

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, May 10, 2015
6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 11, 2015
9:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 12, 2015
8:15 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.*

The 2015 Council of Councils Annual Conference

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation.

Council of Councils Mission Statement

The defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-six major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles within members' countries.

Participants are welcome to disclose ideas from CoC meetings, and may attribute that information to the CoC, but may not reveal the identity, country, or the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media sites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited..

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Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

UNITED KINGDOM

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Fourth Annual Conference

Agenda

Sunday, May 10, 2015

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW
Washington, DC

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Panel Discussion, and Dinner*
Domestic Politics and U.S. Foreign Policy

Welcoming Remarks: Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations

Speakers: Charlie Cook, Editor and Publisher, Cook Political Report, and Political Analyst, National Journal (United States)

E.J. Dionne, Columnist, Washington Post, and Senior Fellow, Governance Studies, Brookings Institution (United States)

Moderator: David Ensor, Director, Voice of America (United States)

Monday, May 11, 2015

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW
Washington, DC

9:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

9:30 a.m.–9:40 a.m. **Council of Councils over the Past Year**
Stewart M. Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

9:40 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session One*
Managing the Crisis in Ukraine: Great Power Relations and the Future of Sovereignty

Panelists: Thomas Gomart, Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)
Sook-Jong Lee, President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)
Zhang Yinghong, Director, Center for European Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Moderator: Steven Blockmans, Senior Research Fellow and Head of EU Foreign Policy, Center for European Policy Studies (Belgium)

Guiding Questions: How has the reemergence of great power politics affected the current international order, including prospects for cooperation? To what degree does the ongoing conflict in Ukraine reflect divergent views of national sovereignty? What does the crisis in Ukraine imply for the future of the UN Security Council? Are alternative, more flexible arrangements better equipped to manage great power relations and defuse crises? What can established and rising powers do to ensure that shifts in the global distribution of power are peacefully accommodated and do not impede mutually beneficial cooperation?

11:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m.

Session Two

Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism

Panelists: **Michael Keating**, Associate Director of Research Partnerships, Chatham House (United Kingdom)

Abdulaziz Sager, Chairman and Founder, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)

Rizal Sukma, Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)

Moderator: **Anthony Bubalo**, Research Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)

Guiding Questions: Does the appearance of new terrorist and extremist groups require states to adapt conventional counterterrorism strategies, including frameworks of international cooperation? How do geopolitical rivalries in the Middle East contribute to the dynamics of extremism in the region? How can international institutions and influential powers assist regional organizations and players in countering new forms of extremist violence sweeping the Middle East and North Africa? What role can international cooperation play in stemming the flow of foreign fighters and countering violent extremism (CVE)?

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m.

Working Lunch

Session on a Pressing Global Issue

Moderators: **Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Andrés Rozental, Founder, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)

2:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m.

Session Three

Reforming Global Health Governance: Lessons from Ebola

Panelists: **Bola Akinterinwa**, Director-General, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (Nigeria)

David P. Fidler, Visiting Fellow for Cybersecurity, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Moderator: **Rohinton Medhora**, President, Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Guiding Questions: What has the Ebola outbreak in West Africa revealed about the capabilities of global health institutions? What can be done to strengthen the ability of the World Health Organization and other multilateral institutions to respond to pandemics? What more can international institutions and influential outside governments do to improve the capacity of poor or fragile states to anticipate, prevent, and respond effectively to outbreaks? Some global health practitioners and experts have advocated a legally binding Framework Convention on Global Health. Is this proposal realistic, and what would its ramifications be?

4:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.

Free Time

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m.

Cocktail Reception, Dinner, and Keynote Speaker

A Conversation with Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

Hay-Adams Hotel

Top of the Hay

800 16th St NW

Washington, DC

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, Deputy Secretary of Energy, U.S. Department of Energy
(United States)

Tuesday, May 12, 2015

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

8:15 a.m.–8:45 a.m. Registration and Light Breakfast

8:45 a.m.–10:00 a.m. **CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch**

Speakers: **Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation (India)

Memduh Karakullukçu, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs
(South Africa)

Moderator: **Margaret Warner**, Senior Correspondent, PBS NewsHour (United States)

10:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Coffee Break

10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m. Session Four

Currency Competition and International Trade

Panelists: **Ted Alden**, Bernard L. Schwartz Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
(United States)

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

Robert Kahn, Steven A. Tananbaum Senior Fellow for International Economics, Council on
Foreign Relations (United States)

Moderator: **Memduh Karakullukçu**, Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations Forum
(Turkey)

Guiding Questions: How big a problem is currency manipulation in the global economy? How can we distinguish it from the proper use of monetary policy? What role should multilateral institutions and forums like the IMF and G20, as well as coordination among central banks, play in monitoring and discouraging such practices? Should anti-currency manipulation clauses be written into trade agreements, including mega trade deals like the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), as well as within the World Trade Organization? What are the pluses and minuses of considering this problem in the context of trade?

