BERGGRUEN INSTITUTE

Five Year Anniversary Edition

OUR MISSION

THE BERGGRUEN INSTITUTE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 2010 WITH A MISSION TO DEVELOP FOUNDATIONAL IDEAS, AND THROUGH THEM, SHAPE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY.

In the age of technology and globalization, critical analysis of our systems and the beliefs on which they are founded is required.

As an international "think and action" network, we seek to bring together the best minds and most authoritative voices from across cultural and political boundaries to address the core challenges of our era – from global governance to what it means to be human in an age of technology.

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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN

The Berggruen Institute was founded five years ago to foster new thinking about the most consequential social and political issues of our day. As an action and think tank, our mission is also to promote the innovative design of governing institutions and media to meet those challenges.

In many ways, our most audacious projects have been our most successful. Through the 21st Century Council, we have built a critical bridge between China and the rest of the world in our "Understanding China" series of meetings with President Xi Jinping and the top leadership of that major rising power. The many "town hall" meetings from Madrid to Berlin hosted by our Council for the Future of Europe have provided a rare forum where top leaders can meet to map a common destiny. The Think Long Committee for California sponsored legislation that reformed the citizen ballot initiative for the first time in 80 years. In the two short years since it was launched in Davos, The WorldPost, our partnership with the Huffington Post, has become a place "where the whole world meets" by bringing together contributors from all over the planet onto a daily platform for the global cross-pollination of ideas. Our recently announced $1 million Philosophy Prize, which will be awarded for the first time this year, promises to place socially and politically transformative ideas on center stage of the public discourse. Our fellows hosted by universities from Stanford to Tsinghua promote East-West understanding through intellectual exchanges.

Thanks to the commitment and active engagement of our members and the labors of our dedicated staff, we have accomplished a great deal in a short time. This report marks only the beginning of the achievements we are confident the Berggruen Institute will continue to attain in the coming years.

NICOLAS BERGGRUEN
Chairman, Berggruen Institute

CELEBRATING 5 YEARS

Nicolas Berggruen Institute and its 21st Century Council founded

SEPTEMBER 2010

Think Long Committee kickoff meeting with Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger

OCTOBER 2010

Blueprint for California published, Think Long Committee

NOVEMBER 2011

Think Long Committee meets with Governor Jerry Brown

MARCH 2011

Council for the Future of Europe founded; inaugural event in Brussels

SEPTEMBER 2011

Meeting with President Calderón in Mexico City, 21st Century Council

MAY 2012

Meeting with President Sarkozy in Paris, 21st Century Council

OCTOBER 2011

Intelligent Governance for the 21st Century: A Middle Way Between West and East written by Nicolas Berggruen and Nathan Gardels is published

NOVEMBER 2012

Berlin Town Hall, Council for the Future of Europe

OCTOBER 2012

First "Understanding China" meeting with President Xi Jinping and the 21st Century Council in Beijing

NOVEMBER 2013

Paris Town Hall, Council for the Future of Europe

MAY 2013

Berggruen Institute and Huffington Post launch The WorldPost

JANUARY 2014

"Project Europe" Town Hall in Madrid, Council for the Future of Europe

FEBRUARY 2014

Governor Jerry Brown signs initiative reform SB1253 – the first major change to California's initiative process in four decades – in victory for Think Long Committee

SEPTEMBER 2014

European Commission Investment Offensive to boost jobs and growth – draws from Council for the Future of Europe's jobs plan

NOVEMBER 2014

Purchase of Monteverdi land for future Berggruen Institute campus

FEBRUARY 2015

Philosophy and Culture Center launched – center seeks to develop new ideas and encourage fresh thinking across cultures and disciplines

SEPTEMBER 2015

WorldPost Future of Work Conference in London explores how technology is revolutionizing work

MARCH 2015

Second "Understanding China" meeting with President Xi Jinping and the 21st Century Council in Beijing

NOVEMBER 2015

21ST
CENTURY
COUNCIL

THE CONTEXT

The 2008 financial crisis revealed how tightly tethered the advanced and emerging economies had become. At the G-20 Summit in London in 2009, then-British prime minister Gordon Brown rallied the major countries of that inclusive group in a collective agreement to avoid a global depression. At that moment, it appeared that the G-20 had become an effective coordinating body for globalization.

As the immediate effects of the crisis subsided, so did the influence of the G-20 as the world became even more fragmented. Europe turned inward to cope with its own debt crisis. Russia invaded Crimea and conflict arose between the U.S.-led alliance system in East Asia and China's newly assertive posture in the South China Sea.

In short, the prospect of global cooperation had deteriorated into the potential for a new bloc system that would once again divide the world, with Russia and China on one side, and the U.S. and its allies on the other.

OUR WORK

21ST CENTURY COUNCIL

The 21st Century Council brings together prominent statesmen and women, global thinkers and tech-titans to address the challenges arising as power shifts from Western-dominated globalization to a multipolar world.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Nicolas Berggruen, Ernesto Zedillo speak with President Xi Jinping and State Councilor Yang Jiechi at the Great Hall of the People, in Beijing China, November 2013; Nicolas Berggruen and former President Nicolas Sarkozy, at the meeting of the 21st Century Council in Zürich, Switzerland, January 2013; Meeting with Henry Kissinger in New York, September 2015; Former Vice President Al Gore meets with in Paris, October 2011; former UK Prime Minister, Gordon Brown at the meeting in Mexico, 2012.

The aim of the Council, in the words of our Chinese member, Zheng Bijian, is to "build on a convergence of interests in order to create a community of interests."

A key forum for achieving this aim is the G-20, which includes leaders of both the advanced and emerging economies constituting 2/3 of the global population and 3/4 of the global GDP. To that end, the 21st Century Council meets when appropriate with the chair of the annual G-20 summit to help shape the agenda.

The Council met in Paris in 2011 with then-President Nicolas Sarkozy when France chaired the G-20 and in Mexico City in 2012 with then-President Felipe Calderon (and his successor, Enrique Peña Nieto) when Mexico was the chair.

Since China and the U.S. are the pivotal powers that will shape that convergent future, we also hold regular meetings with President Xi Jinping and China's other top leaders.

