

COUNCIL *on*  
FOREIGN  
RELATIONS

COUNCIL  
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*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*



SWP

# COUNCIL OF COUNCILS NINTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

“REGIONAL SECURITY IN A TURBULENT WORLD”



**BERLIN 2016**

OCTOBER 30-NOVEMBER 1, 2016

*Hosted by*

**German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)**

*&*

**Council on Foreign Relations**



## **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 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.*

The Council of Councils Ninth Regional Conference in Berlin is generously supported by

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## COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

### ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

### MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

### AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute for International Policy

### NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

### BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

### POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

### BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

### RUSSIA

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

### CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

### SAUDI ARABIA

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

### CHINA

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

### SINGAPORE

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

### EGYPT

Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

### SOUTH AFRICA

South African Institute of International Affairs  
(SAIIA)

### FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

### SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

### GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs  
(SWP)

### TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

### INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

### UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International  
Affairs)

### INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

### ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

### UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

### ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

### JAPAN

Genron NPO

## Council of Councils Ninth Regional Conference

### *Agenda*

#### Sunday, October 30, 2016

3:15 p.m.–6:30 p.m. *Alternative Sightseeing Tour of Berlin (it ends at Fame Restaurant directly)*  
Meeting Point: Abba Berlin Hotel Lobby at 3:15 p.m.

6:00 p.m. Shuttle Bus Departs for Fame Restaurant for remaining participants  
Meeting point: Abba Berlin Hotel Lobby

6:30 p.m.–10:00 p.m. *Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion* *Fame Restaurant*  
Holzmarktstraße 25  
10243 Berlin  
**The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner:**  
**Angela Merkel, the Year of Elections, and Europe's Crisis Landscape**  
Hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations

*Welcome and Opening Remarks:*

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

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

*Keynote Speaker:*

**Stefan Kornelius**, Foreign Editor, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*; and author, Angela  
Merkel: The Chancellor and Her World (Germany)

*Moderator:*

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

#### Monday, October 31, 2016

*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)*  
*German Institute for International and Security Affairs*

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

Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4  
10719 Berlin

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*  
**European Regional Security**

*Guiding Questions: Given new geopolitical realities and security challenges from the East and South, what are the possible future scenarios for the European security architecture? How are internal political dynamics within European countries likely to affect future security cooperation, and how can different viewpoints be bridged? How should the EU-NATO-OSCE relationship evolve to promote peace and security, and what posture should these organizations take with respect to Russia?*

*Panelists:*

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

**Elena Lazarou**, Assistant Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

**Vivien Pertusot**, Head of the Brussels Office, French Institute of International  
Relations (France)

*Chair:*

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

10:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two*

**Migration as a Challenge for Regional Security**

*Guiding Questions: What are the implications of current migration for regional security in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Americas? With the humanitarian regime under immense pressure to adapt to growing refugee crises, how might states find a balance in migration policy between human security and the security of destination, transit, and origin states? What are the most promising strategies for preventing, managing, or absorbing massive flows of migrants and refugees—and how can the appropriate division of labor among international and regional institutions, governments, and nongovernmental organizations in these efforts be achieved? How can negative feedback loops between insecurity and migration be avoided to enable the opportunities and positive effects of migration?*

*Panelists:*

**David Kipp**, Associate, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

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

**Ümit Pamir**, Member, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

*Chair:*

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

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Buffet Lunch*

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. *Session Three*

**Regional Conflicts with Global Implications: The Fight Against Islamist Terrorism in the Middle East**

*Guiding Questions: What role can international institutions and regional and global powers play in countering Islamist terrorism in the Middle East? What is the scope of international cooperation in the fight against Islamist terrorism in the Middle East given different national priorities and regional and geopolitical rivalries? What is the potential blowback of the current strategies being employed in fighting Islamist terrorism in the region, and how can they be addressed? Are there any promising security strategies for the Middle East that can help reduce the spread of radicalized Islamist ideology, and who needs to take the lead?*

