

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



Sunday, May 15, 2016

6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

Monday, May 16, 2016

8:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

Tuesday, May 17, 2016

8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.

The 2016 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.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

Council of Councils Fifth Annual Conference

Agenda

Sunday, May 15, 2016

*Council on Foreign Relations
The Harold Pratt House
58 East 68th Street
New York*

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Panel Discussion, and Opening Dinner*
Discussion on the U.S. Presidential Election

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

Speaker: Samuel H. Feist, Washington Bureau Chief and Senior Vice President, CNN

Moderator: James M. Lindsay, Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations

Monday, May 16, 2016

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

Maurice R. Greenberg Room

9:00 a.m.–9:15 a.m. **Review: 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)*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

9:15 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Session One*
Managing Flows of Refugees and Migrants

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Panelists: Stewart M. Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Gilead Sher, *Senior Research Fellow and Head, Center for Applied Negotiations, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

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

Moderator: Ettore Greco, Director, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

Guiding Questions: What are the primary shortcomings in the global regimes for supporting internally displaced persons, refugees, and migrants? How can global capacity, funding, and coordination for humanitarian action be improved? How might humanitarian support be better linked with development and more responsive to the needs of individuals unable to return to their home countries? What would be successful outcomes for the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit and the high-level meetings on refugees planned for the opening of the UN General Assembly? What reforms to current international institutions and legal instruments governing global migration are necessary?

10:45 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two*
Global Economic Governance: Preventing the Next Crisis

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Panelists: Daniel Gros, Director, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)

Rohinton P. Medhora, *President, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Luis Rubio, *Chairman, CIDAC (Centro de Investigacion para el Desarrollo) and Board Member, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, *President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)*

Moderator: Memduh Karakullukçu, President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

Guiding Questions: What were the major lessons from the 2008 global financial crisis, and did the reforms implemented in its aftermath address the systemic vulnerabilities it revealed? What are the primary sources of instability in the global economy today? What role should multilateral institutions and forums, such as the International Monetary Fund and the Group of Twenty (G20), play in preventing another global crisis—and are they adequately equipped to do so now? Will voluntary regulatory reforms and nonbinding policy-coordinating bodies keep pace with the globalization of the financial system? Will new institutions, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and New Development Bank, complement or compete with existing institutions like the World Bank? What is the global impact of divergent monetary policies among advanced economies, and can their negative consequences be mitigated?

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Lunch* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. *Session Three* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
A Discussion on Syria

Panelists: Anthony Bubalo, Deputy Director and Research Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)

Volker Perthes, Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Patrycja Sasnal, Head of the Middle East and North Africa Project, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)

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

Guiding Questions: What are the current prospects for sustainable peace in Syria, and how can the United Nations contribute to these negotiations? What does the prolonged crisis mean for the role of the Security Council as the premier body for ensuring international peace and security? Are major world powers and regional actors playing a productive role in the Syrian peace process? What role can multilateral institutions play in the event of a lasting cease-fire?

3:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Free Time*

6:00 p.m.–8:30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Dinner, and Keynote Speaker* **The Library and David Rockefeller Room**
Current Trends in Security: The Return of Geopolitics and the Rise of Global Challenges

Speaker: Lamberto Zannier, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Prsider: Daniel Gros, Director, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)

Tuesday, May 17, 2016

8:00 a.m.–8:30 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**

8:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. **CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch** **Peter G. Peterson Hall**

Speakers: Michael Fullilove, Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)

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

Sook Jong Lee, President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)

Amos Yadlin, Director, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Moderator: **Marcus B. Mabry**, U.S. Curation Lead, Twitter

9:45 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Coffee Break* **The Library**

10:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Session Four* **David Rockefeller Room**
The Way Forward on Global Internet Governance

Panelists: **Thomas Gomart**, Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)
Patricia Lewis, Research Director, International Security, Chatham House (United Kingdom)
Adam Segal, Maurice R. Greenberg Senior Fellow for China Studies, Director of the Digital and Cyberspace Policy Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Moderator: **Samir Saran**, Senior Fellow and Vice President, Observer Research Foundation (India)

Guiding Questions: Are there areas of consensus that can form the basis for bridging the divide between competing views on Internet governance? Can steps be taken to help governments, the private sector, and civil society build consensus on establishing global cyberspace rules for beyond what has been agreed to at the UN Group of Governmental Experts? How can transparency be improved in cyberspace to monitor the implementation of cyber-enabled economic espionage agreements such as the 2015 U.S.-China agreement and the 2015 G20 Communiqué? Do data localization policies undermine data security and privacy?