In November 2013 on the eve of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, we held our first "Understanding China" conference in Beijing with President Xi Jinping.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Meeting of the 21st Century Council in New York September 2015 (from left to right) Nouriel Roubini, Hugh White, Nicolas Berggruen, Paul Keating, Henry Kissinger, Jared Cohen, Nathan Gardels, Shaukat Aziz, Dambisa Moyo, Eric Schmidt, Felipe Gonzalez. Founder of LinkedIn Reid Hoffman, Dawn Nakagawa, Evan Spiegel, Nicolas Berggruen at the Understanding China conference, November 2015; President Xi Jinping of China speaking to the 21st Century Council and guests at the Great Hall of the people, November 2015.

At that time, President Xi told the group: "The Chinese Dream can only be realized by engaging in today's interdependent world…the more developed China becomes, the more open it will be. It is impossible for China to shut the door that has already been opened. "

> It is impossible for China to shut the door that has already been opened.

In the second gathering of the Understanding China series we discussed the most controversial issues with a wide array of officials, including the "rule of law" with the Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court and "freedom and order" in cyberspace with Lu Wei, the Internet czar.

In his comments, President Xi Jinping emphasized that, for China to meet its goals, it would have to avoid the "Thucydides trap" of a rising power falling into conflict with the established powers and "cement" the role of the G-20, which China will chair in 2016, in fostering cooperation on global growth. At the request of President Xi's top economic adviser, Liu He, a working group of the 21st Century Council submitted recommendations for the 2016 G-20 agenda.

NATHAN GARDELS:
China's New Five-Year Plan Embraces the Third Industrial Revolution

There is a core challenge for the Communist Party as it tries to shift from the Second Industrial Revolution to the third: innovation entails steady disruption while the Party seeks above all to maintain stability. It is not easy to see how you can both clamp down and "purify" the Internet by limiting the flow of information, as Xi has called for, while at the same time extolling "Internet Plus" innovation. Can "Internet Plus" and "Internet minus" go together? Where the Chinese authorities decide to draw the line between "freedom" and "order," as we discussed with Internet czar Lu Wei in Beijing, will determine the scope of innovation-based prosperity.

WANG ZHAO via Getty Images

Getty Images

KEVIN RUDD:
How Ancient Chinese Thought Applies Today

Xi would also be aware of the following phrase in the "Methods of the Sima" which warns: "Even though calm may prevail under Heaven, those who forget warfare will certainly be endangered."

This, of course, goes to the military preparation in which all countries engage to safeguard their national security. In this respect, the "Methods of the Sima" is a text which balances a strong preference for peace, good government and sound administration with a parallel recognition that military preparedness is equally necessary.

FU YING:
How Chinese and Americans Are Misreading Each Other – And Why It Matters

The most pronounced aspect of the structural difficulty is America's rejection of China's political system and its impact. With different cultural traditions and political histories, countries tend to view and judge others from their own perspective. In the eyes of many Americans, China values collective interests and lacks democracy and human rights, while in the eyes of many in China, the Americans, who believe in individual rights, have a natural tendency to engineer political evolution in other countries, and therefore we need to be on guard. These oversimplified perceptions have put the two countries at two ends of the world, running parallel and never seeming to converge.

China.org.cn

21st Century Council Members

Shaukat Aziz, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan

Nicolas Berggruen, Founder and Chairman, Berggruen Institute

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Former President of Brazil

Juan Luis Cebrián, Chairman of PRISA and EL PAIS

Jack Dorsey, Co-Founder and Executive Chairman of Twitter and Co-Founder and CEO of Square

Mohamed El-Erian, Former CEO and co-CIO of PIMCO

Francis Fukuyama, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University

Felipe Gonzàlez, Former Prime Minister of Spain

John Gray, Emeritus Professor of European Thought, London School of Economics

Reid Hoffman, Co-Founder and Executive Chairman of LinkedIn Corporation and Partner at Greylock Partners

Seok-Hyun Hong, Chairman and CEO of JoongAng Media Network

Fred Hu, Chairman and Founder of Primavera Capital Group

Arianna Huffington, Chair, President and Editor-in-Chief of The Huffington Post Media Group

Chad Hurley, Co-Founder and CEO of AVOS Systems

Mohamed Ibrahim, Global Expert in Mobile Communications

Walter Isaacson, President and CEO of the Aspen Institute

Alexei Kudrin, Former Russian Minister of Finance

Ricardo Lagos, Former President of Chile

Pascal Lamy, Former Director General of the World Trade Organization

Eric X. Li, Founder and Managing Director of Chengwei Capital

Kishore Mahbubani, Former President of the UN General Assembly

Paul Martin, Former Prime Minister of Canada

Alain Minc, Founder of A.M. Conseil

Festus Mogae, Former President of Bostwana

Dambisa Moyo, International Economist

Elon/ Musk, CEO and Product Architect of Tesla Motors and CEO/CTO of SpaceX

Pierre Omidyar, Founder and Chairman of eBay

Park Won-Soon, Mayor of Seoul, Korea

Raghuram Rajan, 23rd Governor of the Reserve Bank of India

Nouriel Roubini, Chairman and Co-Founder of Roubini Global Economics

Nicolas Sarkozy, Former President of the French Republic

Eric Schmidt, Executive Chairman of Google Inc.

Gerhard Schröder, Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

Peter Schwartz, SVP at Salesforce.com and Co-Founder of Global Business Network

Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate of Economic Sciences

Jeff Skoll, Founder and Chairman of Participant Media and Skoll Foundation

Patrick Soon-Shiong, Chairman and CEO of NantWorks, LLC.

Michael Spence, Nobel Laureate, Economic Sciences

Evan Spiegel, Co-founder and CEO of Snapchat

Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel Laureate, Economic Sciences

Lawrence Summers, Former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury

HRH Prince Turki bin Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, Former Governor of Riyadh

Laura Tyson, Former Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors, Clinton Administration

Wu Jianmin, Executive Vice Chairman of the China Institute for Innovation and Development Strategy

George Yeo, Former Foreign Minister of Singapore

Tadashi Yanai, Chairman, President, and CEO of Fast Retailing Co. LTD.