12:00 p.m.–1:00 p.m. Lunch

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m. Session Five

Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention: The Case of Syria

Panelists: **Udi Dekel**, Managing Director and Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Christian Koch, Director, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)

Andrew Thompson, Senior Fellow, Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Moderator: **Fernando Petrella**, Executive Committee Member, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

Guiding Questions: What does Syria suggest about the threshold that should trigger international intervention in the case of mass atrocities? What does the protracted crisis in Syria expose about the limits of the UN Security Council to intervene in humanitarian crises? Outside of UN-authorized intervention, what alternative options are available to address humanitarian crises? Should regional organizations take a greater role in responding to humanitarian crises? How can established and rising powers reconcile their divergent views concerning the responsibility to protect?

2:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. Coffee Break

3:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m. Session Six
Controlling Nuclear Weapons: Reviewing the NPT

Panelists: **Riccardo Alcaro**, Senior Fellow, Transatlantic Program, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

C. Raja Mohan, Distinguished Fellow and Head, Strategic Studies, Observer Research Foundation (India)

Matias Spektor, Associate Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

Moderator: **Johannes Thimm**, Head, Americas Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Guiding Questions: How effective is the NPT in preventing nuclear proliferation (particularly given that negotiations with both Iran and—in the past—North Korea have taken place outside its auspices)? Can greater accountability be built into the NPT to ensure that states meet their commitments? How can the NPT resolve the growing divide between nuclear weapon states and nonnuclear weapon states (and civil society groups) frustrated by the pace of disarmament? What is the ongoing NPT Review Conference likely to deliver? Can the vast array of nonproliferation agreements and institutions be better coordinated or modified to build a more effective regime? What should the nuclear security architecture look like after the final Nuclear Security Summit in 2016?

4:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m. Discussion of Future Directions of the CoC

Participant Biographies

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is a senior fellow at the Italian Institute of International Affairs in the Transatlantic Programme. He is the coordinator of the European Union's (EU) Seventh Framework Programme-funded Transworld project on the future of the transatlantic relationship and its role in the world. He is a fellow of the EU-wide program, European Foreign and Security Policy Studies (EFSPS), jointly organized by the Compagnia di San Paolo, Volkswagen Stiftung, and Riksbankens Jubilaumsfond. Riccardo is a nonresident fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. From 2006 to 2011, Alcaro was responsible for drafting the section on external relations in the *European Policy Analyst*, the *Economist Intelligence Unit's* quarterly on the European Union.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is head of European Union foreign policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies and professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam. For almost twenty years, he has worked for the EU institutions and member states' governments on numerous research and technical assistance projects. He is the author of *Tough Love: the EU's relations with the Western Balkans* and the coeditor of more than ten books, including *The European Union and Its Neighbours*, *The European Union and Peacebuilding*, and *The EU's Role in Global Governance*. He served as project leader and leading author of the task force on European security and defense chaired by Javier Solana and is currently project leader of a study on the implementation of the EU Association Agreements with Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia.

Anthony Bubalo

Anthony Bubalo is the research director at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He is also the director of the West Asia Program covering the Middle East, Central, and Southwest Asia. Bubalo has written for the *Australian*, *Age*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Financial Times*, *Ha'aretz* and *Asahi Shimbun* newspapers as well as the *American Interest* and *ForeignPolicy.com*. Bubalo is the coeditor, with Michael Fullilove, of *Reports from a Turbulent Decade* (Viking), an anthology of the Lowy Institute's best work. Before joining the Lowy Institute, Bubalo was an officer in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) for thirteen years. He served in Australian diplomatic missions in Saudi Arabia and Israel and was senior Middle East analyst with the Office of National Assessments from 1996 to 1998. From 2002 to 2003, he was director of the Policy and Coordination Unit of the Australian government's Iraq Task Force, and immediately prior to joining the Lowy Institute was DFAT's senior speechwriter.

Claudia Calvin

Claudia Calvin is the executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Additionally, she is the founder of *Mujeres Construyendo* (women building), the first platform for female bloggers in Latin America promoting women's empowerment through information and communication technologies (ICT). She is also an external advisor to the UN Women office in Mexico. She has more than eighteen years of experience as a public officer, including positions in the Senate, Ministry of the Interior, and Office of the President, among others. In the Mexican Presidency she served as director general for National Information as well as director general for International Activities and Gender. In the private sector she has been consultant for World Wildlife Fund Mexico, the Environmental Management and Decentralization Project and has also worked at the Mexican Bureau of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Miami Herald*. Calvin has lectured at several universities in Mexico and abroad. She was also a visiting researcher at Georgetown University. She was selected as a finalist of the GEM-Tech Awards 2014, given for the first time by the International Telecommunications Union and UN Women to acknowledge women that promote gender equality through ICT. Calvin has a PhD in political science from the

Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, an MA in international journalism from the University of Southern California, and a BA in international relations from the National University of Mexico.