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. *Lunch* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Session Five* **David Rockefeller Room**
Asian Security Architecture

Panelists: **Cai Penghong**, Senior Fellow, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)
Ralf Emmers, Head, Centre for Multilateralism Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)
Sunjoy Joshi, Director, Observer Research Foundation (India)
Philips Vermonte, Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)

Moderator: **Adam Ward**, Director of Studies, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)

Guiding Questions: What principles, norms, and rules might form the basis for a comprehensive Asian security architecture? Does the experience of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe hold any promise as a model for security and cooperation in Asia? What role can existing multilateral institutions and forums, including regional institutions, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the ASEAN Regional Forum, play in moving toward a consensus? What are the main obstacles? What role should the United States and other major powers outside Asia play in helping provide security in Asia?

2:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. **Discussion of Future Directions of the Council of Councils** **David Rockefeller Room**
Stewart M. Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Participant Biographies

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is a senior research fellow and head of the EU foreign policy and politics and institutions departments at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). His expertise lies at the crossroads of international and EU law and governance. He has published widely on the institutional structures for EU external action, the European Union's role in global governance, norm promotion (inside-out) and norm absorption (outside-in), the EU enlargement policy, relations with neighboring countries, common foreign and security policy, common security and defense policy, trade, development, and humanitarian aid. Blockmans is a part-time professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam and one of the founding members of the Centre for the Law of EU External Relations. Before joining CEPS, he was head of the department of research at the T.M.C. Asser Instituut, an inter-university research center based in The Hague. For more than fifteen years he has combined his academic work with contract research carried out for EU and national donors, consultancy activities, and training for professionals. He has worked on numerous technical assistance projects in wider Europe and Asia. From 2010 to 2014, he was a special visiting professor at the University of Leuven. From 2005 to 2010, he was a lecturer in the in-service training provided by the European Institute of Public Administration for the Directorate-General for External Relations and other external relations directorate-generals of the European Commission. From 2007 to 2009, he served as a long-term expert on legal approximation in the framework of an EU-sponsored project, supporting the Ministry of European Integration of Albania. Blockmans holds an MA in public international law and a PhD in law from Leiden University, where he worked as a lecturer from 1998 until 2002.

Anthony Bubalo

Anthony Bubalo is a deputy director and research director at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He manages the institute's research output, including the commissioning and editorial processes. He has also produced research on a variety of Middle Eastern issues, including Middle East–Asia linkages, Islamism, democratization, terrorism, and energy security. He has written for the *Australian*, *Age*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Financial Times*, *Haaretz*, and *Asahi Shimbun* newspapers, as well as the *American Interest* and *ForeignPolicy.com*. Before joining the Lowy Institute, Bubalo was an officer of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He served on Australian diplomatic missions in Saudi Arabia and Israel and was senior Middle East analyst with the Office of National Assessments from 1996 to 1998.

Cai Penghong

Cai Penghong is a senior fellow at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He is also a member of the Center for Maritime Studies, China International Study Fund in Beijing, and China National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation in Beijing. His research and teaching interests include international relations and security in East Asia, with an emphasis on China's foreign policy, security strategy, maritime security in Asia, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and regional integration. He graduated from Fudan University in 1982 with a degree in international politics.

Claudia Calvin Venero

Claudia Calvin has been the executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations since 2011, and is founder of *Mujeres Construyendo*, 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 experience as a public officer at both the federal and legislative level, in the Senate, Ministry of the Interior, and the office of the president. She has also been an international consultant. She was selected as a finalist for the inaugural Gender Equality and Mainstreaming in Technology Awards in 2014, cosponsored by UN Women and the International Telecommunication Union, for her commitment to promoting women's empowerment and gender equality through ICT. She is also blogger for *Animal Politico*, one of the leading online newspapers in Mexico and Latin America. She earned a BA in international relations

at the National University of Mexico, an MA in international journalism at the University of Southern California, and a PhD in political science at the Latin American Social Sciences Institute.