Fareed Zakaria, Host of CNN's Fareed Zakaria GPS and Editor at Large of TIME

Ernesto Zedillo, Former President of Mexico

Ahmed Zewail, Nobel Laureate, Chemistry

Zhang Lei, Founder, Chairman and CEO of Hillhouse Capital Management Group

Zheng Bijian, Chairman of the China Institute for Innovation and Development

OPPOSITE: Co-Founder of the Berggruen Institute Nathan Gardels.

ABOVE: President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico and Dambisa Moyo in Mexico City, 2012

LEFT: Fred Hu and Shaukat Aziz at Understanding China conference 2013.

COUNCIL
FOR THE
FUTURE
OF
EUROPE

COUNCIL FOR THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

A small group of the region's most eminent political figures engages in research, debate and advocacy to move forward the project of a united Europe.

OPPOSITE: Former Prime Minister of Italy, Mario Monti in Brussels, December 2014

THIS PAGE - CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Students from Sciences Po at the Paris Town Hall event, May 2013; Former Prime Minister, Tony Blair, speaking at Berlin Town Hall, October 2012; former Chancellor of Germany, Gerhard Schröder

THE CONTEXT

In 2010, the euro zone was in crisis. High levels of public debt among several euro zone members, particularly Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, were shaking the bonds of the union. The threat of default among those hardest hit raised the specter of bank failure and the potential for a second crisis in 3 years for the still fragile global financial system.

Europe's financial crisis precipitated its political crisis. Slow growth and high levels of unemployment – which was as high as 50% among young people in Spain – have led the public to distrust Europe's financial institutions. European elections across member states have generally seen establishment candidates losing ground to anti-establishment nationalist and populist parties. Between member states, suspicion and resentment has reached toxic levels as northern states condemn southern states for fiscal mismanagement and lax discipline and southern states blame northern states, led by Germany, for imposing crippling austerity measures. More recently, the migrant crisis has proven the latest challenge, as European states determine how to respond to the unprecedented number of immigrants from the Middle East seeking asylum across their borders. In short, Europe's crisis is not merely an economic or political crisis – it is a crisis of identity.

OUR WORK

In September 2011, as the Greece sovereign debt crisis spread financial panic across Europe, the Berggruen Institute established the Council on the Future of Europe. The Council is comprised of 29 prominent European statesmen, former heads of government, top economists and historians.

The key theme that emerged in the very first meeting in Brussels – "Europe is the solution not the problem" – remains the cornerstone of the Council's activities. Early on, the Council recognized that while the euro zone crisis could only ultimately be solved by moving toward a fiscal and political union, European institutions lacked the legitimacy to get there. Only fully engaging European citizens by democratizing how the European Commission is chosen would enable the necessary – if limited – transfer of sovereignty required to govern Europe effectively.

The Council also recognized that as necessary as structural reform and improving competitiveness may be to long-term prosperity, austerity measures alone without a short-term program for growth and inclusive employment could not rescue troubled European economies from their debt trap. Austerity alone, Council members feared, would undercut and not bolster the allegiance of citizens to a shared vision of a common European future.

ABOVE: German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici meet for the first time since taking office at Berlin Town Hall, October 2012

RIGHT: Founding Father of the European Union, Jacques Delors, Nicolas Berggruen and Dawn Nakagawa, at Paris Town Hall, May 2013

To carry this message to European public opinion, the Council organized a series of high-profile "town hall" meetings in Berlin, Paris and Madrid and engaged students of the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, Sciences Po in Paris and the London School of Economics to participate and spell out their own vision of Europe's future.

The Council was also instrumental in proposing an investment, training and jobs program for Europe that was ultimately embraced as European policy in January 2015 when European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker proposed a 315 billion euro plan that would leverage initial capital from the European Investment Bank with EU guarantees and private sector finance.

This idea was first conceived in 2013 by the Council and championed by Ursula von der Leyen, who was at the time Germany's labor minister and is now its minister of defense. At the Council's "town hall" meeting in Paris in May 2013, it was publicly endorsed by French President François Hollande and Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy as well as the Italian labor minister.

Moving forward, the Council intends to launch a forward-looking narrative that can once again enlarge introverted nationalized identities and give new impetus, especially for the younger generation, to the idea of integration beneficial for all.

For a fresh start Europe needs to build integration with a positive vision from the ground up instead of only through the back door of a common currency rooted in the negative constraint of rigid debt and a deficit constraints.

A similar historical role to that fulfilled by the Coal and Steel Community could be played today through a "European Digital Community" that harnesses the new power of the information age by forging a convergence of connectivity, renewable energy and smart transportation into the so-called "Internet of Things."

For a fresh start Europe needs to build integration with a positive vision from the ground up instead of only through the back door of a common currency rooted in the negative constraint of rigid debt and a deficit constraints.

To advance this vision that promises to connect (both literally and figuratively) Europe's youth to the vision of a common future, the Council will sponsor a summit in Rome in 2016.

NATHAN GARDELS:
How to Repair Europe by Leveraging German Overreach

For a fresh start Europe needs to build integration with a positive vision from the ground up instead of only through the back door of a common currency rooted in the negative constraint of rigid debt and a deficit constraints.

The earliest success in moving toward a common Europe was the Coal and Steel Community in the late 1940s and 1950s. That project harnessed Europe's industrial might on behalf of the community instead of individual nations that had deployed their manufacturing prowess to wage war.

A similar historical role could be played today through a "European Digital Community" that harnesses the new power of the information age by forging a convergence of connectivity, renewable energy and smart transportation into the so-called "Internet of Things."

JOHN MACDOUGALL via Getty Images

Associated Press

MARIO MONTI:
Democracy's Conundrum: Reforms Take Time to Mature – But Voters Want Results Now

All great reforms must first mature. To be successful, they must be fully understood by society. This process requires time and a lot of explanations. However, the need to obtain the consent of the people must not deter the leaders from their mission, even if it makes them unpopular.

