

COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
RELATIONS**



**COUNCIL OF COUNCILS
ELEVENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

“ADAPTING TO A CHANGING ORDER IN ASIA”

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



OCTOBER 7–9, 2018

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

Hosted by

East Asia Institute (EAI)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

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 the Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-nine 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 in 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 websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

The Council of Councils Eleventh Regional Conference in Seoul is organized in cooperation with



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Council of Councils Eleventh Regional Conference

Final Agenda

Sunday, October 7, 2018

The Westin Chosun Seoul
106 Sogong-ro
Jung-gu Seoul, 04533

6:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion* *Orchid Room*
A Conversation With Cho Hyun
Hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations

Welcoming and Opening Remarks:

Yul Sohn, *President, East Asia Institute* (South Korea)

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

Keynote Speaker:

Cho Hyun, *First Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs* (South Korea)

Moderator:

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

Monday, October 8, 2018

The Westin Chosun Seoul
106 Sogong-ro
Jung-gu Seoul, 04533

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One* *Cosmos/Violet Room*
Denuclearizing North Korea

Guiding Questions: How should we define the denuclearization of North Korea? What is the likelihood of achieving this goal, and what are the most formidable challenges to doing so? How can those challenges be overcome? How should we assess Kim Jong-un's underlying strategic calculations and his pursuit of diplomacy? What are the achievements and shortfalls of President Donald J. Trump and President Moon Jae-in's diplomacy with regard to the future of the Korean Peninsula, and what should be their next steps? What are China's interests, and what role is China likely to play as negotiations continue? How will Northeast Asian regional architecture change, assuming the denuclearization and normalization of North Korea is successful?

Panelists:

Chaesung Chun, *Chair of the Center for International Relations Studies, East Asia Institute; and Professor, Seoul National University* (South Korea)

Ettore Greco, *Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs* (Italy)

Guan Guihai, *Executive Vice President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies* (China)

Osamu Onoda, *Visiting Senior Fellow, Genron NPO* (Japan)

Moderator:

Young-Sun Ha, *Chairman, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two*

Cosmos/Violet Room

Addressing Global Health Challenges in an Aging World

Guiding Questions: Which of the multitude of challenges that accompany an aging world are dependent on international cooperation to solve, and what is the role of global and regional governance in confronting them? What principles should govern private sector engagement in confronting the challenges of aging, and are there areas where the private sector should not be brought in? How can nations work together to mitigate exposure to rising health threats from multinational companies and global supply chains, such as tobacco, pollution, and unhealthy foods? How can countries cooperate to shift more research, development, and delivery of medicines from infectious disease challenges to chronic diseases? How can international institutions ensure trade agreements promote rather than restrict access to affordable medicines and assistive technologies? How can global and regional governance architectures better engage the private sector in driving the health-care response and reduce the financial risks of aging?

Panelists:

Thomas Bollyky, *Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics, and Development, and Director of the Global Health Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Eduardo Mello, *Assistant Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)*

Carlos Javier Regazzoni, *Consultant Member, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

Moderator:

Barbara Lippert, *Director of Research and Member of the Executive Board, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

12:15 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Working Lunch on Common Challenges Think Tanks Face*

Lilac/Tulip Room

Presider:

Stewart Patrick, *James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance and Director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

1:45 p.m.–2:45 p.m. *Session Three*

Cosmos/Violet Room

**Global Governance Working Papers Discussion:
Arctic Governance and Climate Finance**

Panelists:

Samir Saran, *President, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Zhao Long, Assistant Director of the Institute for Global Governance Studies and Associate Professor, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Moderator:

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

2:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m. *Coffee Break*

3:00 p.m.–4:45 p.m. *Public Session*

Orchid Room

The Future of Asia's Contested Order

Guiding Questions: What is the current state of Asia's regional architecture, and what are the chances of a regional security architecture emerging? How can existing regional and multilateral institutions and forums decrease regional tensions? How does China fit in the regional architecture? Are countries in the region beginning to reevaluate their assessment of China's intentions and what China's rise means for them? How should we assess Xi Jinping's foreign policy initiatives, principally the community of common destiny and Belt and Road Initiative? What does the Trump administration's desired regional architecture for the Indo-Pacific look like, and how divergent is it from the interests of other powers in the region? How can regional middle powers hedge against increasing tensions in the region? What policies can other major Asian powers pursue against this backdrop?