Udi Dekel

Udi Dekel is the deputy director and senior research fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies. From 2010 to 2012, Dekel was the chief executive officer of Strategic Planning Services, which consolidates concepts and executes strategic planning projects for public and private establishments. Previously, Dekel headed the Israeli negotiations team with the Palestinians during the Annapolis process under the Olmert government (2008–2009). Dekel's last post in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) commanded the Strategic Planning Division in the Planning Directorate of the General Staff, responsible for consolidation of the strategic assessment and formulating the IDF's policy regarding political-military issues. As a reservist, he leads the Center for Strategic Planning. Previously Dekel commanded the Liaison and Foreign Relations Division in the General Staff, responsible for promoting the IDF's military collaboration with foreign military establishments. Previously, Dekel served as the head of the Production and Research Department in Israel Air Force Intelligence. Dekel headed the Israeli delegation to the Israel-UN-Lebanon committee following the second Lebanon war and headed the joint military committees between Israel and Egypt and Israel and Jordan. Dekel holds an MBA and BA in international relations and economics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is the president of the Italian Institute of International Affairs. He is also the president of the Italian Society for Enterprises Abroad and a member of the European Commission. Feroci has been a career diplomat since 1972 and held past positions including permanent representative of Italy to the European Union in Brussels (2008–2013), chief of staff (2006–2008), and director-general for European integration (2004–2006) at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served in New York at the United Nations, Algiers, Paris, and Beijing. He also served as diplomatic counselor of the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers in 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 November 1, 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 Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali Guido Carli (LUISS) in Rome.

David P. Fidler

David P. Fidler is a visiting fellow for cybersecurity at the Council on Foreign Relations, the James Louis Calamaras professor of law and a senior fellow at the Center for Applied Cybersecurity Research at Indiana University, and an associate fellow with the Centre on Global Health Security at Chatham House. Fidler has served as an international legal consultant to organizations including the World Bank (on foreign investment in Palestine), the World Health Organization and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (on global health issues), and the U.S. Department of Defense's Defense Science Board (on bioterrorism). He currently serves as chair for an International Law Association study group on terrorism, cybersecurity, and international law. Fidler's recent publications include *The Snowden Reader* (editor and contributor, Indiana University Press, 2015) and *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (coeditor and contributor, Routledge, 2009). Fidler has been a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and a Fulbright New Century Scholar. He holds a BCL from the University of Oxford, a JD from Harvard Law School, an MPhil in international relations from the University of Oxford, and a BA from the University of Kansas. He was a Truman Scholar from Kansas.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is the director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), based in Paris and Brussels. He previously was its vice president for strategic development (2010–2015) and the director of its Russia/NIS Centre (2004–2013), and editor of the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was assistant professor at La Sorbonne (1996–1999), cadet officer in the army (2000), Lavoisier Fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (2001), visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris (2002), and Marie Curie Fellow at the Department of War Studies at King's College London (2003–2004). Gomart has managed many projects with leading international think tanks (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, U.S. Army War College, SVOP, MGIMO, OCP Policy Centre). Gomart recently published with Thierry de Montbrial, "Think Tanks à la française," *Le débat* (September-October 2014). Gomart holds a PhD in history from Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and an EMBA from HEC Paris.

Evgeny Gontmakher

Evgeny Gontmakher worked as a researcher in the Central Economic Institute under Russian Gosplan as ministry of economy. From 1992–2003, he held positions as head of department in the Russian Ministry of Labor; deputy minister of social protection of Russia; deputy chair of the Presidential Council for Social Policy; and head of department in the Russian governmental staff. Since 2008, Gontmakher has been a member of the executive board of the Institute of Contemporary Development. And since 2009, he has been deputy director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Beginning in 2012, Gontmakher has been a member of the Citizen Initiatives' Committee. Gontmakher graduated from Moscow State University in 1975.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States dedicated to the study of American foreign policy. He served as the independent chair of the official multi-party panel established in 2013 to address some of the most divisive political issues affecting Northern Ireland. For his efforts to promote peace and resolution there, he received the 2013 Tipperary International Peace Award. From 2001 to 2003, Haass was director of policy planning for the Department of State as well as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process. He was also special assistant to President George H.W. Bush and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the staff of the National Security Council from 1989 to 1993. Haass is the author or editor of twelve books on American foreign policy and one book on management. His most recent book is *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds a BA from Oberlin College and both an MA and PhD from Oxford University. He has received honorary degrees from Hamilton College, Franklin & Marshall College, Georgetown University, Oberlin College, Central College, and Miami Dade College.

