



Institute of  
Contemporary  
Development

**COUNCIL** *on*  
**FOREIGN  
RELATIONS**

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## **Council of Councils Regional Conference**

# **“Russia, Europe, and the Future of Global Governance”**

**December 12-13, 2012  
Russia, Moscow**

**Marriott Grand Hotel  
(26/1 Tverskaya Street)**

**COUNCIL  
OF COUNCILS**

*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*



Organized by  
Institute of Contemporary Development  
&  
Council of Foreign Relations

## **Agenda**

**Wednesday, December 12, 2012**

19:30 - 20:00 *Drinks (location in the Grand Marriott Hotel TBD)*

20:00 – 22:00 **Welcome Dinner**, restaurant “**Russky Pogrebok**” in the Marriott Grand Hotel

Welcome Remarks by **Igor Yurgens**, Chairman of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, and **Stewart Patrick**, senior fellow and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program of the Council on Foreign Relations

Keynote Address by **Aleksei Kudrin**, Former Russian Finance Minister

**Thursday, December 13, 2012**

**Venue:** **Conference Rooms: Rublevsky-Troitsky, Second Floor of the Grand Marriott Hotel**

08:00-08:30 *Morning Coffee (optional) outside the Rublevsky Conference Room*

08:30-10:00 *Session One*  
**Russia’s G20 Presidency: Priorities and Challenges**

*Panelists:*

**Peter Draper**, South African Institute of International Affairs

**Barry Carin**, Centre for International Governance Innovation

**Nikita Maslennikov**, Institute of Contemporary Development

*Moderator:* **Igor Yurgens**, Institute of Contemporary Development

*Guiding Questions: What should be the primary focus areas of Russia’s G20 presidency? What can be done to improve the G20’s institutional performance, including in the area of macroeconomic coordination and fulfilment of past pledges? What additional reforms to the global financial and monetary system should the G20 advance? How broadly should the G20 expand its agenda outside the realms of economics and finance?*

10:00-10:15 *Coffee Break (outside the Rublevsky Conference Room )*

10:15-11:45 *Session Two*  
**The Eurozone Crisis and the Future of the Global Economy**

*Panelists:*

**Francesc Badia i Dalmases**, Centre d'Estudis i Documentació Internacionals a Barcelona

**Beata Wojna**, The Polish Institute of International Affairs

**Memduh Karakullukcu**, Global Relations Forum

*Moderator:* **Andrés Rozental**, Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales

*Guiding Questions: Are current policy and institutional responses to the eurozone crisis adequate—and if not, what alternative policy and institutional reforms might be warranted? What systemic risks does this crisis pose for the global economy, and what can international institutions and non-eurozone G20 members do to mitigate any potential spillover effects? What impact is the crisis likely to have on the future of the European Union, including the evolution of EU institutions and the EU's role in global governance?*

11:45-12:15     *Remarks by U.S. Ambassador to Russia* **Michael McFaul**

12:30-14:00     **Lunch in Russky Pogrebok restaurant** in the Marriott Grand Hotel  
*Speaker:*  
**Sergey Storchak**, Deputy Finance Minister of the Russian Federation

14:15-15:45     *Session Three*  
**The Crisis in Syria and the Function of the UN Security Council**

*Panelists:*

**Michael Fullilove**, The Lowy Institute for International Policy

**John Chipman**, International Institute for Strategic Studies

**Tan See Seng**, Nanyang Technological University

*Moderator:* **Stewart Patrick**, Council on Foreign Relations

*Guiding Questions: What does the Syrian crisis tell us about the potential and limits of the UN Security Council to address large-scale internal violence? What is the future of the “responsibility to protect” norm? What do the Libyan and Syrian experiences suggest about the evolving relationship between the UN Security Council and regional organizations when it comes to mitigating, managing, and responding to violent conflict in particular regions?*