Sławomir Dębski

Sławomir Dębski is director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, a position he previously held from 2007 to 2010. From 2011 to 2016, he was director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding, and the editor in chief and editorial board member of the *Intersection Project: Russia|Europe|World*. He has been a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters since 2008. He was editor in chief of the Russian-language quarterly *Evropa* as well as the bimonthly *Polish Diplomatic Review*. He is the author of the book *Between Berlin and Moscow: German-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, which won the Klio Award and an award from *Eastern Review*, as well as articles and collections of sources on diplomatic history. His areas of expertise include Polish foreign policy, external policy of the EU, Russian foreign policy, Germany-Russia relations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and global security, and the history of diplomacy. He is a historian and political scientist and received a PhD in history from Jagiellonian University in 2002.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers heads the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is concurrently associate dean and associate professor at RSIS. His research interests cover security studies, international relations theory, maritime security, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific region, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author or editor of eleven books and monographs. He is also coeditor of the *Warwick Studies in Globalisation* series, published by Routledge, and an editorial board member of the *Pacific Review*. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Security*, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Contemporary Politics*, *Asian Journal of Peace-Building*, *Political Science*, and numerous book chapters in edited volumes. At RSIS, Emmers has served as the coordinator of the multilateralism and regionalism program, acting head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, and head of graduate studies. Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics.

Jacek Foks

Jacek Foks is deputy director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, a role he also held from 2003 to 2010. He was previously director of the department of planning and sport policy and undersecretary of state for the Polish Ministry of Sport and Tourism. He has been special secretary of the International Associations of Sports Law since 2008. He is a former member of the Polish UNESCO Committee and Foundation Board of the World Anti-Doping Agency. He was previously editor in chief of the *Polish Foreign Affairs Digest* and a member of the board of editors for the *Polish Diplomatic Review* and *Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*. He is author or coauthor of dozens of articles, and his main research interests include EU law, international sports law, and sports and international relations. He earned an LLM from the University of Warsaw in 1999.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He has been associated with the Lowy Institute since its establishment in 2003. He wrote the feasibility study for the Lowy Institute in 2002 and served as the director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. He has also been a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul Keating, and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at Brookings. Fullilove writes widely on Australian foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy, and global issues in publications including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, and *Foreign Affairs*. In 2015,

Fullilove delivered the 2015 ABC Boyer Lectures, which were published as *A Larger Australia: The ABC 2015 Boyer Lectures*. He is the coeditor, with Anthony Bubalo, of *Reports from a Turbulent Decade*, an anthology of the Lowy Institute's best work, and editor of *Men and Women of Australia! Our Greatest Modern Speeches*. Fullilove is also the author of *Rendezvous with Destiny: How Franklin D. Roosevelt and Five Extraordinary Men Took America into the War and into the World*, which won the 2014 NSW Premier's Literary Award for Nonfiction. He graduated in arts and law from the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales, with dual university medals. He also studied as a Rhodes scholar at the University of Oxford, where he received an MA and PhD in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), based in Paris and Brussels. He was previously its vice president for strategic development and the director of its Russia/NIS Centre. He is also the coeditor of the trilingual electronic series *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was an assistant professor at La Sorbonne, a cadet officer in the army, a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and a Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies at King's College London. Gomart has also managed many projects with leading international think tanks, such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, U.S. Army War College, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, and Moscow State Institute of International Relations. Gomart's current research focuses on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and think tanks. He has recently published *Think Tanks à la française*, *Le débat* with Thierry de Montbrial; *La politique étrangère française est-elle Charlie?*; and *Le retour du risque géopolitique—Le triangle stratégique Russie, Chine, Etats-Unis*. Gomart holds an EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and a PhD in history from Paris I Panthéon–Sorbonne.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is director of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) and also heads the institute's transatlantic program. He worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from January 2006 to July 2007. He has also taught at the Universities of Parma and Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, he worked as a correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. From 1993 to 2000, he directed IAI's program on central and eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006, he was editor of the *International Spectator*. He is the author of a number of publications on EU institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and the Balkans. He has been a freelance journalist since 1988.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros has been the director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) since 2000. Among other current activities, he serves as advisor to the European Parliament and is a member of the advisory scientific committee of the European Systemic Risk Board (ESRB) and the Euro 50 Group of eminent economists. He has held past positions at the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission, and served as advisor to several governments at the highest level, including the United Kingdom and the United States. He is editor of *Economie Internationale* and *International Finance*. He is the author of several books and numerous articles in scientific journals. His main areas of expertise are the European monetary union, macroeconomic policy, the economics of transition to a market economy, public finance, banking, and financial markets. Gros holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is in his thirteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States, devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations. He has served as the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush and as a principal advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell.

