A world of two or three? The US, China and the EU in a new global order

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For the last few years the fault-lines dividing the United States and the People’s Republic of China seem not only to consolidate but to deepen further. Some voices suggest that we might be on the edge of the formation of a new bipolar system with dynamics mimicking those of the Cold War in the 20th Century between the US and the USSR. From trade wars to technological competition the effects of their current incipient contest are already affecting the contours of the global order. Amid the potential clash between Washington and Beijing, the European Union is asking itself whether it could become a third global pole in its own right and if it is interested in it to happen. After the Parliamentary elections in May 2019 and the constitution of the new EU Commission, new European leaderships must take strategic decisions on what the role of the European Union amid this contest should be. At the same time, Russia also tries to play a leading role in shaping the new world order. What should the EU do in order to secure its positions as a third independent voice? How would transatlantic relations be reshaped in this context? A new distribution of power might come hand-in-hand with substantial changes in the international order. How would the global liberal order change in light of a tripolar distribution of power? Is there anything different the EU can offer amid this change?

09.30 Opening
Laia Bonet, Third Deputy Mayor, Barcelona City Council

09.45 Introduction
Antoni Segura, Chairman of the Board, CIDOB
Javier Solana, Honorary Chairman of the Board, CIDOB; President, EsadeGeo

10.00 The United States, China and the new global order
A discussion between:
Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House
Heather A. Conley, Vice President for Europe, Eurasia, and the Arctic, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Shaoguang Wang, Emeritus Professor, Chinese University of Hong Kong
Dmitri Trenin, Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow Center

Chaired and moderated by:
Judy Dempsey, Senior Fellow, Carnegie Europe; Editor in Chief, Strategic Europe

Followed by a debate between the speakers

11.15 Coffee break

11.45 A third pole? Articulating an EU’s voice for the new political cycle
A discussion between:
Ferdinando Nelli, President, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)
Shada Islam, Director of Europe and Geopolitics, Friends of Europe
Philippe Le Corre, Research Associate, Ash Center and Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, Harvard Kennedy School
Cristina Gallach, High Commissioner for the 2030 Agenda of Spain; former UN Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information (2014-2017)

Chaired and moderated by:
Anna Bosch, Foreign Affairs Correspondent, TVE

Followed by a debate between the speakers

13.00 Debate with the audience

13.45 Closing Remarks
Pol Morillas, Director, CIDOB

Working language: English
Participants’ bios

**Laia Bonet**
Deputy Mayor for Agenda 2030, Digital Transition, Sports, Territorial and Metropolitan Coordination of Barcelona City Council. She graduated in Law and was Professor of Administrative Law (Pompeu Fabra University) and Professor of Communications Law (Blanquerna University). She was Secretary of the Government of Catalonia from 2007 to 2010, and Member of the Catalan Parliament from 2010 to 2012, where she was deputy spokesperson of the Socialist Group.

**Anna Bosch**
Senior Foreign Affairs Correspondent at TVE (Spain’s Public Broadcaster). She is former Correspondent in Moscow (1998-2000), Washington DC (2004-2009) and London (2009-2013). She has been covering international affairs for almost three decades, focusing mainly on Europe and the United States. In 1992 she was part of the team that created Euronews, the panceuropean news TV channel based in Lyon (France). In Moscow she covered the end of Yeltsin’s years and Putin’s first ones: the second war in Chechnya, the sinking of the submarine Kursk and the Dubrovka Theater hostage crisis. In Washington, George W. Bush’s second mandate, the raising of Barack Obama to the White House and the election of Donald Trump. She’s been covering the peace process in Northern Ireland since the 90’s.

**Heather A. Conley**
Senior vice president for Europe, Eurasia, and the Arctic and director of the Europe Program at CSIS. Prior to joining CSIS as a senior fellow and director for Europe in 2009, Conley served four years as executive director of the Office of the Chairman of the Board at the American National Red Cross. From 2001 to 2005, she was deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs with responsibilities for U.S. bilateral relations with the countries of Northern and Central Europe. From 1994 to 2001, she was a senior associate with an international consulting firm led by former U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard L. Armitage. Ms. Conley began her career in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. She was selected to serve as special assistant to the coordinator of U.S. assistance to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, and she has received two State Department Meritorious Honor Awards. Ms. Conley is frequently featured as a foreign policy analyst and Europe expert on CNN, MSNBC, BBC, NPR, and PBS, among other prominent media outlets. She received her B.A. in international studies from West Virginia Wesleyan College and her M.A. in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

