade Organisation agreement, entered into force.

This modernises customs procedures to help all businesses, including small and medium-sized ones, and the poorest countries, benefit from trade.

At home in Europe, almost 40% of EU exports are now covered by Free Trade Agreements.

This is good for trade and good for businesses. This strengthens our place in global supply chains, and this in turn strengthens businesses, both big and small.

Our free trade agreement with South Korea eliminated almost 99% of customs duties. In the first five years after we implemented it, EU exports increased by 55%.

That means more business, which means more jobs, which means more people with security and peace of mind.

And it does not stop with Korea. Last year, we have provisionally applied a free trade agreement with Canada. European companies can already see the benefits. Another agreement is being finalised with Japan.

And we hope to submit free trade agreements with Singapore and Vietnam for ratification very soon. We are close to finalising our

negotiations with Mexico and Mercosur in Latin America, and we plan to open negotiations with New Zealand and Australia this year.

With these countries we are creating a circle of friends who share our values and want to shape globalisation with fair and sustainable trade.

Some people have the impression that these deals only work for big business.

I would tell them to speak to the Mons family.

They are cheese producers from outside Lyon, here in France, their family company can export more thanks to the Canadian trade agreement.

I would tell them to speak to the staff of Kolbus. A small German book making company, who managed to survive the global financial crisis through their exports to South Korea. And I would tell them to talk to artists, whose intellectual property rights will be protected by our deal with Mexico.

Our agreements today are part of a new generation of trade agreements. That do not sacrifice our standards, whether social, environmental, consumer rights or otherwise. They are modern, values-based agreements, with transparency, high standards, fairness at the core.

We also use trade to fight global inequalities and promote our values across the world.

We help developing countries to grow by giving them access to the European market on an asymmetrical basis, meaning that they do not

have to open their markets in the same way. We support countries who sign up to UN conventions on human rights, environmental cooperation and basic labour rights. We work with them to help the conventions become a reality. We create partnerships between business, trade unions, NGOs and authorities.

After the terrible tragedy in Bangladesh in 2013 when the collapse of a building in Rana Plaza killed over 1000 women and girls, we mobilised and created a compact for the improvement of labour rights and working conditions in the garments industry of Bangladesh. The work is far from over but the situation has improved.

We want trade, but not at any price. Today you can buy terrible things on the market. Spiked clubs, lethal chemicals used for death penalty, electrocution, thumbscrews and even gas chambers.

These products have only one purpose - to torture and kill people. They should be banned.

The European Union last year sharpened its legislation on banning of trade with goods that can be used for this inhumane treatment. They are also banned from transiting the EU through our ports or territory. Last year, I created a Global Alliance with 58 countries across the world who are willing to work together to stop trade in these products. In the country I come from, Sweden, we value openness and transparency. We consider them vital to democracy and freedom. I am proud of what the Commission has done to open up these negotiations.

I am proud that Europe is leading the way on transparent trade negotiations. We now publish all new trade and investment negotiation texts proposals, negotiation round reports and reader-friendly material to explain the deals. And other countries are following that trend.

In February we will set up an Expert group with 14 NGOs and 14 business organisations for consultations on our trade agreements, this way we will make sure EU civil society is well informed, and different voices are heard. So that trade is more inclusive.

And when the European Commission hears a concern, we respond. This is why our trade agreements have such high consumer standards, this is why we have provisions to protect the environment, and this is why we demand our partners respect core labour standards.

This is our own, modest contribution to the fight for a fairer world. Policies that promote equality. A strong economy that everyone benefits from agreements that ensure standards and rights.

I'm sure that you, being in this room today, will have great careers and contributions ahead of you. Some of you will become the policy makers, advocates and leaders of tomorrow. I would encourage you to carry on a spirit of equality into whatever you do. If each of us does that, little by little and building on the work of those who came before, we will all contribute to a better world.

Thank you for your attention. Merci!



> *INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER*

LEFT BEHIND: IS SOMEONE LISTENING?



“If we are sitting in the Titanic, whether we are sitting first class or economic class, we all go to the same destination. This is where we are today. But I do believe that we can find a solution.”