15:45-16:00     *Coffee Break, outside the Rublevsky Conference Room*

**16:00-17:30**     *Session Four*  
**Cybersecurity: What Institutional Reforms Are Needed?**

*Panelists:*

**Kadri Liik**, European Council on Foreign Relations

**Stefano Silvestri**, International Affairs Institute

*Moderator:* **Thomas Gomart**, Institut Francais des Relations Internationales

*Guiding Questions: How should one define cybersecurity? What are the main threats to cybersecurity, and what can be done in terms of new rules and institutions at the multilateral and regional levels to combat these? What would constitute the ideal components of a global cybersecurity regime? What are the prospects of securing broad agreement on norms and rules of global internet governance?*

17:30-18:00     *Closing Remarks*  
*Speakers: INSOR and CFR representatives*

18:15             *Bus to the U.S. Ambassador to Russia's Residence Spaso House (Spaso House, Spasopeskovskaya Ploshadka, 10)*

18:30-20:00 ***Cocktails and hors d'oeuvre with Michael McFaul, U.S. Ambassador to Russia at Spaso House***

20:15 *Bus to hotel*

## Participant Bios

**Ambassador Lourdes Aranda** was the vice minister for foreign affairs of Mexico until November 30, 2012. In this position, she has served as the Mexican sherpa to the G20 process since 2008 and is responsible for Mexico's bilateral relations with African, Asian, European and Middle Eastern countries. Aranda is also president of the Mexican diplomatic academy, Instituto Matías Romero. Through her career in the Mexican foreign service, she has dealt with issues regarding the Inter-American system, human rights, the environment, transnational organized crime and budgetary and administrative issues. She has been a member of the Mexican Council for Foreign Affairs (Consejo Mexicano de Asuntos Internacionales, COMEXI) since July 2002. She holds a BA in international relations from El Colegio de México and completed post-graduate studies in history and foreign policy at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales of Geneva and the continental defense graduate course at the Inter-American Defense College (IADC) in Washington, DC.

**Francesc Badia i Dalmases** is the general manager of the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB). Previously he has served as the director of the Office of Coordination and Orientation of the URB-AL Programme of the European Commission and executive manager of the European Institute of the Mediterranean. He worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and was director of the EuroMed Regions conference in the Department of International Relations of the government of Catalonia. He was also dialogues coordinator and spokesperson at the Universal Forum of Cultures and general coordinator of the Interarts Foundation. He worked for fifteen years as an international consultant, specializing in emerging and transition economies, and his interests include global governance, international networks and international action carried out by local and regional governments. Badia holds an MA from the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya and an MA from the University of Barcelona.

**Barry Carin** is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). Carin codirects a joint initiative between CIGI and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies to explore future directions for international development, beyond the 2015 United Nations Millennium Development Goals and is a regular contributor to CIGI's commentary on the global economy. Carin has previously served as director of the Canadian Treasury Board secretariat as well as in the Ministry of State for Social Development. In 1992, Carin became the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's assistant deputy minister, economic policy, where he helped coordinate Canadian international economic policy, including the G7 and G8, as the foreign affairs sous-sherpa. In 1994, he assumed responsibility for trade policy. Carin has also served as a member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's executive committee and as the high commissioner of Canada to Singapore from 1996 to 2000. Carin is an adjunct professor at the University of Victoria, where he served as the director for the globalization and governance program and associate director of the Centre for Global Studies, where he was editor of *Global Governance* journal between 2003 and 2009. Carin holds a PhD in economics from Brown University and a BA in economics and political science from McGill University.

**Samuel Charap** is the senior fellow for Russia and Eurasia at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). His areas of expertise include political economy and foreign policies of Russia, Eastern Europe, South Caucasus, and Central Asia; European and Eurasian regional security; U.S. and EU policy toward Europe and Eurasia; and U.S. foreign policy. Prior to joining the Institute, he was a Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) international affairs fellow at the U.S. Department of State, serving as senior advisor to the acting undersecretary for arms control and international security and on the Policy Planning Staff. Additionally, Charap has held positions as the director for Russia and Eurasia at the Center for American Progress (CAP) and a visiting fellow in the Russia and Eurasia

Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He consulted on political risks in Russia and Eurasia for Medley Global Advisors, the Eurasia Group, and Oxford Analytica and served in the NATO Liaison Office in Kiev, Ukraine. His work has been published in the *Washington Quarterly*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Current History*, *New York Times*, and several other journals and newspapers. He was a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Moscow Center and the International Center for Policy Studies (Kyiv), and a Fulbright Scholar at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He holds a PhD in politics, an MA in Russian and East European studies from the University of Oxford and a BA from Amherst College. Charap is a CFR term member.