Panelists:

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

Michael Fullilove, Executive Director, Lowy Institute (Australia)

Ma Sang-yoon, Director-General for Strategy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (South Korea)

Wu Chunsi, Director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Moderator:

Thierry de Montbrial, Executive Chairman, French Institute of International Relations (France)

Keynote Remarks:

Lee Hong-koo, Former Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea and Founding Chairman of the East Asia Institute (South Korea)

4:45 p.m.–7:00 p.m. *Free Time*

The Westin Chosun Seoul
106 Sogong-ro
Jung-gu Seoul, 04533

7:00 p.m.–9:30 p.m. *Reception, Dinner, and Discussion* *Lilac/Tulip Room*
Changes in the Global Trade Order and Challenges to South Korea

Keynote Speaker:

Seokyoung Choi, *Former Permanent Representative of Korea to the World Trade Organization (South Korea)*

Moderator:

Yul Sohn, *President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

Tuesday, October 9, 2018

The Westin Chosun Seoul
106 Sogong-ro
Jung-gu Seoul, 04533

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Four* *Cosmos/Violet Room*
The Geopolitics of Energy and Environmental Management in Asia

Guiding Questions: How can the management of smart energy infrastructure and technology be better coordinated regionally and globally? Does the world need a new institution to promote the sharing of clean technologies? How can the growing energy needs of developing nations be met as standards of living rise and energy access is expanded? What are the implications of Chinese infrastructure investment for the environment and energy capacity of developing economies in the region? How can emerging economies balance rapidly rising energy demand with climate and environmental concerns?

Panelists:

Tae Yong Jung, *Professor, Graduate School of International Studies, and Director of the Research Center for Global Sustainability, Yonsei University (South Korea)*

Gilead Sher, *Senior Researcher and Director of the Center for Applied Negotiations, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

Bartosz Wisniewski, *Head of the Research Office, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

Moderator:

Ralf Emmers, *Associate Dean and Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Five*

Cosmos/Violet Room

Techno-nationalism in the Age of the Fourth Industrial Revolution

Guiding Questions: What effects will the fourth industrial revolution have on the future of world trade and the composition of national work forces? How can countries and international institutions avoid the resurgence of techno-nationalist competition? Is the current protectionist trend likely to continue, and, if so, what role can national governments or international institutions play to ensure that it does not hinder innovation? Is China's state-led techno-nationalist pursuit sustainable? How will it affect the competitiveness of advanced industrial economies and what actions, if any, should they take? What are the implications for the developing world if techno-nationalist methods prevail, and how should countries respond?

Panelists:

Paul Blustein, *Senior Fellow,*

Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Carola Ramon-Berjano, *Counsellor Member,*

Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

Cobus van Staden, *Senior Researcher,*

South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)

Moderator:

Memduh Karakullukçu, *Vice Chairman and President,*

Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

12:15 p.m.–12:45 p.m. *Closing Remarks and Wrap-Up*

Speakers:

Yul Sohn, *President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

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

12:45 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Lunch and Departure of Participants*

Lilac/Tulip Rooms

Participant Biographies

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is the head of EU foreign policy at the Brussels-based Centre for European Policy Studies and professor of EU external relations law at the University of Amsterdam. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the neighborhood policy in view of the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy. He is an editor of fifteen academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*. Blockmans has advised governments in wider Europe and Asia on their relations with the EU. Blockmans is a frequent media commentator and has served as the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defence* and *Regroup and Reform: Towards a More Responsive and Effective European Union*.