Yanzhong Huang

Yanzhong Huang is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is also professor and director for global health studies at the School of Diplomacy and International Relations at Seton Hall University, where he developed the first academic concentration among U.S. professional schools of international affairs that explicitly addresses the security and foreign policy aspects of health issues. He is the founding editor of *Global Health Governance: The Scholarly Journal for the New Health Security Paradigm*. He has published numerous reports, journal articles, and book chapters, including articles in *Survival*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Bioterrorism and Biosecurity*, and *Journal of Contemporary China*, as well as op-ed pieces in the *New York*

Times, *International Herald Tribune*, *YaleGlobal*, and *South China Morning Post*, among others. In 2006, he coauthored the first scholarly article that systematically examined China's soft power. His book *Governing Health in Contemporary China* (Routledge, 2013) looks at healthcare reform, government ability to address disease outbreaks, and food and drug safety in China. He obtained his BA and MA degrees from Fudan University and his PhD degree from the University of Chicago.

Penny Hunt

Penny Hunt retired in 2007 from Medtronic, Inc., where she was vice president for community affairs and executive director at the Medtronic Foundation for nearly fifteen years. Hunt led the development and implementation of Medtronic's worldwide philanthropy strategies, with primary responsibility for the development of major partnerships and strategic relationships and grants with local, national, and international organizations. During her tenure, Medtronic Foundation grants grew from \$2.4 million to more than \$25 million per year, with focus in the areas of health, education, and community. Prior to joining Medtronic, Hunt was director of public affairs for the Dayton Hudson Department Store Company (now Target Corporation), where she managed charitable giving, government, and public affairs. Hunt holds a bachelor's degree magna cum laude in French from Carleton College, an MA in arts and teaching from Duke University, , and a JD magna cum laude from William Mitchell College of Law. Penny was a Fulbright Scholar in Lyon, France.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi has been director of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) since 2009. He began his career with the Indian government as a member of the Indian Administrative Service in 1983, and served in various capacities for twenty-five years before he left to pursue his primary interests in energy and environment. He handled oil and gas exploration as joint secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas and has been director of the board of national energy companies such as ONGC, OVL, OIL, and MRPL. He was the founding mission director for the Watershed Development Mission and subsequently managing director of the Renewable Energy Development Agency in the state of Madhya Pradesh. He has been visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London and distinguished visitor to the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development at the University of Stanford.

Robert Kahn

Robert Kahn is the Steven A. Tananbaum senior fellow for international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in Washington, DC. Prior to joining CFR, Kahn was a senior strategist with Moore Capital Management. Prior to that, he was a senior advisor in the financial policy department at the World Bank. Kahn also held staff positions at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). He was a member of the IMF team that worked closely with Korean authorities in 1997–98 to develop a system for comprehensive monitoring and reporting of external debt and reserves, and subsequently was involved in development of the Fund's policy for private sector involvement in crisis resolution. Kahn has held various senior-level positions at Citigroup and was the managing director and head of the sovereign advisory group. He served as the head of the Office of Industrial Nations at the U.S. Treasury from 1995 to 1996. He was also a senior economist at the Council of Economic Advisors from 1990 to 1991, as well as the Federal Reserve Board from 1984 to 1990 and 1991 to 1992. Kahn received his BA from the University of Chicago and his PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum (GRF). He is also the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, kanunum.com. Previously, he served as the founding managing director of Istanbul's leading science park, Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI

Teknokent, currently an innovation community of over one hundred technology companies. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was the senior advisor to the president, the coordinator of the Law Technology and Policy graduate program, and the strategic advisor at the University's Center for Satellite Communications. Karakullukçu has served as a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics (LSE) and ITU. His earlier academic work includes research commissioned by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on inflation dynamics, debt instruments, and debt markets. Earlier in his career, Karakullukçu worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received his BS in electrical engineering and in economics at MIT, MSc in finance at the LSE, and JD at Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

Michael Keating

Michael Keating is the associate director of research partnerships at Chatham House. Since June 2014, Michael Keating has been directing a project at Chatham House on political transition in Afghanistan, as well as supporting an initiative to increase access to renewable energy by displaced people. Until the end of 2012, he was deputy special representative of the UN secretary-general and humanitarian coordinator in Afghanistan. His UN career has included development and humanitarian and political responsibilities in the Middle East, Africa, Geneva, and New York. He serves as advisor on conflict resolution and continues to undertake assignments for the UN, most recently on a plan of action entitled *Human Rights Up Front* to strengthen the UN's role in protecting people at risk of gross violations. His career has included serving as executive director of the Africa Progress Panel, running a communication consultancy, and working in publishing and television. He has an MA in history from the University of Cambridge.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO. He has been regularly conducting evaluations of each major political party's election pledges and of the incumbent administration's performance since 2001. He also established influential, high-level, private-sector channels of dialogue between China and South Korea. In 2013, he launched the New Civil Diplomacy Initiative aimed at solving the challenges facing East Asia and organized international forum. He has also served as a member of Japanese government and on private-sector advisory committees. Before founding the Genron NPO, he was an editor of *Financial Business*, a monthly magazine specializing in the financial sector, and *Debate: Toyo Keizai*, Japan's leading issue-oriented magazine.