Council for the Future of Europe Members

Jörg Asmussen, State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

Marek Belka, Former Prime Minister of Poland

Nicolas Berggruen, Founder and Chairman, Berggruen Institute

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Tony Blair, Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

Gordon Brown, Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

Juan Luis Cebrián, Chairman of PRISA and EL PAIS

Jacques Delors, Former President of the European Commission

Mohamed A. El-Erian, Chief Economic Advisor, Allianz

Niall Ferguson, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University

Anthony Giddens, Emeritus Professor at the London School of Economics

Felipe González Márquez, Former Prime Minister of Spain

Otmar Issing, Former Chief Economist at European Central Bank

Jakob Kellenberger, Former President of the International Committee of the Red Cross

Pascal Lamy, Former Director General of the World Trade Organization

Doris Leuthard, Federal Swiss Councilor of the Swiss Confederation

Alain Minc, Founder of A.M. Conseil

Mario Monti, Former Prime Minister of Italy

Robert Mundell, Nobel Laureate, Economic Sciences

Jean Pisani-Ferry, Head Commissioner for Strategy and Planning, Office of the Prime Minister of France

Romano Prodi, Former Prime Minister of Italy

Nouriel Roubini, Chairman and Co-Founder of Roubini Global Economics

Gerhard Schröder, Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany

Michael Spence, Nobel Laureate, Economic Sciences

Joseph E. Stiglitz, Nobel Laureate, Economic Sciences

Peter Sutherland, Chairman of Goldman Sachs Int'l and Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN for Migration

Matti Vanhanen, Former Prime Minister of Finland

Guy Verhofstadt, Former Prime Minister of Belgium

Franz Vranitzky, Former Chancellor of Austria

Axel Weber, Chairman of UBS

THINK LONG
COMMITTEE
FOR
CALIFORNIA

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: California Governor Jerry Brown signs the "Initiative Transparency Act" into law, September 2014; Former Governor Gray Davis at meeting of the Think Long Committee, June 2011; Senator Robert Hertzberg and Laura Tyson; at a meeting of the Think Long Committee, 2011.

THE CONTEXT

In 2010 California was in crisis. In no small part because of the ballot initiative process that for decades locked in spending but locked out revenues, California had become saddled with annual deficits of $20 billion dollars or more. The gridlocked legislature caused repeated government shutdowns over budget battles. As *The New York Times* wrote in 2010, it had become "the national symbol of partisan paralysis and government dysfunction."

In response, civic groups mobilized to pass a number of meaningful reforms such as majority vote on budgets, non-partisan open primaries and redistricting to rid the state of gerrymandering. When Governor Jerry Brown was elected in 2010, he balanced the budget by making painful budget cuts and passing a temporary tax increase on the rich.

Yet the state remained at risk of similar misuse of the initiative process that created the crises of the past. Additionally, the failure of the current tax system to reflect the realities of the 21st century California service economy and its inherent volatility continues to leave the state budget inordinately vulnerable to downturns in the economy.

OUR WORK

THINK LONG COMMITTEE FOR CALIFORNIA

In 2010, the Berggruen Institute founded the Think Long Committee for California to address California's broken system of governance.

The members of the Council, a non-partisan, high-powered group of citizens that met monthly for one year, ranged from the former chief justice of California's Supreme Court to former governors and U.S. secretaries of state – with broad experience in public affairs, labor and business. It was financed with an initial $20 million to fight the requisite political campaigns to reform state governance practices.

In its initial phase, the Committee joined with others to implement citizen instead of legislative drawing of electoral districts, "top-two" winner non-partisan primaries and a simple majority vote to pass budgets – all with the aim of ending the protracted partisan gridlock that saddled California with multi-billion dollar deficits for several years. These measures, along with a temporary tax increase and budget cuts, have been key in turning around the state's fortunes under Governor Jerry Brown.

At the end of its deliberations, the Committee released its final report, "A Blueprint to Renew California," which, among other proposals, recommended devolution of power to local governments and school districts, reform of the direct democracy initiative process to ensure greater deliberation of measures proposed by the public, establishment of a "rainy day" reserve fund for economic downturns, a long-term oriented oversight body to balance the short-term, special-interest character of the elected legislature and modernization of California's tax system to reflect the reality

Former Mayor of San Francisco, Willie Brown Former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Gerry Parsky, meet in San Francisco, 2011.

The bill passed by the legislature with a wide margin of approval and was signed into law by Governor Brown on September 27, 2014. It was the first time California's direct democracy initiative process had been amended in 80 years.

of a 21st century service and information economy.

Since the report's release, the Committee has set out to implement its recommendations.

In 2014, the Committee organized a coalition of 30 labor, business and civil rights groups to forge "The Initiative Transparency Act" that would require full reporting of campaign contributions for publicly-initiated ballot measures and legislative hearings once proponents obtained 25 percent of signatures to qualify their measure for the ballot.

The bill passed by the legislature with a wide margin of approval and was signed into law by Governor Brown on September 27, 2014. It was the first time California's direct democracy initiative process had been amended in 80 years.

The Committee joined Governor Brown in supporting a ballot initiative, Proposition 2, in the November 2014 election that would require the establishment of a "Rainy Day Fund." The measure, which aimed to create a cushion to stem budget volatility, also passed by a wide margin of the public vote.

Prop. 2 captures one-time spikes in revenue to use for paying down the state's wall of debt while creating a cushion to avoid budget cuts in an economic downturn.

In conjunction with Senator and former Assembly Speaker Bob Hertzberg, a member of the Think Long Committee, the Committee helped draft Senate Bill 1445, a measure that would modernize the tax system with California's long-term future in mind. In 2016, our aim is to attain a 2/3 vote of the legislature to put this measure on the ballot for a public vote.

JERRY BROWN:
Acting on Climate Change From the Bottom Up

In California, we have emphasized in recent years building standards and appliance standards and a renewable energy goal. But now instead of just asking how many solar installations we have or how many wind installations or geothermal, we are putting the emphasis on our climate footprint. And as of today, California generates about 450 million tons and we're going to reduce, by 2020, at least 25 million tons. And then in the next six months, we're going to set a goal for 2030 that will be more ambitious, that will require more technology and will also require heightened political will.

I believe that from the bottom up, we can make real impact and we need to join together, not just other cities in America – we're signing MOUs with Quebec and British Columbia, with Mexico, with states in China and wherever we can find partners, because we know we have to do it all. From the bottom up, from the top down and the collective effort of the world community to deal with the existential threat of climate change.

Associated Press

Richard Vogel/AP

NATHAN GARDELS:
A New State of Mind in California

For aspirational constituencies striving to reach the middle class the most important thing is an opportunity web and trampoline to boost their chances in life.