Thomas J. Bollyky

Thomas J. Bollyky is director of the global health program and senior fellow for global health, economics, and development at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is also an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University. Bollyky directed the first CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force devoted to global health, entitled *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. He is the author of the book *Plaques and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways*. Prior to joining CFR, Bollyky was a fellow at the Center for Global Development and director of intellectual property and pharmaceutical policy at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. He was also a Fulbright scholar to South Africa, where he worked as a staff attorney at the AIDS Law Project, and an attorney at Debevoise & Plimpton LLP. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Senate, and his work has appeared in many publications, including the *Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and *Science*. He has served as a consultant to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as a temporary legal advisor to the World Health Organization. In 2013, the World Economic Forum named Bollyky as one of its global leaders under forty. Bollyky received his BA in biology and history from Columbia University and his JD from Stanford Law School.

Paul Blustein

Paul Blustein is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). An award-winning journalist and author, he has written extensively about international economics, trade, and financial crises. Prior to joining CIGI in 2010, Blustein was a journalist in residence at the Brookings Institution, a staff writer for the *Washington Post*, and the chief economic correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*. Blustein recently released his fifth book, *Laid Low: Inside the Crisis That Overwhelmed Europe and the IMF*, and he is currently working on a book about China and the global trading system, which will be published by CIGI in early 2019. Blustein received his BA in history from the University of Wisconsin and a MA in philosophy, politics, and economics from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is the chair of Center for International Relations Studies at the East Asia Institute and a professor in Seoul National University's department of international relations. Chun has served as an advisory committee member for South Korean ministries of foreign affairs and unification. His research interests include international relations, security studies, South Korean foreign policy, and East Asian security relations. His publications include *Is Politics Moral? Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism*, *Theory of East Asian International Relations*, and "The Rise of New Powers and the Responding Strategies of Other Countries." Chun received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and a PhD in international relations from Northwestern University.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is professor of international relations and associate dean at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. He concurrently heads the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at RSIS. Emmers's research interests cover security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs. His books include *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF*, *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific*, cowritten with Sarah Teo. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding Political Science*; *Asian Security*; *Asian Survey*; *Australian Journal of International Affairs*; *Contemporary Politics*; *Contemporary Southeast Asia*; *Global Change, Peace and Security*; *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*; *Pacific Review*; and *TRaNS*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes. Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in the international relations at the London School of Economics.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute, with which he has been associated 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, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia, and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Fullilove writes widely on Australian and U.S. foreign policy and global issues in publications including the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the Australian press. As a speaker and commentator, he has appeared on ABC's 7.30 and *Radio National Breakfast*. Fullilove graduated in arts and law from the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales, with dual university medals. He studied as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, where he received an MA and PhD in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). He was previously IFRI's vice president for strategic development and the director and founder of its Russia/NIS Center. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was an assistant professor at the Sorbonne, a cadet officer, and a policy entrepreneur. His academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space as well as wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. As a Lavoisier fellow at the State Institute for International Relations at Moscow State Institute of International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies in King's College London, Gomart has acquired a diversified international experience. His recent publications include *The Return of Geopolitical Risk: Russia, China and the United States*; *Notre Intérêt National: Quelle Politique Étrangère Pour la France?*, with Thierry de Montbrial; *Macron, Diplomat: A New French Foreign Policy?*, with Marc Hecker; and *L'Europe : Sujet ou Objet de la Géopolitique des Données?*, with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon. Gomart has been a member of the Strategic Review Committee on the *Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017*. He is also a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Etudes*, and *Revue des deux mondes*. He received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He also heads Italy's foreign policy and multilateralism and global governance programs at the institute. He was previously the director of IAI from 2008 to 2017, worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from 2006 to 2007, and taught at the University of Parma and the University Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, Greco worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. Between 1993 and 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 the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and the Balkans. Greco has been a freelance journalist since 1988.