**Jarosław Ćwiek-Karpowicz** is the Eastern and South Eastern Europe program coordinator at the Polish Institute of International Affairs and an adjunct professor at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw. His main areas of his research include energy security, international relations on the post-Soviet space as well as contemporary Russia. He studied political science at the Universities in Warsaw, Moscow and Strasbourg. He speaks English, Russian, French and Polish.

**John Chipman** is the director-general and chief executive of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. He is adviser to the chairman of Reliance Industries Ltd in Mumbai and a member of the excellence council of private equity firm Abraaj Capital in Dubai. Previously, Chipman has served as assistant director for regional security, and director of studies at the IISS. He is the author of *Nato's Southern Allies* and *French Power in Africa*, as well as of numerous chapters in books, scholarly articles in professional journals, and opinion pieces in newspapers. In 2001 he conceived and launched a new annual forum for consultations between defense ministers and analysts in the Asia-Pacific called the Shangri-La Dialogue. In 2004 he transferred the concept to the Gulf with the convening in Bahrain of the Manama Dialogue of national security advisers drawn from the region and key outside powers, that is now held annually. He regularly broadcasts for television and radio on regional conflict and current strategic trends (in English, French and Spanish). In 1999, Chipman was made Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (CMG) in the Queen's Birthday Honours. He received his BA in history from Harvard, an MA in international history from the London School of Economics, and his M.Phil and D.Phil in international relations from Balliol College Oxford.

**Peter Draper** is a senior research fellow in the economic diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs. In addition he serves as an adjunct professor at Wits Business School; as a senior consultant to the India, Brazil, and South Africa think tank consortium at the Centre for Development and Enterprise, and as a research associate of the Department of Political Science at the University of Pretoria. His current international affiliations include serving as a board member of the Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, a nonresident senior fellow of the Brussels-based European Centre for International Political Economy, the vice-chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Trade, and a member of the brains trust of the Evian Group at IMD Lausanne. His areas of research expertise include multilateral economic diplomacy and governance, particularly the G20 and WTO; regional economic integration, with specific reference to Southern Africa; and South Africa's trade, investment, and industrial policies. He holds a Master of Commerce degree from the University of Natal (now University of KwaZulu-Natal).

**Sabine Fischer** is the head of the Russian Federation/CIS Research Division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Before joining SWP, she spent five years as a research fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), where her research included EU-Russia relations, domestic and foreign policy in Russia and the other countries of the former USSR and EU policy towards the former Soviet Union. She has published on Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, the South Caucasus and the unresolved conflicts in the Eastern Neighborhood and, while at the EUISS,

the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict was a topic of particular focus that she researched and wrote on extensively. She was previously a research fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (2006-2007), and the Freie Universitaet Berlin, among other research institutes. Fischer holds a PhD.

**Michael Fullilove** is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy, where he has directed the global issues program since 2003. He has also worked as a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, as an adviser to Prime Minister Paul Keating, and as a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at Brookings. He writes widely on Australian foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy and global issues in publications including *The New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Daily Beast*, the *Washington Quarterly*, the *National Interest* and *Foreign Affairs*, as well as the Australian press. He graduated in arts and law from the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales, with dual university medals and studied as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford, where he earned an MA and a PhD in international relations.

**Thomas Gomart** is the deputy director for strategic development and director of the Russia/NIS Centre at the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI). His academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space. He has served as the Lavoisier vellow at the State Institute for International Relations (University-MGIMO - Moscow), a visiting fellow at the Institute for Security Studies (European Union - Paris) and the Marie Curie fellow at the Department of War Studies (King's College - London). He is currently editing his next book with A. Dellecker: *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy* (2011). Gomart holds a PhD in history at Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and an executive master in business administration from the Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris.