*Panelists:*

**Abdulaziz Sager**, Chairman, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)

**Marcos Tourinho**, Assistant Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

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

*Chair:*

**Abhijit Singh**, Senior Fellow and Head of the Maritime Policy Initiative, Observer Research Foundation (India)

3:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m. *Free Time*

5:30 p.m.–6:45 p.m. *Semipublic Session*

**The U.S. Elections: What Do We Expect From the United States?**

*Guiding Questions: What do CoC members expect from the United States after the November elections, both globally and in their respective regions? What opportunities and challenges will the new U.S. president face? What regional priorities is the United States likely to pursue, and what will be expected from foreign partners? What implications are the elections likely to have on U.S. global leadership, including within international institutions?*

*Introduction:*

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

*Panelists:*

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

**Sergio Gómez Lora**, Board Member, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, and Chief Executive Officer, IQOM Inteligencia Comercial (Mexico)

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

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

*Chair:*

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

7:00 p.m. Shuttle Bus Departs in front of SWP for Haus Huth

7:30 p.m.–10:30 p.m. *Reception, Dinner, and Discussion*

**The German G20 Presidency:  
Challenges and Opportunities**  
Kindly Hosted by Daimler AG

**Haus Huth**  
Alte Potsdamer Str. 5  
10785 Berlin

*Welcoming Remarks:*

**Eckart von Klaeden**, Vice President and Head of External Affairs, Daimler AG (Germany)

*Keynote Speaker:*

**Lars-Hendrik Röller**, Chief Economic Advisor to the Chancellor (Germany)

*Moderator:*

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

**Tuesday, November 1, 2016**

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Coffee*

*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)  
German Institute for International and Security Affairs  
Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4  
10719 Berlin*



9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Four*

### **Brexit: Implications for the EU and the World**

*Guiding Questions: What are the implications of Brexit for the United Kingdom (UK), the European Union (EU), the liberal world order, and the European project? What explains the pre-referendum disconnect between UK experts and voters on matters such as globalization, immigration, and free trade, as well as economic and political integration? Should we expect more countries to leave the EU or demand a reduction in EU authorities? What does Brexit suggest about the power of national sovereignty and the perceived democratic deficit within the EU? How can the EU and other international institutions regain the public's trust and confidence?*

*Panelists:*

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

**Sarah Raine**, Consulting Senior Fellow for Geoeconomics and Strategy, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)

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

**Nicolai von Ondarza**, Deputy Head, EU/Europe Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

*Chair:*

**Thomas Gomart**, Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)

10:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Five*

### **Populism as a Challenge to Political Stability and Globalization**

*Guiding Questions: What explains the surge of populism, and how does this political phenomenon vary across countries and regions? What challenges does populism present for international order, including for multilateral cooperation in areas ranging from trade to migration and security? What steps can international institutions and forums—such as the G20, IMF, World Bank, and WTO—take to address the backlash against globalization? What role can policy institutes play in helping elected officials better understand and respond to this discontent?*

*Panelists:*

**Kai-Olaf Lang**, Senior Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

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

**Quentin Peel**, Associate Fellow, Europe Program, Chatham House (United Kingdom)

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

*Chair:*

**Iván Petrella**, Secretary of Federal Integration and International Cooperation, Argentine Ministry of Culture (Argentina)

12:30 p.m.–1:00 p.m. **Closing Remarks and Wrap Up**

*Speakers:*

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

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

1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Lunch and Departure of Participants*

# Participant Biographies

## **Riccardo Alcaro**

Riccardo Alcaro is a senior fellow in the Transatlantic program of the Institute of International Affairs. He is also a fellow at the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies, an initiative jointly organized by the Compagnia di San Paolo, the Volkswagen Stiftung, and the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. He previously served as coordinator of the Transworld project, a European Union Seventh Framework Program–funded initiative on transatlantic relations and global governance. Alcaro was also a visiting fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and a contributor to the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly publication on the EU, the *European Policy Analyst*.

## **Steven Blockmans**

Steven Blockmans is the head of EU foreign policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) and professor of EU external relations law at the University of Amsterdam. At CEPS, he has served as the leading author of the task force on more union in European defense, chaired by Javier Solana, and as co-rapporteur of the high-level group on EU institutional reform, chaired by Danuta Hübner. For almost twenty years, he has carried out numerous research and technical assistance projects in Europe and Asia for EU institutions and governments and other countries. Blockmans is the author of *Tough Love: The EU's Relations With the Western Balkans* and coeditor of fifteen volumes, including *EU-Iran Relations After the Nuclear Deal*, *Differentiated Integration in the EU: From the Inside Looking Out*, and *The EU's Role in Global Governance*. Blockmans holds a PhD in international law from Leiden University.