Elena Lazarou

Elena Lazarou is assistant professor of international relations at the School of Social Sciences of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) and formerly head of FGV's Center for International Relations (2013–2014). Her current research focuses on the impact of the crisis of the euro on the European Union's relations with Latin America and on the role of think tanks in foreign policy. She is also affiliated with the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy and a visiting professor at Sciences-Po Grenoble and LUISS University, Rome. She has published several articles, edited volumes, and book chapters in English, Greek, and Portuguese, and is a regular contributor to the Brazilian press. Her latest publications are *Multilateralismo nas Relações Internacionais* (Sao Paulo: Elsevier, 2014) and *Think Tanks and the Foreign Policy Challenges Facing the Emerging Powers* with J. McGann (Philadelphia: Penn University Press, forthcoming 2015). Lazarou earned a PhD in international relations from the University of Cambridge in 2008. She has held post-doctoral research positions at the University of Cambridge and the London School of Economics.

Sook-Jong Lee

Sook-Jong Lee is the president of the East Asia Institute, an independent, nonprofit think tank based in Seoul. She is also a professor of public administration at Sungkyunkwan University. Currently, Lee holds a number of advisory positions in the South Korean government, including the Presidential National Security Advisory Group, Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation, and councils for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Unification, and the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA). Previously, Lee was a research fellow at the Sejong Institute, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, a professorial lecturer at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, and a visiting fellow at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies. Her recent publications include *Keys to Successful Presidency in South Korea* (ed. 2013), *South Korea as New Middle Power Seeking Complex Diplomacy* (2012), *Korea's Role in Global Governance for Development Cooperation* (ed. 2012), and *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (eds. 2011). Lee received her BA from Yonsei University, and MA and PhD in sociology from Harvard University.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He is a leading authority on the American foreign-policy-making process and the domestic politics of American foreign policy. From 2006 to 2009, he was the inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin, where he held the Tom Slick chair for international affairs at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. From 2003 to 2006, he was vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR. He has also served as deputy director and senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution, and he was a professor of political science at the University of Iowa from 1987 to 1999. During 1996–97, he was director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. He has written widely on various aspects of American foreign policy, American government, and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Award. His blog, *The Water's Edge*, can be found at <http://blogs.cfr.org/lindsay/>.

Joseph Chinyong Liow

Joseph Chinyong Liow is senior fellow and the inaugural Lee Kuan Yew chair in Southeast Asia studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. He is also concurrently dean and professor of comparative and international politics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Liow has published numerous articles in international scholarly peer reviewed journals, the most recent appearing in *Modern Asian Studies*, *Pacific Review*, *Pacific Affairs*, and *Journal of Islamic Studies*. He has also published in policy journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, *National Interest*, and *Asia Policy*. Liow's recent books are: *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia, Fourth Edition* (London: Routledge, 2014), and *The East Asia Summit and Regional Security Architecture* (College Park: University of Maryland, 2011). He is also editor of the four volume collection titled *Islam in Southeast Asia: Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies* (London: Routledge, 2009). Liow is currently working on two books, one on United States-Southeast Asia relations and a second on religion and nationalism in Southeast Asia.

José María Lladós

José María Lladós is currently academic director at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). Lladós taught at the University of Buenos Aires Law School as assistant professor of constitutional law, was the legal advisor of the Argentine Chamber of Electronics Industries (CADIE), and consultant of the National Institute of Industrial Technology and the Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean. He

was executive secretary of the Argentine-Brazilian Business Council and member of the Board of the Banco Hipotecario Nacional and the Sociedad Mixta Siderúrgica Argentina. He also served as secretary of defense production at the Defense Ministry during Raúl Ricardo Alfonsín's presidency and secretary of planning at the Defense Ministry during Fernando De la Rúa's presidency. He was also the advisor to the Defense Committee of the National Chamber of Deputies. Lladós has a law degree from the school of law at the University of Buenos Aires, and an MA in international relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation, a nonpartisan think tank located in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. CIGI's research programs focus on the global economy; global security and politics; and international law. Previously he was vice president, programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre, a research funder. His fields of expertise are monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, and aid effectiveness. His recent publications include coedited books on development thought and practice, Canada's relations with Africa, and Canada's role in the international financial system. He serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research. He received his doctorate in economics in 1988 from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years.