Even though California has one of the most progressive tax structures in the nation, inequality is rising and dashing aspirational hopes. Something more is needed as USC Professor Edward Kleinbard has articulated and former assembly speaker, now senator, Bob Hertzberg, has sponsored in legislation: namely, a new philosophy of governance that focuses on the overall progressive outcome that can be achieved through modernizing the tax code and investing in infrastructure and public higher education – the key means of upward mobility. Such investments are inherently progressive in the distribution of their benefits and in the creation of new well-paying jobs.

Think Long Committee Members

Nicolas Berggruen, Founder and Chairman, Berggruen Institute

David Bonderman, Founding Partner, TPG Capital and Newbridge Capital

Eli Broad, Founder, The Broad Foundations, SunAmerica Inc. and KB Home

Willie Lewis Brown, Jr., 41st Mayor of San Francisco

Joseph "Gray" Davis, 37th Governor of California

Maria Elena Durazo, Former Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

Matthew K. Fong, Former California State Treasurer

Ronald George, Former Chief Justice of California

Antonia Hernandez, President & CEO of the California Community Foundation

Robert Hertzberg, Member of the California State Senate and former Assembly Speaker

Gerald Parsky, Partner, Aurora Capital Group

Condoleezza Rice, Former U.S. Secretary of State; Senior Fellow, The Hoover Institution

Eric E. Schmidt, Executive Chairman, Alphabet Inc. (parent company of Google)

Terry S. Semel, Chairman & CEO of Windsor Media

George Pratt Shultz, Former U.S. Secretary of State and Distinguished Fellow, The Hoover Institution

Laura D. Tyson, Professor, The Haas School of Business; former Chair of the U.S. President's Council of Economic Advisers

PHILOSOPHY + CULTURE

PHILOSOPHY + CULTURE

The Berggruen Philosophy and Culture Center seeks to develop fresh thinking across cultures and disciplines.

OPPOSITE: Former Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd, speaks at a workshop at NYU in September 2014.

ABOVE - Front (left to right): Tongdong Bai, Daniel Bell, Dawn Nakagawa, Nicolas Berggruen, Margaret Levi, Sarah Wert, Jenny Bourne, Frank Fukuyama. Back (left to right): Nathan Gardels, Hui Wang, Yongnian Zheng, Stephen Macedo, Mario Monti, Yang Yao. RIGHT: Pico Iyer at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, September 2015.

THE CONTEXT

It is said that what is least material most endures. Power changes hands, buildings crumble and people die. But ideas, paradigms, worldviews and narratives live on. They are perennial. Ideas shape the world by cultivating the soul, organizing the intellect and animating the will. In short, ideas matter.

At the same time, in our modern society ideas often have a hard time reaching across cultures and disciplines.

In a rapidly globalizing yet increasingly fractured world, we aim to close the gap that has been widened by narrow views. It is with this summons in mind of closing the communication gap among cultures and disciplines that the new Berggruen Philosophy and Culture Center was initiated.

OUR WORK

The Philosophy and Culture Center was launched in September 2015 with a mission to help bridge cultural divides, particularly between the East and the West and to foster the development of new ideas. In a fast-changing and increasingly multipolar world, there is an urgent need to understand cultures and develop new thinking and relate these insights to the pressing issues of our day.

The Center fulfills its mission through three main programs:

1. The Berggruen Fellowship Program
2. The Berggruen Philosophy Prize
3. The Berggruen Ideas Competition

The Berggruen Fellowship Program launched in the fall of 2015 with a cohort of 6 fellows at Stanford University's Center for the Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences (CASBS). The fellows, all of whom hold tenured faculty positions at other universities, hail from distinguished academic institutions both in the U.S. and abroad. Each one will research a topic related to one of the core themes of the program, including:

- The Future of Political Governance
- Sustainable Innovation
- Humans and Technology
- Harmony and Freedom
- Equality and Hierarchy

Martin Rees (center in blue) spoke at the Berggruen Workshop at Cambridge University in June 2015.

The fellowship is offered for up to two years and gives scholars the opportunity to study at distinguished academic institutions across the world. As of the fall of 2016, the program will have fellows at Stanford University, Harvard University, Oxford University, New York University, Tsinghua University and Peking University. The Center is also funding a study to identify what being human means in the age of artificial intelligence, at the Brain and Creativity Center of the University of Southern California, under the guidance of world-renowned neuroscientist Antonio Damasio.

The Berggruen Philosophy Prize will be awarded to a living thinker, scholar or leader whose ideas have influenced our beliefs and way of life. The recipient of the $1 million prize will be nominated by a broad group of academics and journalists invited to do so and selected by a nine-person jury.

The call for nominations for the first prize, which will be awarded in early December 2016, will begin in early February and close in late May of that year.

The Berggruen Ideas Competition is under development as of the printing of this publication, however, its intent is to identify ideas that will shape and shake our way of life in the 21st century and invest in their further development. The competition will cast a wide net to source new, foundational thinking for the modern era, and encourage applicants to develop plans to further develop, disseminate and implement those ideas. The first competition is tentatively scheduled to be held during the spring of 2017.

"It is wonderful that there is going to be a newly established Berggruen Institute for the study of philosophy and culture with a focus on global relevance and application. It should meet a huge gap in the intellectual world of bringing well-reasoned ideas to bear on practical affairs of crucial importance." AMARTYA SEN, *Member of the Center's Advisory Board and Philosophy Prize Jury*

"Unprecedented advances in the sciences and technology offer a new enlightenment and open the way for a flourishing humanity. And yet, the fragmentation of the social fabric worldwide, promise the very opposite. Philosophical reflection may well help us navigate the developing storm." ANTONIO DAMASIO, *Dornsife Professor of Neuroscience and Director, Brain and Creativity Institute, University of Southern California, Los Angeles*

PETER SLOTERDIJK:
Controversial Philosopher Says Man And Machine Will Fuse Into One Being

It is unforeseeable whether the hyper-cloud of the 21st century will end the regional immersion in institutionalized untruths that was typical of the 20th century. Nor do we know today whether the clear sky, or the cloud that covers it, is the information.