He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of twelve books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His next book, *A World in Disarray*, will be published in January 2017 by Penguin Press. A Rhodes scholar, he earned his MPhil and DPhil from Oxford University. He was born in Brooklyn and lives in New York.

Benoit Hardy-Chartrand

Benoit Hardy-Chartrand is a senior research associate at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), where he focuses on northeast Asian security. He also teaches at the Université de Montréal. Prior to joining CIGI, he was an associate researcher at the Raoul-Dandurand Chair of Strategic and Diplomatic Studies and a junior fellow at United Nations University (UNU) in Tokyo, in addition to conducting research at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. He has also worked as a research intern at UNU's Institute for Sustainability and Peace and the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association. Hardy-Chartrand has a BA in political science from Université de Montréal and an MA in international relations from Université du Québec à Montréal. He also studied international relations at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi is director at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in New Delhi. After serving in government for over twenty-five years, Joshi took voluntary retirement from the Indian Administrative Service to follow his primary interests in energy and development studies. As director of ORF since 2009, he has overseen the transformation of the foundation into what is now India's foremost think tank, in a range of sectors, from foreign policy and internet governance to development studies and national security. His recent publications include "The Future of Energy," an ORF and Economic Policy Forum collaboration; "Reforming Energy Policy and Pricing" as part of the book *Getting India Back on Track: An Action Agenda for Reform*; "The Search for Energy Security," as part of the book *Crux of Asia—China, India, and the Emerging Global Order*; and "Beyond the Plateau in U.S.–India Relations" for the Heritage Foundation. Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, as well as distinguished visitor to the program on energy and sustainable development at Stanford University.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of the Global Relations Forum. 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 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 economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, his MSc in finance from the London School of Economics, and his JD from Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO. He has been regularly conducting evaluations of major political parties' 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 aiming at solving the challenges facing East Asia. He has also served as a member of the 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 at the Brazil-based Center for International Relations of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV), based in FGV's School of Social Sciences. Lazarou has held postdoctoral positions at the University of Cambridge and the London School of Economics. She is currently on leave from FGV and is working at the European Parliamentary Research Service. Lazarou received her PhD in international relations from the University of Cambridge in 2008.

Sook Jong Lee

Sook Jong Lee is the president of the East Asia Institute, an independent, nonprofit think tank based in Seoul. Lee is also a professor of public administration at Sungkyunkwan University and leads governance-related research networks in academia. Currently, Lee holds a number of advisory positions in the South Korean government, including in the presidential national security advisory group, presidential committee for unification preparation, and councils for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Unification, and Korea International Cooperation Agency. Since 2015, she has served on the steering committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Previously, Lee was a research fellow at the Sejong Institute, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, a lecturer at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and a visiting fellow at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies. Her recent publications include *Keys to Successful Presidency in South Korea*, *South Korea as New Middle Power Seeking Complex Diplomacy*, *Korea's Role in Global Governance for Development Cooperation*, *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, *Japan and East Asia: Regional Cooperation and Community Building*, and *Toward Managed Globalization: The Korean Experience*. Lee received her PhD in sociology from Harvard University.

Patricia M. Lewis

Patricia M. Lewis is the research director for international security at Chatham House in London. Her former posts include deputy director and scientist-in-residence at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies; director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research; and director of the Verification Research, Training, and Information Centre in London. Lewis served on the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission chaired by Hans Blix; the advisory panel on future priorities of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons chaired by Ambassador Rolf Ekeus; and was an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament chaired by Gareth Evans and Yoriko Kawaguchi. She currently is a commissioner on the Global Commission on Internet Governance. She holds a BSc in physics from Manchester University, a PhD in nuclear physics from the Birmingham University, and an honorary doctor of laws from the University of Warwick. She is a dual national of the United Kingdom and Ireland and is the recipient of the American Physical Society's 2009 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award.

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 seventy fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He is a leading authority on the U.S. foreign policy-making process and the domestic politics of U.S. 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. Between 1996 and 1997, 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 U.S. foreign policy, U.S. government, and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. His blog, *The Water's Edge*, can be found at blogs.cfr.org/lindsay.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), 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 for 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, Partnership for African Social and Governance Research, Balsillie School of International Affairs, and on the advisory board of the McLuhan Centre at the University of Toronto. He received his doctorate in economics in 1988 from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years.