**Judy Dempsey**
**Cristina Gallach**

**High Commissioner for the 2030 Agenda of Spain**, she is former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, head of Information and Communication under Javier Solana at NATO and Secretary-General of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. She was spokesperson in Brussels for the Spanish Presidency of the EU in 2010, at the time of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. She was also responsible for Public Relations of the Council of the EU, with particular dedication to the dissemination of policies and the role of European institutions in the academic world, where she is a frequent speaker, and at study and debate centres.

**Shada Islam**

**Director of Europe and Geopolitics at Friends of Europe**, a renowned and influential independent think tank based in Brussels. Ms Islam has spent most of her professional life researching, writing and speaking about the European Union's relations with Asia. She has built up a reputation in both Asia and Europe as a leading commentator, analyst and writer as well as a fresh and original thought leader on EU-Asia relations. Last year, Ms Islam was selected as one of the 20 most influential women in Brussels by the magazine Politico. She is also a Solvay Fellow at the Vrije University Brussel (VUB). As a correspondent for over 20 years for Asia’s leading news weekly “The Far Eastern Economic Review”, Ms Islam has acquired an in-depth knowledge and unique insights into the policies and priorities of governments, business and civil society actors in both Asia and Europe. As such, her opinions and advice are much sought-after by Asian and European governments, including the European Union institutions and the European External Action Service as well as business, civil society and academia. She is a regular speaker at international conferences and is a frequent lecturer at academic symposia in both Asia and Europe. She is often interviewed by international media. Ms Islam set up Friends of Europe's very successful Asia Programme in 2011, rapidly making it into one of Europe's most influential knowledge platforms on EU-Asia relations. Earlier, after working as a senior journalist and commentator, Ms Islam joined the European Policy Centre think tank in Brussels in 2007 where she was also responsible for EU-Asia relations. She has a Master's Degree in Journalism and Social Communication from the Universite Libre de Bruxelles. Ms Islam writes regularly on Europe and Asia in her Frankly Speaking columns for Friends of Europe.

**Philippe Le Corre**

**Research Associate with the Ash Center and the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government (M-RCBG) at the Harvard Kennedy School.** He was a M-RCBG Senior Fellow from 2017-2019. In addition, he is a non-resident Senior Fellow in the Asia and Europe programs at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and an Associate in Research at the John, K. Fairbank for Chinese Studies at Harvard. Philippe Le Corre's research interests include China's geostrategic rise, Sino-European and transatlantic relations, Chinese outbound foreign direct investments and competition in Eurasia and Asia-Pacific. From 2014 to 2017, he was a Visiting Fellow with The Brookings Institution in Washington D.C. Le Corre previously served as Special Assistant and Counsellor for international affairs to the French Minister of Defense and as Senior Policy Analyst on Northeast Asia within the Ministry of Defense's directorate for strategy. He was also a Partner with Publicis Groupe, where he ran a team of consultants advising the Shanghai World Expo 2010. He started his career as a foreign correspondent based in Asia from 1988 to 1998. Le Corre received an MSc in Asian Studies from the National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations in Paris, and holds an MA in political science from the Sorbonne. He was a 2003-2004 Fellow with the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (WCFIA) at Harvard. He was awarded a Sachs Scholarship for his WCFIA fellowship.
Pol Morillas  
*Director of CIDOB,* Associate Professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), where he teaches European Foreign Policy and the Theory of International Relations, and a member of the Observatori de Política Exterior Europea. He is a political scientist with a PhD in Politics, Policies and International Relations from the UAB and a master’s in International Relations from the London School of Economics. Previously, he has been Head of the Euro-Mediterranean Policies field at the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed), Coordinator of the Political and Security Committee of the Council of the EU, and Advisor on External Action at the European Parliament. His numerous published research papers for academic journals and think tanks, like his opinion articles, cover the dynamics of European integration, the institutional developments of EU external action, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the EU's security strategies and Euro-Mediterranean relations, among other subjects. His latest book is “Strategy-Making in the EU: From Foreign and Security Policy to External Action” published by Palgrave Macmillan.