Guan Guihai

Guan Guihai is executive vice president of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS) at Peking University. He is also an associate professor and associate dean of IISS, as well as an associate professor at Peking University's School of International Studies. Guan is a director of Peking University's Center for Modern Russian Studies and a consultant to the Chinese Ministry of Education's subcommittee on Sino-Russian cooperation. His academic interests include Russian diplomacy, Sino-Russian relations, Chinese and Russian contemporary political and social transitions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and the social-political development of Central Asian countries. His publications include *Great Europe: Honor and Dream*, *Yeltsin's Years in Power*, and more than thirty articles in Chinese, English, Japanese, and Russian. Guan has a BA and an MA from Peking University and a PhD from Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is in his sixteenth 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 was the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush and director of the State Department's policy planning staff, where he was a principal advisor to Colin Powell. He has also served as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and as 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 thirteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. A Rhodes scholar, Haass holds master and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University.

Hanns Günther Hilpert

Hanns Günther Hilpert is the head of the research division for Asia at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Hilpert's areas of expertise include China, East Asia, Japan, the Koreas, foreign trade policy, international monetary policy, and weapons of mass destruction and proliferation. He previously worked for the German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo and the Ifo Institute for Economic Research. Hilpert has written several books and articles on the Japanese economy and on Asian trade and economic integration. His latest works include *Facetten des Nordkorea-Konflikt: Akteure, Problemlagen und Europas Interessen*, coedited with Oliver Meier, and *Japans Multiple Handelspolitik*. He studied economics at Saarland University and received his PhD in economics from the Free University of Berlin.

Young-Sun Ha

Young-Sun Ha is chairman of the board of trustees of the East Asia Institute. He is also a professor emeritus at Seoul National University's department of political science and international relations. Ha currently serves as a member of the senior advisory group for the Inter-Korean Summit Talks Preparation Committee. He also served as a member of the Presidential National Security Advisory Group, co-chairman of Korea-Japan Joint Research Project for New Era, president of the Korea Peace Studies Association, and research fellow at Princeton University's Center for International Studies and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. His recent books and edited volumes include *U.S.-China Competition in the Architecture of a Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific*; *Korean Peninsula Among Big Powers: 1972 vs. 2014*; *Young-Sun Ha on International Politics: A Collection of Columns From 1991 to 2011*; *Complex World Politics: Strategies, Principles, and a New Order*; *Young Pioneers in Korean History*; *The Future of North Korea 2032: The Strategy of Coevolution for the Advancement*; *The Emergence of Complex Alliances in the 21st Century*; and *A New Era of Complex Networks in Korea-Japan Relations*. He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and his PhD from the University of Washington.

Tae Yong Jung

Tae Yong Jung is a professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and director of Yonsei University's Center for Global Sustainability. Before joining GSIS, he was a professor in the Korea Development Institute's School of Public Policy and Management. Prior to this, Jung was a principal climate change specialist at the Asian Development Bank. He was seconded to the Global Green Growth Institute as deputy executive director, and he also worked at the World Bank. He was the project leader in the Climate Policy Project at the Institute for Global Environmental Strategies of Japan and a senior fellow and director at the Korea Energy Economics Institute. He was a visiting researcher at the U.S. National Energy Laboratory, the Joint Global Change Research Institute, and the University of Maryland; a joint research fellow at the National Institute for Environmental Studies; and a visiting fellow at Kyoto University. Jung received his BA from Seoul National University and his MA and PhD from Rutgers University.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum (GRF). His policy work at GRF includes global energy dynamics, European energy security, global economic and financial governance, and the economic prospects of the Middle East and North Africa region. He is currently co-chairing GRF's international task force on the future of the Iran nuclear deal. Karakullukçu is also the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum.com. Previously, he served as the founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI Teknokent, 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 also served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik serves as the director for international studies at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He is also a member of the academic council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and the

Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. He previously served as the director of the department for relations with the European Union, deputy director of the foreign policy and the information policy departments of the Russian presidential administration, director of the Arms Control Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies, and project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Barbara Lippert

Barbara Lippert is director of research and member of the executive board of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). She oversees the work of SWP's seven research divisions. Her own research focuses on European integration. Lippert's areas of expertise are European integration, the European Union political system, EU enlargement policy, the European Neighborhood Policy, and German European policy. Lippert holds an MA from Bonn University and the Free University of Berlin, and a DPhil from the University of Bonn.