Anyone who uses the word "cloud" in the singular risks falling prey to mystification. At present, once more, there are several cloud systems, and what we once called the Cold War now returns as the war of clouds. One of the nasty surprises of the incipient 21st century is that the demons of propaganda have returned in a digitally updated form. To counter the new empires of lie and perspectival distortion, a renewal of the idea of enlightenment is indispensable.

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THE
WORLDPOST

THE CONTEXT

The WorldPost was born out of a contradiction and a paradox. The contradiction is that, while the world is growing more interdependent, the media is fragmenting. It is de-globalizing, re-nationalizing, re-localizing and even tribalizing. The paradox, therefore, is that the information age is becoming the age of non-communication across boundaries – political, cultural and ideological.

ABOVE: Eric Schmidt speaking at the WorldPost Future of Work conference in London, March 2015

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP TO BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: Huffington Post Editor-in-Chief, Arianna Huffington, WorldPost Editor-in-Chief, Nathan Gardels, Chairman Nicolas Berggruen at launch of WorldPost in Davos, January 2014; Book launch event for "Kissinger: The Idealist" by Niall Ferguson, New York, September 2015; Queen Rania and Arianna Huffington at the Future of Work Conference in London; Fareed Zakaria speaking in Los Angeles, May 2015; Dawn Nakagawa and Charlie Rose in New York, September 2015; Nicolas Berggruen, Niall Ferguson and Michael Bloomberg, New York, September 2015.

OUR WORK

THE WORLDPOST

The aim of The WorldPost is to help bridge this growing chasm by becoming a platform where the whole world meets, a common zone where the cross-pollination of ideas and perspectives from all corners of planet can take place. The WorldPost – a partnership with the world's largest on-line publication, The Huffington Post – launched in Davos, Switzerland in January 2014.

To achieve its aim, The WorldPost strives for a global viewpoint looking around, not a national standpoint looking out. Though we are an up-to-the-minute news site with correspondents in Beijing and Istanbul, what distinguishes us above all are the first person global voices of our global contributors, which range from the likes of Chinese President Xi Jinping or tech-entrepreneur Elon Musk and cellist Yo-Yo Ma to Iranian students in Tehran or a young Spaniard looking for work. On any given day, you will find datelines from our bloggers from Tunis, Jakarta, Berlin, Paris, Athens, Cairo, Tokyo, Shanghai, Mexico City or New Delhi.

In the 2015 Global Thought Leaders survey we conducted with the Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute in Zürich, The WorldPost/HuffPost rated as a top platform for the global circulation of ideas, along with *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*.

It is often said that the Internet is a global thinking circuit. It is global, and it is a circuit. But it is not thinking. The WorldPost mission is to foster such a connected consciousness for our wired planet.

NATHAN GARDELS
Editor-in-Chief, The WorldPost

THEWORLDPOST EXCERPTS

The following excerpts from The WorldPost blogs over the past two years demonstrate the quality and breadth of its contributors and its mission as a platform WHERE THE WHOLE WORLD MEETS.

NICOLAS BERGGRUEN & NATHAN GARDELS:
How the World's Most Powerful Leader Thinks: A Conversation with China's President, Xi Jinping

BEIJING - "The argument that strong countries are bound to seek hegemony does not apply to China," Xi posited. "This is not in the DNA of the country given our long historical and cultural background." He even offered this surprising historical reference to Sparta and Athens: "We all need to work together to avoid the Thucydides trap – destructive tensions between an emerging power and established powers, or between established powers themselves."

Getty Images

ALFREDO ESTRELLA via Getty Images

HOMERO ARIDJIS:
Enough! Mexico is Ready to Explode

MEXICO CITY - "Police, politicians and judges have been bought off or put into office by the cartels. Mexicans are fed up with living in a pervasive state of corruption and impunity. They are losing hope. If (as Goya said) the sleep of reason produces monsters, reason has been in a coma in Mexico. What we desperately need now from Enrique Peña Nieto is a new deal that can be summed up in two words: honesty and justice."

> What we desperately need now from Enrique Peña Nieto is a new deal that can be summed up in two words: honesty and justice.

ARTYOM LUKIN:
Why Russia and China Won't Curb North Korea Anymore than the U.S. Will Curb Saudi Arabia

VLADIVOSTOK - Just like Beijing, Moscow is exasperated about Pyongyang's nuclear tests, but at the same time it does not want to see the North being annexed by the pro-American South. Moreover, Russia and North Korea currently share intense anti-Americanism, which makes them allies of sorts. And the DPRK was one of the few governments that openly supported Moscow on the Ukraine issue.

As an aside, Russia's and China's stances on North Korea are not so much different from how the United States treats Saudi Arabia – a brutal regime sponsoring the ideology of violent jihadism, but one with which Washington needs to maintain friendship for realpolitik reasons.

JOSTEIN GAARDER:
The Ethics of the Future

OSLO - An important basis for all ethics has been the Golden Rule or the principle of reciprocity: you shall do unto others as you would have them do unto you. But the Golden Rule can no longer exist in a horizontal dimension – in other words a "we" and "the others" dimension. We must realize that the principle of reciprocity also has a vertical dimension: you shall do to the next generation what you wished the previous generation had done to you.

It's as simple as that. You shall love your neighbor as you love yourself. This must obviously include your neighbor generation. It has to include absolutely everyone who will live on the Earth after us.

RAY KURZWEIL:
In The 2030s, Nanobots In Our Brains Will Make Us 'Godlike'

Kurzweil believes that being connected to computers will make us more human, more unique and even godlike.

"Evolution creates structures and patterns that over time are more complicated, more knowledgeable, more creative, more capable of expressing higher sentiments, like being loving," he said. "It's moving in the direction of qualities that God is described as having without limit."

"So as we evolve, we become closer to God. Evolution is a spiritual process. There is beauty and love and creativity and intelligence in the world – it all comes from the neocortex. So we're going to expand the brain's neocortex and become more godlike."

SHASHI THAROOR:
Why India's Intolerance Problem Is Hurting Its Global Reputation

NEW DELHI - The Indian adventure is that of human beings of different ethnicities and religions, languages and beliefs, working together under the same roof, dreaming the same dreams. The behavior of the Hindutva extremists, however, has opened the door to critics to suggest that it is safer in India to be a cow than a Muslim.