Ferdinando Nelli  
*President of the IAI.* A diplomat from 1972 to 2013, he was Permanent Representative of Italy to the European Union in Brussels (2008-13), Chief of Staff (2006-08) and Director General for European Integration (2004-06) at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served in New York at the United Nations, in Algiers, Paris and Beijing. He also served as Diplomatic Counsellor of the Vice President of the Italian Council of Ministers (1998). In June 2014 he was appointed to the post of European Commissioner in the Commission chaired by Manuel Barroso to replace Antonio Tajani, a position he held until the end of the mandate of the Commission on 1 November 2014. Formerly a Fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (1985-86), and Visiting Professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples (1989), he is currently a professor at the School of Government of LUISS, Rome. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs and political affairs.

Robin Niblett  
*He has led Chatham House since January 2007.* Previously he was executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) from 2001 to 2006. During his last two years at CSIS, he also served as director of the CSIS Europe Program and its Initiative for a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership. He is a frequent panellist at conferences and events around the world and has testified on a number of occasions to the House of Commons Defence Select Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as US Senate and House of Representatives committees on European Affairs. He received his BA, MPhil and DPhil from Oxford University.

Antoni Segura  
*President of CIDOB.* Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Barcelona (UB) and Director of the Centre for International Historical Studies at the UB till September 2016. Specialized in conflict analysis, he has authored and edited numerous books and research articles: “The Spanish Transition and the Arab Spring” (IEMED, Barcelona, 2012); “Estados Unidos, el islam y el nuevo orden mundial” (2013); “Soldiers, Bombs and Rifles: Military History of the 20th Century” (2013); “From Cold War to Asymmetric Conflicts: Players, Values and Characteristics of Wars in the Second Half of 20th Century (1945-2012)” (2013); “La crisi dels refugiats i els nous conflictes armats” (2016); and “Del Acuerdo Sykes-Picot al Estado Islámico” (2016). He is a member of the Advisory Board of the Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed). He has been a member of the Advisory Board of Casa Árabe- International Institute of Arabic Studies and the Muslim World (2006-2012), and a member of the Governing Body of the Catalan International Institute for Peace (ICIP) (2008-2011). He is the Director of the journal *Índice Histórico Español.*
Javier Solana
President of ESADE Center for Global Economy and Geopolitics (Barcelona-Madrid). He is distinguished fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings Institution, senior fellow at the Hertie School of Governance (Berlin), chairman of the Aspen Institute Spain, honorary president of the Centre for Human Dialogue (Geneva), and advisor to the Institute of Modern International Relations of Tsinghua University. He is also member of the board of the International Crisis Group and the European Council on Foreign Relations, as well as visiting professor at the London School of Economics, where he was awarded an Honorary Degree in December 2010. From 1999 to 2009, Dr. Solana was Secretary General of the Council of the European Union (EU); and from 1995 to 1999, Secretary General of NATO. Dr. Solana is the former High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union. Prior to this, he has held several ministerial positions in the Spanish government, including Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Dmitri Trenin
PhD, he has been the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center since 2008, and was the first Russian to be appointed to this position. He is also a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was also the first non-NATO senior fellow at the NATO Defense College (1993) and, upon retirement from the military, a visiting professor at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (1993–1994). In 1994–1997, Trenin was also a senior research fellow at the Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences. Dmitri Trenin received his PhD from the Institute of the USA and Canada, Soviet Academy of Sciences (1984). At Carnegie, Dmitri Trenin chairs the Foreign and Security Policy Program. He is the author of more than 10 books, including: What is Russia up to in the Middle East?; Should We Fear Russia?; Russia and the World in the 21st Century; Unconditional Peace: 21st Century Euro-Atlantic as a Security Community; Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story; Solo Voyage; Getting Russia Right; Central Asia: The Views from Washington, Moscow, and Beijing; Integration and Identity: Russia as a New West; and others. Dmitri Trenin is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the Russian International Affairs Council, the Russian International Studies Association, and other organizations.

Shaoguang Wang
He is the Emeritus Professor of the Department of Government and Public Administration at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, and a non-official member of HKSAR’s Commission on Strategic Development. He taught at Tijiao High School in Wuhan, China from 1972 to 1977 and at Yale University in the United States from 1990 to 2000. His research interests include political economy, comparative politics, fiscal politics, democratization, and economic and political development in former socialist countries and East Asian countries.