Eduardo Mello

Eduardo Mello is an assistant professor of politics and international relations at Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV). His research interests include governance, poverty reduction, political economy of education, electoral clientelism, provision of public goods, and political corruption. Mello is currently working on a large-scale research project on the political and economic factors driving levels of political corruption in new democracies. Mello received his PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Mauricio Meschoulam

Mauricio Meschoulam is a member of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, professor of international relations, analyst, and international speaker. He is a columnist for the newspaper *El Universal*. He also works for radio stations, as well as national and international television networks. Meschoulam founded and directs the Mexico Research Center for Peace. He has taught at the Ibero-American University, National University of Mexico, and Technological Autonomous Institute of Mexico. His areas of research include geopolitics, terrorism, and peace-building, and he has been widely published. His most recent books include *Syria's War: Six Years of Analysis*; *ISIS: Understanding Its War to Find Peace*, and *Organized Crime, Fear and Peacebuilding in Mexico*. Meschoulam has a PhD in public policy and administration, specializing in terrorism, mediation, and peace.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is executive chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), which he founded in 1979. He is professor emeritus of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Institut de France since 1992 and is a member of a number of foreign academies including the Russian Academy of Sciences. Montbrial chaired the department of economics at the Ecole Polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research from 1993 to 2001. Entrusted with the creation of the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director, a position he held from 1973 to 1979. He has authored seventeen books, several of them translated into various languages, including most recently *Action and Reaction in the World System: The Dynamics of Economic and Political Power*. He is a commander of the French Legion of Honour and grand officer of the National Order of Merit and has been awarded other state honors by French and other governments. He serves on the board or advisory board of a number of international

companies and institutions. Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, and he received a PhD in economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Osamu Onoda

Osamu Onoda has served as a senior visiting fellow at the Genron NPO since January 2014. He is also an advisor to the Toshiba Infrastructure Systems and Solutions Corporation. His research focuses on Chinese military capabilities and the national security strategies of the United States, China, and Japan. Onoda retired from the Japanese Air Self Defense Force as a lieutenant general. His last assignment was as commander of the Air Education and Training Command. The command included the air basic training group, six flight training wings/squadrons, five technical schools, and the officer candidate school. The AETC consisted of more than 6,000 active-duty, civilians, and 120 trainer and fighter aircraft, and trained more than 10,000 students a year. His expertise in JASDF was in communications and electronics. He Onoda has commanded squadrons, the Third Air Depot, Seventh Fighter Wing, and the Western Air Force. His numerous positions in the Air Staff Office include the director of the personnel and education department, head of the defense planning and program division, and program manager of the aircraft control and warning system, E-767 airborne warning and control system, KC-767 air refueling tankers and transport, and C-2 transport aircrafts. Onoda was a senior fellow of the Harvard Asia Center from July 2013 to June 2015. He graduated from the National Defense Academy.

Stewart M. Patrick

Stewart M. Patrick is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations. From 2005 to 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 U.S. State Department'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 *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America With the World*. He has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Additionally, Patrick writes the *Internationalist* blog for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received two MA degrees and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

In-kook Park

In-kook Park is president of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies. He previously served as the Republic of Korea's ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations and Kuwait. Park joined the South Korean foreign ministry in 1978 and served in the United States, Brussels, and Saudi Arabia. In the foreign ministry, Park served as the director of the UN division II and 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 as president of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and chairman of the Economic and Financial Committee (Second Committee) of the UN General Assembly. He also served as co-chair of the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on Sustainable Development. He was as a visiting professor at Seoul National University's Graduate School of International Studies and Korea University. He was previously

a council member of the World Economic Forum. Park holds bachelor's and master's degrees from Seoul National University.