MARTIN BUREAU via Getty Images

NADINE GORDIMER:
The Post-Mandela Disillusion

JOHANNESBURG - "Because of Mandela that was the best of times for us, to come out of the racist hierarchy of apartheid. But now we've had many disappointments and the most troubling one is the corruption: the politicians getting greedy and looking after their own comfort, security and luxury, in many cases with public money. I have not only been quite critical about this, I have been deeply disillusioned and disappointed. What can be done in any way with our freedom? That's why my book is about the best and worst of times.

I am afraid that we have not done with our freedom what we said we were going to do. And that makes it now the worst of times because it is a great disillusion, having emerged from a terrible past while we are making in many ways a mess of the present."

Associated Press

KTSIMAGE via Getty Images

AMIRA YAHYAOUI:
Five Years After the Revolution, Tunisia is Sliding Back to the Past

TUNIS - When dictatorships fall, the political vacuum that ensues is quickly filled by political activists from the anti-dictatorship opposition. Unfortunately, what these figures have in legitimacy they lack in competency and experience. They are unable to take on the task of reforming the state. As a result, a counter-revolutionary discourse emerges almost organically: "it was better before."

Hyperloop illustration by SpaceX.

ELON MUSK:
Innovations That Will Change Your Life

"From an evolutionary standpoint, human consciousness has not been around very long. A little light just went on after four and a half billion years. How often does that happen? Maybe it is quite rare. In fact, it would appear to be quite rare. Or, others out there with a consciousness are very good at hiding. If it is such a rare thing, then we should do whatever we can to ensure its long-term survival."

Alex Gardels/The WorldPost

ORHAN PAMUK:
Nations Like Persons Have Many Identities

ISTANBUL - One of the most important things we have learned in modern times – and even before that as reflected in post-Renaissance literature from Shakespeare to Dostoyevsky – is that we are not made up of one quality, one color or one idea. The individual is simultaneously made of multiple traits. Our rationality and desires are often in contradiction and play out in complex, not always transparent ways. My understanding of my characters is in this sense Dostoyevskian.

Many of the characters in my novels over the years are upper class, secular Turks. They may have a European outlook and want to join the European Union, but at the same time also believe in the power of the army to make a military coup and will follow an authoritarian leader.

Even as they aspire to European values, they also still want to be wrapped in the comforts of traditional ethics, morality and religion. So you can't label something "modern" or "traditional." They bleed into each other.

What makes human beings interesting is that they continue to hold contradictory ideas together at the same time, and that mix is what constitutes the individual character. Nations are also like that. Just as with individuals, you can't look out onto the international scene and say this country is "good" and that country is "bad." The good and the bad go together.

Schiffer-Fuchs/ullstein bild via Getty Images

JONATHAN FRANZEN:
How To Be Alone In Our Techno-Consumer Culture

What I saw coming already in the 1990s with the first wave of techno-utopianism – when the Internet was supposed to bring world peace and the free exchange of ideas – was that, inevitably, it was going to become commercialized.

That is exactly what has happened. The Internet and social media have been co-opted into selling.

One of the consequences is that the world of consumerism, of selling and selling yourself, has worked its way ever more deeply into the minute by minute fabric of daily life.

Everything becomes data. You can't go to a bar with friends without that becoming "data" about you, the bar, and what you're drinking, which then finds its way into someone's marketing scheme.

That's the dominant paradigm now. What's amazing about this paradigm is that it's managed to persuade the people who buy into it that they're somehow rebelling against the dominant paradigm.

CRAIG VENTER:
A New Phase Of Evolution

Biological evolution has taken 3.5 or 4 billion years to get us where we are. The adaption of our species to the social environment – social evolution – has been much faster. Now that we can read and write the genetic code, put it in digital form and translate it back into synthesized life, it will be possible to speed up biological evolution to the pace of social evolution.

On a theoretical basis, that gives us control over biological design. We can write DNA software, boot it up to a converter and create unlimited variations on biological life.

KISHORE MAHBUBANI:
Why Singapore is the World's Most Successful Society

SINGAPORE - So why did Singapore succeed so comprehensively? The simple answer is exceptional leadership. Many in the world have heard of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the founding prime minister who passed away in March this year. Far fewer have heard of Dr. Goh Keng Swee, the architect of Singapore's economic miracle, and Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Singapore's philosopher par excellence.

Together, they made a great team.

This exceptional team also implemented three exceptional policies: Meritocracy, Pragmatism and Honesty. Meritocracy means a country picks its best citizens, not the relatives of the ruling class, to run a country. Pragmatism means that a country does not try to reinvent the wheel. As Dr. Goh Keng Swee would say to me, "Kishore, no matter what problem Singapore encounters, somebody, somewhere, has solved it. Let us copy the solution and adapt it to Singapore." Copying best practices is something any country can do. However, implementing "Honesty" is the hardest thing to do. Corruption is the single biggest reason why most Third World countries have failed. The greatest strength of Singapore's founding fathers was that they were ruthlessly honest. It also helped that they were exceptionally shrewd and cunning.

YO-YO MA:
Behind the Cello

"To be able to put oneself in another's shoes without prejudgment is an essential skill. Empathy comes when you understand something deeply through arts and literature and can thus make unexpected connections. These parallels bring you closer to things that would otherwise seem far away. Empathy is the ultimate quality that acknowledges our identity as members of one human family.

Visionaries like Elon Musk have spoken of the Internet and the planetary reach of the media as a "global thinking circuit." We need to be sure that this connecting circuit is about communication and not just information by fostering both empathetic and critical thinking."

Todd Rosenberg

Alex Gardels/The WorldPost

NATHAN GARDELS:
The World's Most Influential Voices of 2015

In 2015, The WorldPost and the Zürich-based Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute (GDI) joined together to publish the Global Thought Leaders Index, a "collective intelligence" analysis that maps the global conversation on the Internet and ranks its most influential voices.

For the first time, the annual index measured not only the globally-dominant English language infosphere, but also the other main language infospheres of Spanish and Chinese, as well as German. Altogether we rank the nearly 400 people who are most often mentioned and discussed online, ranging in the global index from Pope Francis, who ranks #1, to Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk at #4, Edward Snowden at #5 and cellist Yo-Yo Ma at #9. Other top influencers of note include former Greek Finance Minister Yanis Varoufakis at #78, Chinese novelist Mo Yan at #83, Cuban blogger Yoani Sánchez at #99 and Indian novelist Chetan Bhagat at #136.