Donald Kaberuka

“Reducing inequalities not only has a positive effect on cohesion, but also on growth. Microcredit is a formidable tool for reducing inequality of opportunities.”

Maria Nowak

“State institutions can use this moment to recover their role as deal-makers, and could find new ways of approaching inequalities to build a new social contract.”

Teresa Ribera

“We need new values: the economy can be used as a tool for better lives. We also need a changed macroeconomic paradigm to reach the SDGs [Sustainable Development Goals]. We need sustainable growth, redistribution, just transition and a new social safety net.”

Luca Visentini

PANEL 1

> INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER

LEFT BEHIND: IS SOMEONE LISTENING?

Introduction

Daniela Dos Santos Quaresma, PSIA student, Master in International Security

Moderator

Steven Erlanger, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent Europe, New York Times

Panelists

Donald Kaberuka, former President of the African Development Bank • former Minister of Finance of Rwanda

Maria Nowak, Founder of ADIE (Association pour le Droit à l'Initiative Economique)

Teresa Ribera, Director of IDDRI • former State Secretary for Climate Change of Spain

Luca Visentini, Secretary General of the European Trade Union Confederation

Who are the “left behind”?

Inequality is one of the main challenges of our times, producing detrimental effects and affecting people all over the globe. However, the institutional response appears still to be insufficient. In the era of globalization and intensified economic interdependence, the distribution of wealth has been characterized by extreme concentration, leading to radical social and political transformations.

In a buzzing yet attentive lecture theatre, one of the main axes of discussion was the nature of the “left behind”. While Luca Visentini and Maria Nowak focused on those left behind within developed countries in recent years, the debate revolved also around inequalities between countries. Donald Kaberuka spoke in broader terms, notably addressing the unequal access to global decision-making fora; as he reminded us, “migration doesn't know who's ‘systemically important’”. He identified the European migration crisis as the most visible manifestation of this North/South fracture.

Free trade and sustainable development

The panel discussed the limits of global free trade in the post-Cold-War era. Teresa Ribera argued that while trade has enabled an unprecedented creation of wealth, it has been accompanied by inadequate controls on its distribution. Sustainable development was an afterthought, and as a result the benefits of economic globalization did not live up to expectations across the developing world. She framed the problem as one of allocation, not scarcity.

Mr Kaberuka acknowledged the progress that has been achieved over the past fifty years, both in terms of economic growth and of human development. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were referred to as a useful roadmap, and Mr Kaberuka identified the transition from “good design” to “good execution” as the next main policy challenge.

Mr Visentini highlighted the link between inequality and unemployment, a major challenge for Europe at the moment. The intensified economic interdependence resulting from free trade has left some

workers behind, and panelists agreed that the Left had failed to articulate convincing counter-narratives to both neoliberalism and isolationism.

Future prospects

In a context of globalisation and digitalisation, Mrs Novak believed financial inclusion to be fundamental to the tackling of inequalities. By improving equality of opportunities, microcredit initiatives and business development services should be expanded, putting the left behind in a position to reap the benefits of the global market. She stressed the importance of civil society in shaping institutions and norms, promoting greater inclusion and greater equality of opportunities.

Mr Visentini favoured a change in the macroeconomic paradigm, as only this way can “the economy be used as a tool for better lives”. Responding to an audience question about the EU's trade agenda in relation to Africa, he specifically addressed Commissioner Malmström when advocating a shift from free trade competition to economic cooperation. In his view a new narrative and a new order of values directly addressing the weaknesses of the current economic system are needed.

As Mrs Ribera put it, “State institutions can use this moment to recover their role as deal-makers, and could find new ways of approaching inequalities to build a new social contract.” It is this willingness of states and organisations to act that is vital to provide a fair deal for those left behind.

Panel Summary by
Tullio Ambrosone, Michael Forte, Odysseas Konstantinikos
PSIA Students, Master in European Affairs



> *INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER*

DOES INEQUALITY CAUSE CONFLICT?