Stewart M. Patrick

Stewart M. Patrick is a senior fellow and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). From 2005 to April 2008, he was a research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed research and policy engagement on the intersection between security and development. Patrick has also served on the secretary of state's policy planning staff, with lead staff responsibility for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, Patrick was a research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. Patrick is the author of numerous articles and chapters on the subjects of multilateral cooperation, state-building, and U.S. foreign policy. He has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including his most recent book, *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Additionally, Patrick writes the blog, *The Internationalist*, for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received his doctorate in international relations, as well as two MA degrees from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Volker Perthes

Volker Perthes has been chief executive officer and director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) since October 2005. He has been with SWP, the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (previously Ebenhausen) since 1992 where he served as head of the SWP Middle East and Africa research group for several years. Perthes serves on various national and international bodies such as the Advisory Research Council of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (as chairman), the International Advisory Council of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies, the Advisory Board of the Turkey: Culture of Change Initiative of the Turkish Industry & Business Association, and the Advisory Council for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy and the Australia-Germany Advisory Group. Perthes is a frequent commentator in German and international media. He worked as assistant professor at the American University of Beirut from 1991 to 1993 and has since taught at several universities. Today, he is professor of political science and international relations at Humboldt University Berlin and Free University of Berlin. He earned his doctoral degree and his habilitation from the University of Duisburg in 1990 and 1999, respectively.

Fernando Enrique Petrella

Fernando Enrique Petrella joined the Argentine Foreign Service in 1965. He has been posted at the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Organization of American States. He was deputy foreign minister from 1992–1997; under-secretary for foreign relations from 1991–1992 and from 2002–2003; and permanent representative to the United Nations from 1997–1999. He is a professor at the Argentine Diplomatic Academy and a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) Executive Committee.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental served as deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988-1994), ambassador to Sweden (1983-88), permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982-83) and ambassador to the United Kingdom, (1995-1997) as well as in various responsibilities within the Mexican Foreign Ministry and abroad.. Since 1994, he has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. Rozental chairs the board of ArcelorMittal Mexico and is an independent board member of ArcelorMittal Brazil, Ocean Wilson Holdings and Wilson Sons (Brazil) and HSBC Bank in Mexico. He holds advisory positions with Airbus Mexico, Toyota and Kansas City Southern de México. He is president of his own consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which specializes in advising multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He is a senior nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution, a senior policy advisor at Chatham House in London, a trustee of the Migration Policy Institute in Washington and sits on the Operating Board of Canada's Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) in Waterloo. Rozental was the founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and is currently a member ex officio of its governing body. Rozental obtained his professional degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas in Mexico, and his MA in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is chairman and founder of the Gulf Research Center. He is also president of Sager Group Holding in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Sager has been a member of the Makkah Province Council since 2003. Additionally, he serves as a member on the advisory boards of organizations such as the Arab Thought Foundation; the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces; the Faculty of Economics and Administration of King Abdulaziz University; and the Ministry of Higher Education, Saudi Arabia. His recent publications include: "Why for all its problems, the EU is still a model for the Arab world," *Europe's World*, no. 14, Spring 2010 and Energy Shapes new Gulf Security Architecture, *Journal of Middle Eastern Geopolitics* (2006). He was also the chief editor for the Gulf Yearbook for the 2003-2009 editions. Sager holds a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University, an MA from the University of Kent, United Kingdom, and a BA in economics and administration from King Abdulaziz University.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is senior fellow and vice president at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He is the chair of Cyfy 2014, an annual convention that is India's premiere international event on cyber security and cyber governance. He is also the editor of the CyFy journal. Samir is an international fellow of the International Cyber Policy Centre at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute; a fellow at the Cambridge Sustainability Programme and co-chair of a year-long road to Paris Initiative in a track-II initiative. His latest published work includes, "Attitudes to Water in South Asia," a joint ORF-Chatham House Report; "A Long Term Vision for BRICS," [Brazil, Russia, China, India, South Africa] a comprehensive vision document submitted to the BRICS Think

Tanks Council; “India, Internet Governance, and the International Telecommunication Union; A complex grey zone,” and “The Tricky Path to a Global Climate Agreement” for the Council on Foreign Relations. He authors frequent columns in newspapers such as the *Global Times*, *Times of India*, the *Hindu*, *Mail Today*, and the *Indian Express* on issues such as, climate change, nontraditional security, radicalism, BRICS, and development policy in addition to cyber security and internet governance.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). Before her current appointment she was director of studies at SAIIA from 1999 to April 2005. She was previously research director at the South African Institute of Race Relations and editor of the highly acclaimed *Race Relations Survey* (now the *South Africa Survey*). She is a member of the International Advisory Board of the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, the journal of the Graduate Institute of International Development in Geneva, and the International Journal *Chinese Quarterly of Strategic Studies* under the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). She is the editor-in-chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. Sidiropoulos serves on the World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Agenda Council on the Future of Regional Organisations, and the WEF Think Tank Leaders Forum. Her most recent work is a coedited volume titled *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns* (Zed Books, May 2012). She holds an MA in international relations (cum laude) from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Matias Spektor