**Memduh Karakullukcu** is the vice-chairman and president of Global Relations Forum, the managing partner at Kroton Consulting, and the founding partner of the online legal informatics initiative, kanunum.com. His advisory work specializes in higher education and technology policy, and analysis of international economic and political affairs. He served as the senior adviser to the chairwoman of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) between 2007 and 2010. Previously, Karakullukçu was the founding managing director of Istanbul's leading science park, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) ARI Teknokent, while also serving as the senior adviser to the President of İTÜ, the coordinator of the law, technology, and policy programme and the strategic adviser at the İTÜ Remote Sensing Facility. Previously, he worked as a specialist in structured finance at the London and Istanbul offices of an international investment bank between 1992 and 1994. Karakullukcu has been a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics (LSE) and İTÜ and his academic work includes research commissioned by the IMF and the World Bank on the dynamics of Turkish debt markets. He has presented his work on technology and innovation policy at various international fora, including the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Karakullukçu received his BS in electrical engineering and BS in economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an MS in finance at the LSE and his JD at Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

**Alexei Kudrin** was the minister of finance of the Russian Federation from 2000 to 2011 and the deputy prime minister from 2000 to 2004. Previously, Kudrin served as the first deputy chairman of the Board of Russia's Unified Energy System, the deputy head of the presidential executive office and head of the main control directorate of the president of the Russian Federation, the deputy mayor and chairman of the economic and finance committee of St. Petersburg City Hall, and the deputy chairman of the committee for economic development. Kudrin has authored more than fifteen research papers on competition and anti-monopoly policy in the Soviet economy of the transition

period. Kudrin received a PhD in economics from Leningrad State University and a post graduate degree from the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

**Sergey Kulik** is the director for international development at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He is also as a member of the academic council of the Security at the Council of the Russian Federation and the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. His former positions include that of director of the Department for Relations with the EU within the Administration of the Russian President, deputy director of the Foreign Policy Department of the Russian President, head of the Arms Control Center within the Institute of the USA and Canada Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

**Alexey Kvasov** is the deputy chief of the presidential experts' directorate, the Russian G8 sherpa, and serves in the executive office of the president of the Russian Federation. Previously Kvasov has been the aide to the first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, Igor Shuvalov; the aide to the deputy prime minister and minister of finance of the Russian Federation on international development, economic and financial issues, Alexsei Kudrin. Kvasov has also served as executive director for the Russian Federation at the World Bank Group as well as ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Chile.

**Kadri Liik** joined the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) as a senior policy fellow of the Wider Europe Programme in October 2012. From 2006 to 2011, Liik was director of the International Centre for Defense Studies in Estonia, where she also worked as a senior researcher and director of the Centre's Lennart Meri Conference. Liik worked extensively as a Moscow correspondent for several Estonian daily papers in the 1990s including *Postimees*, the largest Estonian daily, *Eesti Päevaleht* and the *Baltic News Service*. She became foreign news editor at *Postimees* in 2002 before leaving in 2004 to become editor-in-chief at the monthly magazine *Diplomaatia*. She was also host of "Välismääraja", a current affairs talk show at Raadio Kuku in Tallinn. Liik holds a BA in journalism from Tartu University in Estonia and an MA in international relations, specializing in diplomacy, from Lancaster University.

**Nikita Maslennikov** is an expert and advisor at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He has held former positions as the head of Department at the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the chairman of the board of directors of a consulting company, and has worked in the government of the Russian Federation in the capacity of adviser and aid to the chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation from 1993 to 1998). He is presently a state adviser of the Second Class and has received several state awards of the Russian Federation. His areas of professional interest include economic and financial policies.

**Michael McFaul** is the U.S. ambassador to Russia. Previously, McFaul served as the special assistant to the president and senior director for Russia and Eurasian affairs on the National Security Council and as a nonresident senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Currently, McFaul is also a professor of political science at Stanford University (on leave), a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies. He is the author and editor of several monographs including, *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can* (2009); with Valerie Bunce and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (2009); *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Postcommunist Political Reform* (2004); with Kathryn Stoner Weiss, eds., *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transitions* (2004); with James Goldgeier, and *Power and Purpose: American Policy toward Russia after the Cold War* (2003). McFaul received a BA in international relations and Slavic languages and an MA in Soviet and East European Studies from Stanford