In-Kook Park

In-Kook Park is president of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS). He previously served as ambassador, permanent representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, in addition to his ambassadorial career in Geneva and Kuwait. Park joined the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1978 and served in the United States, in Belgium with the Korean Mission to the EU, and in Saudi Arabia as a career diplomat. Working in the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Park served as director of the United Nations Division II, the disarmament and nuclear energy division; deputy minister for policy planning and international organizations; and deputy foreign minister for multilateral and global issues. He also served as secretary to the president of the Republic of Korea for international security. Park has taken on other ambassadorial roles, including president of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and chairman of the economic and financial committee of the UN General Assembly. He also served as co-chair of the preparatory committee for the UN conference on sustainable development in 2012. He previously served as a visiting professor at the Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University. He also serves as the co-chairman of the board of Asia research centers at major Chinese universities, including Peking University, Tsinghua University, Fudan University, Renmin University of China, and Zhejiang University. In 2012, he was a council member of the World Economic Forum. Park holds a bachelor's degree from the department of Chinese language and literature and a master's degree from the Graduate School of Law at Seoul National University.

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 policymaking at the intersection of 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

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Volker Perthes

Volker Perthes has been chief executive officer and director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, known as Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, since October 2005. Volker Perthes has also served as UN assistant secretary-general and senior advisor to the UN special envoy for Syria since September 2015. Perthes is a frequent commentator in German and international media on German and European foreign and security policy, international relations and geopolitics, and regional dynamics and transitions in the Middle East.

Fernando Enrique Petrella

Fernando Enrique Petrella is a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations' executive committee. He joined the Argentine foreign service in 1965 and 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 to 1997, undersecretary for foreign relations from 1991 to 1992 and from 2002 to 2003, and permanent representative to the United Nations from 1997 to 1999. He is a professor at the Argentine Diplomatic Academy.

Luis Rubio

Luis Rubio is chairman of the Center of Research for Development (CIDAC), an independent research institution devoted to the study of economic and political policy issues, and a board member of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. Rubio is a prolific writer on political, economic, and international subjects. He is a contributing editor of *Reforma* and his analyses and opinions often appear in Mexico, the United States, and Europe in publications such as the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *National Public Radio*. He is also the winner of the 1985 Association of Professional Researchers for Advancement book award, the Dag Hammarskjöld Award in 1993, and the National Journalism Award for op-ed pieces in 1998. He is a frequent speaker at major international conferences. He serves on the boards of several hedge funds and Afore Banamex. He served on the board of directors of the Human Rights Commission of the Federal District, Mexico, and is member of the Trilateral Commission and the Halifax International Security Forum Agenda Working Group. He is author and editor of forty-eight books, including *A Mexican Utopia: The Rule of Law is Possible*, *NAFTA at Twenty: A Political and Strategic Perspective*, and *Mexico: A Middle Class Society; Poor No More, Developed Not Yet*. Before joining CIDAC, he was planning director of Citibank in Mexico and served as an advisor to Mexico's secretary of the treasury in the 1970s. He holds a diploma in financial management, an MMBA, and an MA and PhD in political science from Brandeis University.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is senior fellow and vice president at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and heads the foundation's outreach and business development activities. He is a frequent commentator on issues of global governance, including climate change and energy policy, global development architecture, cyber security and internet governance, and India's foreign policy. His latest published work includes "India's Contemporary Plurilateralism" in the *Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*; "New Room to Manoeuvre: An Indian Approach to Climate Change," a Global Policy and ORF publication; "Attitudes to Water in South Asia," a joint ORF and Chatham House report; "A Long Term Vision for BRICS," a comprehensive vision document submitted to the BRICS think tanks council; "The ITU and Unbundling Internet Governance: An Indian Perspective," for the Council on Foreign Relations; "Indo-U.S. Cooperation on Internet Governance and Cyber Security," a joint research project between ORF and the Heritage Foundation; and a paper on "The Shifting Digital

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Patrycja Sasnal

Patrycja Sasnal is head of the Middle East and North Africa project at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw, and a member of the advisory European working group on Egypt. She has written on U.S. and EU policy in the Middle East, sociopolitical transformation of the Arab world, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and modern Arab thought. She has been published in *Al-Ahram*, *Le Monde*, *Insight Turkey*, *EUobserver*, and *Polityka*. She was an associate professor at the American University in Beirut and has lectured at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Warsaw and Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. In 2010, she was a Fulbright scholar at the Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. She holds a PhD in political science, MA in international relations, and an MA in Arabic language and culture from Jagiellonian University.