Matias Spektor is associate professor of history and international relations at Fundação Getulio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro. He is the author of two books on U.S.-Brazil relations: *Kissinger e o Brasil* (2009) and *Eighteen Days: When Lula and Fernando Henrique United to Earn Bush's Support* (in Portuguese *18 dias: Quando Lula e Fernando Henrique se uniram para conquistar o apoio de Bush*) (2014). He is currently writing a book on Brazil's decision not to build a nuclear weapon. Spektor writes a foreign-policy column for *Folha de S. Paulo*, Brazil's leading newspaper. His writing for the press has also appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Financial Times*, and the *International Herald Tribune*. Spektor was a visiting fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, King's College London and the London School of Economics. Before becoming an academic, he worked for the United Nations. He holds a PhD from the University of Oxford.

Rizal Sukma

Rizal Sukma is executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta; chairman of International Relations, Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board; and a member of the Board of Advisors of the Institute for Peace and Democracy. Sukma has served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defense Review at the Ministry of Defense, and as a member of the National Drafting Committee for the National Defense Bill (2000–2002) and the Armed Forces Bill (2002–2003). He was the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award, in July 2005, and named one of on-hundred global thinkers in 2009 by *Foreign Policy* magazine. His most recent publications include “The ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC): Opportunities and Constraints for the R2P [Responsibility to Protect] in Southeast Asia,” which appeared in *The Pacific Review* in March 2012 and “Indonesia Finds a New Voice,” which appeared in the *Journal of Democracy* in October 2011. He has also published three books including, *Security Operations in Aceh: Goals, Consequences, and Lessons, which was published in 2004* Sukma holds a PhD in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Johannes Thimm

Johannes Thimm is currently the head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He has published widely on issues of U.S. foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and global governance, and is a frequent contributor to German and international media. Prior to joining SWP, he worked briefly at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna. Thimm has studied political science and international relations at Freie Universität Berlin, the University of Washington (Seattle, WA), and Yale University. Thimm received his PhD from Freie Universität Berlin.

Andrew Thompson

Andrew Thompson is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). Thompson is also an adjunct assistant professor of political science at the University of Waterloo, and the program officer for the global governance programs at the Balsillie School of International Affairs. Additionally, Thompson is the cohost of *Inside the Issues*, CIGI's weekly international affairs podcast. Thompson is the author and coeditor of four books, *Fixing Haiti: MINUSTAH and Beyond*, *In Defence of Principles: NGOs and Human Rights in Canada*, *Critical Mass: The Emergence of Global Civil Society*, and *Haiti: Hope for a Fragile State*. He has appeared as an expert witness before the Canadian House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, and the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on Human Rights. In 2004, he was a member of an Amnesty International human rights lobbying and fact-finding mission to Haiti, and in 2011 he was elected to Amnesty International Canada's Executive Board. Also in 2011, he was named to the advisory editorial board of the *Global Civil Society Report*, the annual report of CIVICUS: The World Alliance for Citizen Participation.

Jusuf Wanandi

Jusuf Wanandi is senior fellow and cofounder of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and vice chairman of the board of trustees CSIS Foundation, Jakarta. He is vice chair of the Indonesian National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, co-chair of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, and co-chair of the Council of Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific, Indonesia. He is also president director of the publishing company of *The Jakarta Post Daily*, chairman of the board of the Prasetya Mulya Business School, and chairman of the foundation of Panca Bhakti University in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. A lawyer by training, Wanandi was assistant professor of law at the University of Indonesia, and has served in various national and international organizations over the course of his career. He was appointed as secretary of the Indonesian Supreme Advisory Council; secretary-general of the National Education Council; and was a four-term representative in the People's Consultative Assembly. He has written extensively in national and international magazines and newspapers and has edited a number of books on political and security developments in the Asia Pacific region.

Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç

Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç is the executive director at Global Relations Forum. She joined GRF in 2009 as a program director and has coordinated GRF's task force on energy. Currently, she oversees and coordinates GRF's Track-II projects with Russia and GRF's task force on security. Before she started her career at an international law firm in New York, Yalınkılıç worked at Western Policy Center in Washington, DC; and the Turkish Mission to the United Nations. Prior to joining GRF, she specialized in strategy and business development and served as a communication consultant to several companies. Yalınkılıç is fluent in Turkish and English, and conversational in French and Greek. Yalınkılıç graduated from Georgetown University in 2002 with a BS degree, cum laude, in foreign affairs concentrating in culture and politics as well as minorities, and she completed a certificate program in Muslim-Christian relations. Yalınkılıç holds an MSc degree, with merit, in

social and public communication from The London School of Economics with specializations in corporate communications and social psychology.