Journalist • former Editor in chief, L'Express

#YLSummit18



“When I read that there are 8 men who own as much as 3.6 billion people, there is something terribly wrong - let's not kid ourselves.”

Mohamed ElBaradei

“Inequality very seldom comes alone. It brings with it a lot of other ills, like corruption, humiliation and domination.”

Lakhdar Brahimi

“Economics alone does not explain much. It's always interacting with some original level of grievance.”

Philippe Martin

DOES INEQUALITY CAUSE CONFLICT?

Introduction

Serafine Dinkel, *Master in International Security, PSIA*

Moderator

Christine Ockrent, *journalist, former Editor in chief of L'Express*

Panelists

Mohamed El-Baradei, *Nobel Peace Prize laureate • former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency*

Lakhdar Brahimi, *Elder, former UN Special Envoy for Syria • former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria*

Philippe Martin, *Professor of Economics, Sciences Po*



When economics is not the only answer

It's undeniable: in the past century, humankind has progressed incredibly on its path to eradicating extreme poverty and many international conflicts have successfully been avoided. On the other hand, as prominent French journalist Christine Ockrent rightly pointed out in her introduction, a paradox seems to have emerged: the general decrease in global poverty has been accompanied by a worrisome level of economic inequality and wars have been replaced by local conflicts, with civilians as the main victims.

Renowned economist Philippe Martin was called upon to explain this tendency through the hard lens of data and economic research. In analysing whether economic inequalities – and, in particular, income shocks – are linked to conflict escalation, the Sciences Po professor made a distinction that is fundamental: that between vertical and horizontal inequalities.

While researchers have consistently found that vertical inequalities – those existing among individuals' incomes – very rarely cause societal conflict, the same is not always true when

it comes to horizontal inequalities. Indeed, studies concentrating on inequalities between different groups with a strong identity (may it be linguistic, ethnic or religious) have shown that disparity and perceived injustice does in fact often lead to an escalation in violence.

Admitting the limits of economics in this research field, Martin recalled that, even when income inequalities play a part, they are always intertwined with original, specific reasons of grievance that lie at the core of inter-group conflict.

The vital role of enlightened leadership

Martin's words were soon echoed by Lakhdar Brahimi, former UN Special Envoy for Syria, member of the Elders and skilled diplomat. "My hunch is that inequality alone does not necessarily lead to conflict. But on the other hand, inequality very seldom comes alone. It brings a lot of other ills, like corruption, humiliation, domination...and the combination of that kind of inequality with this kind of ill is what creates conflict," he said.

From the civil rights movement in the US to

South Africa's struggle with apartheid, Brahimi placed attention on an often-unsung factor that prevented cases of blatant inequality to turn in full-fledged conflicts: enlightened leadership. Responsibility and perseverance in the face of a constant threat of escalation are, according to Brahimi, more relevant factors than economic aspects when it comes to what causes and what prevents conflict from breaking out.

How inequality mirrors neglect

After agreeing that, indeed, economic disparity is just a lateral aspect of what fuels inequality and that a lack of leadership is at the root of many unresolved contemporary conflicts, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Mohamed El Baradei reminded the audience of the several, ugly faces of inequality.

Far from just pertaining to the economic field, inequality touches gender relations, social and political freedoms and living conditions. In 2018, one third of humanity lives under authoritarian regimes and millions of people

have no access to sufficient food or water. Even when these evident injustices are denounced by NGOs or UN bodies, they are met with eloquent silence. The reason, El Baradei claims, lies in a simple, yet embarrassing question: "If someone is dying in Congo, do we react the same as if they were dying in Vancouver or Paris?"

This inequality in interest – or in neglect – from the world is what worried the former Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency as he moved on to speak about his field of expertise: nuclear disarmament. Although talks on disarmament have been going on for decades and treaties have been signed on the matter, nuclear proliferation still seems a pressing topic as ever, as more and more nuclear-armed countries prove to be unreliable. This, claimed El Baradei, is one of the reasons behind the current anti-globalist trend, as many people fail to trust the State enough and stop identifying with it, instead turning to smaller "families".