Oskar Pietrewicz

Oskar Pietrewicz is an analyst in the Asia-Pacific program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. His research focuses on regional security issues in Northeast Asia, especially on the Korean Peninsula. Pietrewicz graduated with a PhD in political science from the University of Warsaw.

Carola Ramon-Berjano

Carola Ramon-Berjano is a counselor member of the Argentine Council for International Relations, where she is deputy director of the T20 policy and research team during Argentina's presidency of the Group of Twenty. She is deputy chair of CARI's China working group and a member of CARI's Asian and Latin American committees. An international policy analyst, Ramon-Berjano's main focus is economic integration, globalization, regional disparities, and development, with a particular interest in China and Latin America. Ramon-Berjano previously worked at the University of Hong Kong's Asia Case Research Center. She has published papers on Chinese economic development in journals such as the *Chinese Geographical Science* and *Asian Studies*, and has contributed to many publications and book chapters as well numerous conferences, courses, seminars, and interviews in Argentina and abroad. Most of her recent research has been on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and she is currently writing a book about the implications of BRI on international cooperation.

Carlos Javier Regazzoni

Carlos Javier Regazzoni is consultant member of the Argentine Council for International Relations on global health issues, as well as a medical doctor and politician. Regazzoni joined the City of Buenos Aires as deputy minister in the Ministry of Social Development and was later appointed as CEO of the city health-care system for public servants in the city of Buenos Aires. From 2011 to 2015, he was the undersecretary of economic and financial management and resource management of the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires. He is also the former chief executive director of the National Institute of Social Services for Retirees and Pensioners, the largest state-owned medical insurance agency in Latin America for retired people, reporting directly to the president of the country. He is currently an independent consultant in public health and pharmaceuticals public policies. In 2017, he was elected city counselor in one of the largest municipalities in Argentina. He has earned several awards because of his investigations on sustainable health care for old age and on the impact of university education on the workforce. Regazzoni is author of two books on public health and education and editor of other four on health and public administration. He was an Argentine Eisenhower fellow and was in the Latin America Development Leadership Program at Harvard Kennedy School. After graduating as a doctor in 1992, Regazzoni earned a biostatistics diploma and a PhD in biomedical sciences from the University of Buenos Aires, and a diploma in philosophy from Austral University.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is the president of Observer Research Foundation, one of Asia's most influential think tanks. He writes frequently on India's foreign policy and issues of global governance, climate change, energy policy, global development architecture, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, and internet governance. Saran is the author of four books, numerous academic papers, and is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. He curates the *Raisina Dialogue*, India's flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, and chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on technology, security, and

society. He is a commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, member of the World Economic Forum's South Asia advisory board and Global Future Council on Cybersecurity. He is also the director of the Center for Peace and Security at the Sardar Patel Police University in India. Saran has a BTech in electrical and electronics engineering from Manipal Institute of Technology, an MSc in media studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD from the Global Sustainability Institute.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher heads the Center for Applied Negotiations at the Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies. He is a former Israeli chief and co-chief peace 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. Formerly, under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Sher was a delegate to the 1994–1995 Interim Agreement negotiations with the Palestinians. He co-chairs the nonpartisan organization Blue White Future and chairs Sapir Academic College, Israel's largest public college. In 2016, Sher served as a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School. He formerly was a guest lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and authored *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001: Within Reach* and *The Battle for Home*, coedited *Negotiating in Times of Conflict*, and *Spoilers and Coping with Spoilers in Israeli Peacemaking*. Sher is a senior partner in Gilead Sher & Co., law offices. He serves on a number of corporate executive boards and public councils.