University, as well as a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

**Stewart M. Patrick** is a senior fellow and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations. 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*. In addition, Patrick writes the blog, "The Internationalist" for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received his doctorate in international relations, as well as two master's degrees from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

**Andres Rozenal** is a member of the board of directors of the Center of International Governance Innovation's. As a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, Rozenal's positions have included deputy foreign minister, ambassador to Sweden, ambassador to the United Kingdom, and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations. He holds the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. Currently, Rozenal holds positions in several multinational corporations in Brazil, the United States, France, the United Kingdom and Mexico, is president of his consulting firm, Rozenal & Asociados and is active in numerous nongovernmental organizations. He is currently a senior nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution, a senior adviser to Chatham House in London, a board member of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Mexico Institute, a trustee of the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, DC, and a governor of Canada's International Research Development Centre (IDRC). He is the founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. Rozenal holds an MA in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania, has authored four books, and served as a foreign policy adviser to Presidents Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón of Mexico.

**Stefano Silvestri** has been the president of the International Affairs Institute (IAI) since 2001. Between January 1995 and May 1996 he served as undersecretary of state for defense, having been an adviser to the undersecretary of foreign affairs, for European matters, in 1975, and a consultant to the prime minister's office under various governments. He continues to act as a consultant to both for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministries of Defense and Industry. As a professional journalist, he has been a special correspondent and columnist for *Globo* (1982), member of the policy committee of *Europeo* (1979), and has contributed articles on foreign and defense policy to numerous national daily papers. He was professor for Mediterranean security issues at the Bologna Centre of Johns Hopkins University (1972-76) and has worked at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (1971-1972). He is currently a member of the administrative council of the Italian Industries Federation for Aerospace, Defence and Security, and of the Trilateral Commission. His recent publications include "The European Union, the United States and the Middle East: some scenarios", in *The European Union and the crisis in the Middle East; Space and Security Policy in Europe : Executive Summary*. Silvestri has been a lead writer for *Il Sole 24 Ore* since 1985.

**Sergei Storchak** is the deputy minister of finance of the Russian Federation. Previously he has served as the second secretary at the Mission to the United Nations and other international organizations; in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia; as the deputy head of the department of

foreign credits and external debt of the the Finance Ministry of Russia; as the vice president of the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of the USSR; and as the director of international financial relations department in the state debt and state financial assets department of the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation. Storchak holds several state awards.

**Tan See Seng** is the deputy director of the Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies and head of the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, where he is a tenured associate professor. His most recent books include *An Agenda for the East Asia Summit: Thirty Recommendations for Regional Cooperation in East Asia* and *Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation: National Interests and Regional Order*. He received a PhD in political science from the Arizona State University and a MA and BA (First Class Honours) from the University of Manitoba.

**Ksenia Yudaeva** is the head of the economics expert department and a G20 Sherpa at the Office of the President of Russia. Previously, Yudaeva has served as leading economist at the Russian-European Center for economic policy as the head of research projects on foreign direct investment and on social policy and a lecturer of international finance and macroeconomics. Yudaeva has also held positions as the scientific director at the Center for Strategic Research; a senior adviser to the president, chief economist and head of macroeconomic research of Sberbank of Russia. Yudaeva received her PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

**Igor Yurgens** is the chairman of the management board at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He is also a member of the Presidential Council for the Development of the Information Society in Russia, the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, the Academic Council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the Russian Council on International Affairs, and the presidium of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. He serves as the honorary consul general of Monaco in Moscow. He is the recipient of several state and international awards, including the Order of Honor of the Russian Federation, L'Ordre National du Mérite of France and the Russian Orthodox Church's Order of Saint Seraphim of Sarov and Order of Prince Daniel of Moscow. Yurgens graduated from Moscow State University, holds a PhD in economics, and serves as a professor at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow.

**Beata Wojna** is the deputy director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw. She has several years' experience as a researcher, program coordinator and team leader with PISM's research office. Wojna's main areas of interest are EU internal and external politics and Polish and Spanish European policy. She has authored or coauthored multiple publications, including books, book chapters, reports and articles in Polish, English and Spanish. She holds a PhD in geography and history from Complutense University.