Yinghong Zhang

Yinghong Zhang is the director of the Center for European Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies. Her research is focused on EU integration, EU's common security and defense policy, EU's gender equality policy, and EU's innovation policy. Zhang is the author of the book *Studies on the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union*. She also coauthored with Yang Jiemian the book, *Theoretical Exploration for the Ascendance of Great Powers*, published in 2014, as well as the book *Integration with Plurality: The Exploration for the Regional Common Governance in Europe*(2009) with Wu Yikang. Among Zhang's recently published papers are: "Development of the EU Policy on Venture Capital Market and Its Implication for Shanghai," which appeared in the *Journal of Shanghai Business School* in 2014; and "An Exploration into the Construction of the Pan-European Venture Capital Market and Its Implication," which appeared in the *Journal of International Relations*, in 2013. Zhang received her BA in international politics from Fudan University in 1989; an MA from Shanghai Institute for International studies in 1994; and a PhD from the School of Advanced International and Area Studies of the Normal University of East China in 2011.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Charles E. Cook

Charles E. Cook is editor and publisher of the *Cook Political Report* and a political analyst for *National Journal* magazine. In 2010, Cook was a corecipient of the American Political Science Association's prestigious Carey McWilliams Award to honor "a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics." In the spring semester of 2013, Cook served as a resident fellow at the Institute of Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School. Cook founded the *Cook Political Report* in 1984 and became a columnist for *Roll Call*, the newspaper of Capitol Hill, in 1986. In 1998, he moved his column to *National Journal*. Cook has served as a political analyst or election night analyst for CBS, CNN, and NBC News, has been a frequent political analyst for all three major broadcast news networks, and has appeared on *Meet the Press* and *This Week*. The *New York Times* has called Cook "one of the best political handicappers in the nation" and has said the *Cook Political Report* is "a newsletter which both parties regard as authoritative." CBS News' Bob Schieffer called the *Cook Political Report* "the bible of the political community."

Eugene Joseph Dionne Jr.

Eugene Joseph "E.J." Dionne is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a syndicated columnist for the *Washington Post*, and university professor in the foundations of democracy and culture at Georgetown University. Dionne appears weekly on National Public Radio (NPR) and regularly on MSNBC. He is a regular contributor to NBC's *Meet the Press*. He has also appeared on *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* and other PBS programs. Dionne began his career with the *New York Times* and later joined the *Washington Post* as a reporter covering national and international politics. His bestselling book, *Why Americans Hate Politics* (Simon & Schuster), was published in 1991. The book won the *Los Angeles Times* book prize, and was a National Book Award nominee. He is the author and editor or coeditor of several other books and volumes. Dionne has received numerous awards, including the American Political Science Association's Carey McWilliams Award to honor a major journalistic contribution to the understanding of politics. The Sidney Hillman Foundation presented him with the Hillman Award for Career Achievement in 2011. Dionne graduated summa cum laude with a BA from Harvard University in 1973 and received his doctorate from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall

Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall is deputy secretary of energy for the U.S. Department of Energy. Sherwood-Randall served as special assistant to the president and White House coordinator for defense policy, countering weapons of mass destruction, and arms control. During her tenure, she oversaw the successful effort to remove all declared chemical weapons from Syria. She also directed landmark efforts to combat sexual assault in the military. From 2009 to 2013, Sherwood-Randall served as special assistant to the president and senior director for European affairs at the National Security Council. Prior to joining the Obama Administration, Sherwood-Randall was a Stanford University senior research scholar. From 2004 to 2008 she was also the adjunct senior fellow for alliance relations at the Council on Foreign Relations. Additionally, she was a founding principal in the Harvard Stanford Preventive Defense Project from 1997 to 2008. From 1994 to 1996, Sherwood-Randall served in the Pentagon as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia. At the outset of her career, she served as chief foreign affairs and defense policy advisor to then-Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. Sherwood-Randall received a BA from Harvard University and a PhD from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College.

Margaret Warner

Margaret Warner is a chief foreign correspondent and on-air anchor of public television's *PBS NewsHour*. She is also lead correspondent for *NewsHour's* overseas reporting unit, covering crucial events and their causes around

the world. In recent years, she has reported from Bahrain, Egypt, Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, China, Kenya, South Korea, Brazil, and most major European countries. She was the 2008 recipient of an Emmy Award for her coverage in Pakistan, and also of the Edward Weintal Prize for International Reporting from Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. In 1993, she joined what was then *The MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* after a decade at *Newsweek* as a political correspondent, a White House reporter, and the chief diplomatic correspondent. She previously reported for the *Wall Street Journal*, *The San Diego Union*, and *The Concord Monitor* [of New Hampshire]. She is based in Washington, DC.