> For the first time, the annual index measures not only the globally-dominant English language infosphere, but also the other main language infospheres of Spanish and Chinese, as well as German.

In Spanish, Fidel Castro and Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa top the list, with Mexican poet Homero Arijidis at #11, Venezuelan conductor Gustavo Dudamel at #13 and Spanish filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar at #48. Edward Snowden leads the German list with philosophers Jurgen Habermas at #53 and Peter Sloterdijk at #83. China's "outside" rankings mirror the global list since those living in Hong Kong or Taiwan almost exclusively use Wikipedia, Twitter or Google. However, the "inside" China rankings, which are most accurately measured by the Baidu Index, put Chinese President Xi Jinping and Alibaba chief Jack Ma in the top spots, with Japanese novelist Haruki Murakami at a curious #8 and Communist Party theorist Wang Huning at #10. Baidu is China's largest search engine, akin to Google.

The Map and the Territory

The map of the global conversation is as interesting as the intellectual territory it covers. YouTube is by far the global giant when it comes to platforms that spread ideas. Thoughts are far more widely cast through Twitter than through the more closed, narrowly cast "friend" connections of Facebook. The WorldPost/Huffington Post, including the 15 international HuffPost editions, also emerges as a top platform for the global circulation of ideas, along with *The New York Times* and *The Guardian*. The WorldPost, a 2-year-old partnership with the Berggruen Institute, serves as the HuffPost's global portal. The Spanish daily newspaper, *El País*, ranks as the major platform in the Spanish-speaking world.

Observations

In the German and Spanish language areas, a layer of common global voices dominates at the top of the list, overlapping with the English-language global rankings, while voices not generally known beyond language borders concentrate in the bottom half of the rankings. This reflects the more or less free flow of ideas across the Internet. The Chinese analysis indicates a situation in which there is "one language, two infospheres." Rankings for the Chinese language "outside" the mainland in Hong Kong, Taiwan and the diaspora indicate an influence pattern similar to the top "global layer" in the other language spheres.

A graphic showing the world's most influential thought leaders of 2015.

This is what influence looks like in the English-speaking blogosphere.

But "inside" China, using the Baidu Index of the more than 740 million web pages to which the search engine has access, the rankings are markedly different, with few non-Chinese voices.

The Internet as a 'Global Thinking Circuit'

The aim of The WorldPost is to establish a global platform for the cross-pollination of ideas beyond borders, a place where the whole world meets. Partnering with the highly regarded Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute in Zürich to chart the currents and map the virtual territory of the infosphere is a key step in making the Internet a truly "global thinking circuit" instead of just a worldwide series of dots that don't connect. The message can catch up with the medium if we put our minds to it.

OUR WORDS

INTELLIGENT GOVERNANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY: A MIDDLE WAY BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

BY NICOLAS BERGGRUEN & NATHAN GARDELS

For decades, liberal democracy has been extolled as the best system of governance to have emerged out of the long experience of history. Today, such a confident assertion is far from self-evident. Democracy, in crisis across the West, must prove itself. This timely volume is both a conceptual and a practical guide of impressive scope to the challenges of good governance as the world continues to undergo profound transformation in the coming decades.

SELECTED AS ONE OF THE FINANCIAL TIMES BEST BOOKS OF 2012

"A fascinating book (and) a powerful sign of the times"
– Financial Times

Translated into English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Chinese, and is due to come out in Korean and Arabic.

The authors: Nathan Gardels and Nicolas Berggruen

TOP: Nicolas Berggruen, Nathan Gardels stand outside a Paris bookstore displaying the French edition of *Intelligent Governance for the 21st Century*, May 2013. BOTTOM: Nicolas Berggruen, Arianna Huffington and Steve Martin at Los Angeles book launch event, February 2013.

> A brilliantly insightful and provocative book on the central issue of our time: effective governance.

Praise for Intelligent Governance

A brilliantly insightful and provocative book on the central issue of our time: effective governance. Democracies and autocratic systems are both at risk of failure on a broad front. Berggruen and Gardels courageously invite us and the next generation to tackle this problem head on, with humility and open minds.

MICHAEL SPENCE, *Nobel laureate, Chairman of the World Bank Commission on Growth and Development, and author of 'The Next Convergence'*

Do we have something to learn from China's political experience? The authors breach the taboo and say yes, imagining a political system that combines accountability and meritocracy and sketching an emergent globalization that could reenergize multilateralism. Truly a thought-provoking book.

PASCAL LAMY, *former Director General of the World Trade Organization*

Drawing on precepts and practices from both West and East, Berggruen and Gardels provide a thoughtful and attention-grabbing view on what constitutes 'intelligent governance'. Required reading for anyone reflecting on how best to deal with the multiplying challenges faced by all our societies.

ZHANG WEIWEI, *author of 'The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State'*

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NEW YORK CITY, U.S.
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SAN FRANCISCO, U.S.
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CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Nathan Gardels, Mario Monti, Franz Vranitzky, Juan Luis Cebrian in Paris, March 2012; Paul Keating and Joseph Stiglitz in New York, September 2015; Christine Ockrent and Dawn Nakagawa in Paris, March 2012.

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LOS ANGELES
11150 Santa Monica Blvd, Suite 1670
Los Angeles, CA 90025
Tel: + 1 310 550 7083
Fax: + 1 310 550 7083
institute@berggruen.org

BERLIN
Fasanenstrasse 77
10623 Berlin - Germany
Tel: +49 30 259 39 96 - 49
Fax: +49 30 259 39 96 - 59

NEW YORK
250 West 55th Street
13th Floor, Suite D
New York, NY 10019
Tel: +1 212 380 2230
Fax: +1 212 382 0120

WASHINGTON, D.C.
444 North Capitol Street NW, Suite 399
Washington, D.C. 20001
Tel: +1 202 403 8603
Fax: +1 202 403 8608

BEIJING
No. 1 Purple Jade Road
Chaoyang District
Beijing, China
Tel: +86 (10) 64968010

berggruen.org