Scott Snyder

Scott A. Snyder is senior fellow for Korea studies and director of the program on U.S.-Korea policy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Snyder is the author of *South Korea at the Crossroads: Autonomy and Alliance in an Era of Rival Powers*; *China's Rise and the Two Koreas: Politics, Economics, Security*; and *Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior*. He is a coauthor of *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States*, with Brad Glosserman. Snyder also served as the project director for CFR's Independent Task Force on policy toward the Korean Peninsula. Prior to joining CFR, Snyder was a senior associate in the international relations program of the Asia Foundation, where he founded and directed the Center for U.S.-Korea Policy and served as the Asia Foundation's representative in Korea from 2000 to 2004. He was also a senior associate at Pacific Forum Center for Strategic and International Studies. Snyder has worked as an Asia specialist in the research and studies program of the U.S. Institute of Peace and as acting director of Asia Society's contemporary affairs program. He was a Pantech visiting fellow at Stanford University's Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center from 2005 to 2006. Snyder received a BA from Rice University and an MA from Harvard University.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS). He is also president-elect of the Korean Association of International Studies for the 2019 term. Before joining Yonsei University, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and was a visiting scholar at the University of Tokyo; Waseda University; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and University of California, Berkeley. Sohn serves on a number of government advisory committees, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Trade, the Korea National Diplomacy Academy, and the Northeast Asian History Foundation. He served as dean of GSIS between 2012 and 2016 and was president of the Korean Studies of Contemporary Japan in 2012. He has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian political economy, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His recent publications

include *Japan and Asia's Contested Order* and *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Cobus van Staden

Cobus van Staden is a senior researcher focusing on China-Africa relations at the South African Institute of International Affairs. He focuses on foreign policy and geopolitics in the relationship between Africa and East Asia. He has published widely on Asia-Africa relations and is the cohost of the *China in Africa* podcast, a popular forum for conversations with experts on China-Africa relations. Van Staden holds a PhD from the University of Nagoya.

Hayanari Uchino

Hayanari Uchino is a visiting fellow at Genron NPO. He also serves as managing director of the financial and capital market 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 as a senior analyst of global capital markets when the institute had just been established and was coping with the international economic and policy issues related to the Asian currency and financial crisis in 1998.

Bartosz Wiśniewski

Bartosz Wiśniewski is the head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), where he is responsible for programming of and daily oversight over the work of PISM's research team, covering all issues relevant for Polish foreign and security policy, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union, and crucial bilateral relations. Wiśniewski previously worked at PISM as a research fellow between 2008 and 2013. He then worked as market analyst for United Oilfield Services and as an industry specialist responsible for civil aviation and oil and gas sectors for the International Trade Administration, which is part of U.S. Department of Commerce. Wiśniewski is author and coauthor of numerous reports, policy papers, and academic research on U.S. foreign and security policy, U.S.-Polish relations, energy in international politics, and international relations theory. He is a graduate of the University of Warsaw and the Warsaw School of Economics. He also studied at the University of Mannheim and at Goethe University Frankfurt.

Wu Chunsi

Wu Chunsi is a senior fellow and director of the Institute of International Strategic Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Her research interests include arms control and nonproliferation, regional security in East Asia, and China-U.S. relations. She has published the book *Deterrence: Theories and Missile Defense* and coauthored the book *Deterrence and Stability: China-U.S. Nuclear Relationship*. Before joining SIIS, Wu was a member of the Center for American Studies at Fudan University. Wu was a visiting research fellow with the Freeman chair on China Studies at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). From 2004 to 2005, Wu was granted a fellowship on arms control by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Ford Foundation for a one-year study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Security Studies. Wu received her doctorate in international relations from Fudan University.

Zhao Long

Zhao Long is an assistant director of the Institute for Global Governance Studies and associate professor at Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He has published several academic papers on global governance, international law, Arctic issues, and Russian and Central Asian studies in major academic journals. He is a leader of research projects supported by the National Social Science Foundation of China, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the State Oceanic Administration of China, and others. Zhao was on secondment to the department of treaty and law at the Chinese foreign ministry and was invited as a visiting scholar to the German Council on Foreign Relations, the Norwegian Polar Institute, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Zhao graduated from the law faculty at Moscow State University of Russia, receiving a BSc in jurisprudence and a MA in international law. He received his PhD in law from East China Normal University.