Adam Segal

Adam Segal is the Maurice R. Greenberg senior fellow for China studies and director of the Digital and Cyberspace Policy program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). An expert on security issues, technology development, and Chinese domestic and foreign policy, Segal was the project director for the CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force report *Defending an Open, Global, Secure, and Resilient Internet*. His book *The Hacked World Order: How Nations Fight, Trade, Maneuver, and Manipulate in the Digital Age* describes the increasingly contentious geopolitics of cyberspace. His work has appeared in the *Financial Times*, *Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Foreign Affairs*, among others. He currently writes for the blog *Net Politics*. Before coming to CFR, Segal was an arms control analyst for the China Project at the Union of Concerned Scientists, where he wrote about missile defense, nuclear weapons, and Asian security issues. He has been a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology’s Center for International Studies, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and Tsinghua University in Beijing. He has taught at Vassar College and Columbia University. Segal has a BA and PhD in government from Cornell University, and an MA in international relations from Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher heads the Center for Applied Negotiations at the Institute for National Security Studies. He is a former Israeli chief and co-chief negotiator at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks, and served as former Prime Minister Ehud Barak’s chief of staff and policy coordinator. Sher is an Israel Defense Forces colonel. He co-chairs the nonpartisan organization Blue White Future and chairs Sapir Academic College. He was a guest lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School and authored *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001: Within Reach* and coedited *Negotiating in Times of Conflict*. His new book, *The Battle for Home*, was published in 2016. Sher is also an attorney and senior partner in Gilead Sher, Kadari & Co. law offices.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been the president of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. He began his activities as a professor at FGV’s Graduate School of Economics (EPGE). He was director of FGV–Business from 1992 to 1997, general director of EPGE from 1994 to 1997, and FGV’s vice president from 1997 to 2000. He has also worked as a consultant for the Central Bank of Brazil, and is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and several corporate boards. He was awarded the Grand Cross of Scientific Merit of Brazil and several military awards. He studied civil engineering at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and received a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Johannes Thimm

Johannes Thimm is the deputy head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, known as Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (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. Thimm studied political science and international relations at the University of Washington and Yale University, and received his PhD from the Free University of Berlin.

Hayanari Uchino

Hayanari Uchino is a visiting fellow at Genron NPO, in Tokyo, Japan. He also serves as managing director and the head of the environment, society, and governance research department at the Daiwa Institute of Research. From 2005 to 2014, Uchino was the Japan Securities Dealers Association's representative on the Consultative Advisory Group for the International Auditing and Assurance Standards Boards. During his two-year tenure at the Japanese Ministry of Finance, he was in charge of the Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) as a senior analyst of global capital markets when ADBI was just established and coping with the international economic and policy issues related to the Asian currency and financial crisis in 1998.

Philips Jusario Vermonte

Philips Vermonte is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia. He is the principal investigator of public opinion surveys conducted by CSIS. His recent publications include "The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament: Identifying Its Origins and Obstacles in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Timor Leste," a position paper published by the U.S. Agency for International Development and Kemitraan; "What Happened in the Early Years of Democracy: Indonesia's Experience," coauthored with Rizal Shiddiq, in the *Middle East Development Journal*; "Indonesia's 2014 Elections: Practical Innovations and Optimistic Outcome," in the *Journal of Asian Politics and Policy*; and a book review of *The Institutionalization of Political Parties in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: From the Grass-Roots Up*. Vermonte's research interest includes comparative politics, voting behavior, electoral politics, and political parties in Indonesia. He earned his PhD in political science at Northern Illinois University.

Jusuf Wanandi

Jusuf Wanandi is senior fellow and cofounder of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia, and vice chairman of the board of trustees of the CSIS Foundation, Jakarta. He is vice chair of the Indonesian National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and co-chair of the Council of Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, Indonesia. He is also president director of the publishing company of the *Jakarta Post*, chairman of the board of the Prasetya Mulya Business School, and chairman of the Foundation of Panca Bhakti University in Pontianak, West Kalimantan. He was co-chair of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council from 2009 to 2015. 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 of the People's Consultative Assembly. He was active in the Golkar Party between 1979 and 1988 as a member of the central board in various capacities. He has written extensively on political and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region. His political memoir, *Shades of Grey*, was published in 2013.