Panel Summary by
Viola Serena Stefanello

PSIA Student, Master in Journalism and International Affairs

> *INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER*

WHY ARE INSTITUTIONS FAILING?



“Territorial inequalities: your chance for social mobility depends greatly on where you live. The urban is becoming more and more important for limiting inequalities, but is becoming less and less accessible.”

Patrick Le Galès

“Institutions that should be dealing with these inequalities are weak, both at an international and national level. This is particularly true in the case of aiding tax evasion.”

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala

“When powerful institutions have badly designed frameworks, we create a chain reaction that leads to inequality and to the diminishment of our democratic processes.”

Yanis Varoufakis

PANEL 3

> INEQUALITIES AND WORLD (DIS)ORDER

WHY ARE INSTITUTIONS FAILING?

Introduction

Adam Fifield, *Master in International Development*

Moderator

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

Panelists

Patrick Le Galès, *Professor of Political Science, Sciences Po • Dean, School of Urbanism, Sciences Po*

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, *Chair, Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization • former Managing Director, World Bank • former Minister of Finance, Nigeria*

Yanis Varoufakis, *Founder, DiEM25 • former Minister of Finance, Greece*

An underlying presumption

In his opening remarks, Steven Erlanger noted that discussion would rest on the rather large presumption that institutions were failing. As proceedings began, it became clear that such presumption was merited.

The panelists showed that institutional failings had led to inequality in a number of areas. Yanis Varoufakis lambasted the “madness” of Eurozone institutions in their handling of the Greek financial crisis; Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala pinned chronic underdevelopment in sub-Saharan Africa on failure to tackle the global network of tax evasion; and Patrick Le Galès claimed that the housing crisis unraveling in cities across the world was another manifestation of institutional failure.

Rigidity and reform

A common theme throughout the panel discussion was the need for institutions to adapt to an ever-modernizing world. Institutions are often too slow to keep pace with change. Evolution of the global economy since the collapse of the Bretton

Woods system in 1971 has been substantial. There was a turn towards neoliberalism and financialization; new powers such as China and India have risen; and the steady march of automation continues. The global financial crisis in 2008 demonstrated the need for strong institutions, with central banks having to bail out private financiers.

According to Okonjo-Iweala, the disproportionate influence of the United States at the World Bank, relative to the marginal voting share afforded to China undermines the legitimacy of the institution altogether. While admitting that her former employer was partly culpable for the spread of global inequality in the 70s and 80s, Okonjo-Iweala said that global institutions like the World Bank and IMF are at least beginning to recognize inequality as a serious problem.

Varoufakis highlighted the poor institutional design of the Eurozone, which he argued lacks the institutional capacity to absorb the shock of bursting financial bubbles, inevitable in the modern era of capitalism.

For Le Galès on the other hand, it was not

just international and national regulatory institutions that should bear responsibility for the spiraling inequality. Cooperation between global elites, using their combined influence to push through self-interested reforms, continually fails to address inequality. A fall in corporation tax across the EU is a sign of this according to the professor.

The role of Capitalism

The floor was eventually opened to the audience, who were bursting with questions, even at the end of a long day. One student asked the panel to address the “elephant in the amphitheater” – capitalism. Could the failure of

institutions to tackle inequality justify a change of our entire economic system?

Varoufakis certainly thinks so. Reflecting on his own struggle and broader history, the former Greek finance minister reasoned that our responses to economic crises should be democratic. He followed this by arguing that capitalism is inconsistent with democracy and that it will one day destroy itself.

Revolution or not, all panelists agreed that a massive redistribution of wealth and improved safety nets are necessary to address inequality. For this task, global institutions will be vital.

Panel Summary by

Sam Bradpiece

PSIA Student, Master in Journalism and International Affairs



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Petra BEZDEKOVA, Czech Republic, Greeter
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YOUTH & LEADERS

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“PSIA excels at bridging the gap between theory and practice. In my experience, this is ideal for future leaders who aim to thrive as innovative and responsible actors of a challenging global world.”

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

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YOUTH & LEADERS

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