Speaker Biographies

Cho Hyun

Cho Hyun has been the vice minister of the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs since June 2017. He joined the Ministry in 1979, and served as Korean ambassador to India (2015–2017) and Austria (2011–2014). He has also served as deputy permanent representative to the United Nations in New York (2006–2008) and deputy minister for Multilateral and Global Affairs (2009–2011). He has extensive experience in overseas posts, including in the United States, Belgium, the Central African Republic, and Senegal.

Seokyoung Choi

Seokyoung Choi is a retired ambassador, who served more than thirty-seven years as a career diplomat in the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Choi has an extensive record of diplomatic accomplishments at the World Trade Organization, with regional trade agreements, and at the United Nations. As a senior advisor at Lee & Ko, Choi provides insightful analysis, contextual understanding, and critical advice on numerous issues, particularly on international trade agreements and related policies and concerns.

Lee Hong-koo

Lee Hong-koo was the prime minister of South Korea from 1994 to 1995, under President Kim Young-Sam. Prior to that, he served twice as the deputy prime minister for unification, dealing with relations between North and South Korea. He was also a member of the Korean National Assembly and chairman of the then ruling New Korea Party. Lee graduated from Seoul National University, Emory University, and Yale University, where he received a PhD in political science.

Ma Sang-yoon

Ma Sang-yoon joined the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the director general for strategy in September 2016. Before joining the ministry, he was a professor at the Catholic University of Korea, where he had taught international relations since 2003. In 2015, Ma served as the director general of the Korean Association of International Studies. Previously, he was visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center. From 2009 to 2010, he served as the dean of international affairs at the Catholic University of Korea. His main areas of teaching and research include East Asian international politics, U.S. foreign policy, U.S.-Korea relations, and history of the Cold War. Ma earned a BA and an MA in international relations from Seoul National University. Then, as a Swire scholar, he earned a DPhil in international relations at Oxford University's St. Antony's College, where he wrote a thesis that analyzed U.S. policy toward Korea during the 1960s, focusing on the question of democracy.

Observer Biographies

Jinkyung Baek

Jinkyung Baek is currently a research associate and program officer at the East Asia Institute. She is in charge of research projects on international and local public opinion surveys, as well as a newly launched project on constructing an archival website compiling North Korean published documents in the United States, China, Japan, and South Korea. Baek received her BA in international studies from De La Salle University and her MA in international relations from the University of Warwick.

Terrence Mullan

Terrence Mullan is assistant director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he primarily focuses on coordinating the work of the Council of Councils. From 2011 to 2016, he was manager of the president's office at the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, the national trade association representing the leading producers and marketers of distilled spirits. He previously worked in the offices of Senator Roland W. Burris as legislative aide and Senator Paul G. Kirk Jr. as legislative correspondent. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frederic Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. Mullan earned a BBA in international business and economics from George Washington University and an MA in international commerce and policy from George Mason University.

David Sacks

David Sacks is special assistant to the president for research at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). In that capacity, Sacks conducts research on behalf of Richard Haass and prepares him for meetings with senior government officials. Prior to joining CFR, Sacks worked on political military affairs at the American Institute in Taiwan, which handles the full breadth of the United States' relationship with Taiwan in the absence of diplomatic ties. In that role, Sacks facilitated security cooperation programs with Taiwan and advised on U.S. policy toward Taiwan. Sacks was also a Princeton in Asia fellow in Hangzhou, China, where he taught English at a provincial university. Sacks received a BA in political science from Carleton College and an MA in international relations and international economics from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, where he was the recipient of the A. Doak Barnett Award, given annually to the most distinguished China Studies graduate.

HyeeJung Suh

HyeeJung Suh is a research fellow at the East Asia Institute. In that capacity, she is responsible for planning English research publications and managing Asian democracy research projects. Before joining EAI, she worked as a research analyst at Samsung Economic Research Institute. Suh received her BS in international politics from the Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service and an MA in international economic policy from Columbia University.