Adam Ward

Adam Ward is the director of studies of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). He is responsible for the organization and execution of the institute's worldwide research activities, including setting priorities, raising funds, and managing senior fellows and junior researchers. He also represents the institute internationally, working with governments, international organizations, strategists, the media, and business. From 2006 to 2009, Ward was the executive director of the IISS office in Washington, DC, acting as the institute's principal liaison with U.S. government agencies and the Washington-based diplomatic and strategic studies community. From 2001 to 2006, he served simultaneously as the IISS senior fellow for East Asian security and editor of *Strategic Comments*, the institute's monthly journal. Before joining IISS, he was an analyst and editor at the consulting firm Oxford Analytica. He holds a BA in German and politics, and an MA in international relations from the University of Warwick, and also studied for one academic year at the University of Salzburg in Austria.

Amos Yadlin

Amos Yadlin has been the director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Israel's leading strategic think tank, since November 2011. Yadlin was designated minister of defense of the Zionist Union Party in the March 2015 elections. Yadlin served for over forty years in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), nine of which was as a member of the IDF general staff. He retired with the rank of major general. From 2006 to 2010, Yadlin served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence. From 2004 to 2006, he served as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, he earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. Yadlin, a former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases. He has also served as head of the Israeli Air Force planning department. He accumulated about five thousand flight hours and flew more than 250 combat missions behind enemy lines. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz, which destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and a MPA from Harvard University.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Samuel H. Feist

Samuel H. Feist is CNN's Washington bureau chief and senior vice president. Named to this role in May 2011, he oversees daily operations of the bureau and leads all newsgathering and Washington-based programming, including: The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer, The Lead with Jake Tapper, and Inside Politics. Feist also leads the production of CNN's campaign and election coverage, which in 2012 included the network's record seven Republican presidential debates, primary, and convention coverage and its Emmy-Award winning election night. Previously, Feist was CNN's political director and vice president of Washington programming. In the 2008 election cycle, Feist coordinated and produced the primary and convention coverage that earned CNN a Peabody Award. Feist was the founding executive producer of The Situation Room, the daily newscast now in its ninth year. He formerly produced and managed the production of other CNN political programs including: Crossfire, State of the Union, The Capital Gang, Evans & Novak, Late Edition, and Wolf Blitzer Reports. Feist is the recipient of three Emmy Awards: as executive producer of Election Night 2012, as executive producer of CNN's coverage of the 2006 midterm elections, and as an executive producer of breaking news coverage of the 2011 Arab Spring. Feist began his CNN career in 1990 as a freelance producer in CNN's London Bureau. He then joined CNN at CNN's Atlanta Headquarters and moved to the Washington Bureau during the 1992 presidential campaign. Feist received his bachelor of arts in political science from Vanderbilt University, graduating Phi Beta Kappa. He received his law degree with honors from the Georgetown University Law Center, which included a semester studying international law at Cambridge University.

Lamberto Zannier

An Italian career diplomat, Lamberto Zannier became the secretary-general of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in July 2011. From June 2008 to June 2011, Zannier was UN special representative for Kosovo and head of the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo. From 2002 to 2006, he was the director of the Conflict Prevention Centre of the OSCE. Previously, he served as permanent representative of Italy to the Executive Council of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague, chairperson of the negotiations on the adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and head of disarmament at the Arms Control and Cooperative Security at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Observer Biographies

Ari Heistein

Ari Heistein is the special assistant to Amos Yadlin at the Institute for National Security Studies in Israel. He holds a BA in Near Eastern studies from Princeton University and an MA in Middle Eastern studies from Tel Aviv University.

Gitta Lauster

Gitta Lauster has been special assistant to the director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) since March 2015. Previously, she worked at SWP from 2009 to 2013 as a research assistant on various projects, primarily focusing on competition and conflict over scarce resources. From 2013 to 2015, Lauster worked at the German Social Democratic Party headquarters, both in the federal election campaign and as an international secretary for the youth branch of the party. She has studied political science, international relations, and peace studies at Ruhr University Bochum and University Duisburg-Essen.