## **Ralf Emmers**

Ralf Emmers is professor of international relations and associate dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. He is concurrently head of the Center for Multilateralism Studies at RSIS. His 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 latest books include *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* and *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*. 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*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Contemporary Politics*, and numerous book chapters in edited volumes. Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

## **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 of Australia; and a lawyer. Fullilove remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. 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*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the Australian press. He is a sought-after speaker and commentator in Australia and abroad and has appeared on programs such as *Radio National Breakfast*, *ABC's 7.30*, and the *Charlie Rose Show*. He 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 the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). He was the director of IFRI's Russia/NIS Center from 2004 to 2013 and IFRI's vice president for strategic development from 2010 to 2015. His academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space and on wider international issues that include security, energy, and digital governance. Before joining IFRI, Gomart acquired international experience as a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies at King's College in London. Gomart's current research focuses on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and think tanks. He recently published "La politique étrangère française est-elle *Charlie* ?"; "The Return of Geopolitical Risk: Russia, China and the United States"; and "Les ressorts de l'intervention russe en Syrie". Gomart holds an EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris (HEC) and a PhD in history from Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

## **Sergio Gómez Lora**

Sergio Gómez Lora is a board member of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and has been chief executive officer of IQOM Inteligencia Comercial, an international trade and investment consulting group, since 2005. Gómez Lora has held various positions in Mexico's Ministry of Trade and Industry (now the Ministry of Economy). From 2002 to 2004, he was trade consultant to the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, DC, under the special initiative for trade and integration, where he prepared several reports on the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. From October 1998 to September 2001, he was posted to Brussels as part of the Mexican team negotiating the Mexico-EU free trade agreement. From 1995 to 1998, he was director for international trade agreements, a position in which he oversaw the implementation and administration of NAFTA, as well as Mexico's free trade agreements with other Latin American countries. Gómez Lora was also the Ministry of the Economy's representative for the implementation of the NAFTA environment and labor side agreements. From July 1993 through late 1994, Gómez Lora was trade counselor in Mexico's North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) office in Ottawa, Canada, in charge of the implementation of NAFTA. Gómez Lora holds a master's degree in international relations from Laval University in Quebec, Canada.

## **Richard N. Haass**

Richard Haass is in his fourteenth year as the 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 U.S. State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is the author or editor of twelve books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His next book, *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*, will be published in January 2017 by Penguin Press. A Rhodes scholar, he holds master's and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University.

## **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum (GRF). His recent 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 the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum.com. Previously, he served as the senior advisor to the chairwoman of the Turkish Industry and Business Association and 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 the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). 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, 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.

### **David Kipp**

David Kipp is associate in the global issues division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, where he focuses on migration and refugee policy. He is currently working, in collaboration with the World Bank, on the research project Forced Displacement and Development Cooperation: Challenges and Opportunities for German and European Politics. Kipp previously served as an advisor to members of the German Bundestag. Kipp's recent co-publications include "Many Refugees, Poor Data: Development Cooperation Requires Higher-Quality Data" and "Border Security, Camps, Quotas: The Future of European Refugee Policy?"

### **Christian Koch**

Christian Koch is the director of the Gulf Research Center (GRC) Foundation in Geneva, Switzerland. Previously, he served as director of international studies at the GRC in Dubai, United Arab Emirates. Prior to joining the GRC, he worked as head of strategic studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi. Koch's work at the GRC combines the analysis of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states on pertinent foreign and security issues, with a particular interest in GCC-EU relations. He is particularly interested in better understanding the dynamics driving regional security issues in the Gulf region and promoting aspects of cooperative security among regional and international actors. Koch is the editor of eight books; author of *Politische Entwicklung in einem arabischen Golfstaat: Die Rolle von Interessengruppen im Emirat Kuwait*, as well as numerous chapter contributions and journal articles; and coauthor of "Establishing a Regional Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Gulf Region." He regularly writes for the international media on Gulf issues, including in the *Financial Times*, *Handelsblatt*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Jane's Sentinel* publications, and has appeared on the *BBC*, *Deutsche Welle*, and *Al Arabiyya television*. Koch received his PhD from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg.

### **Kai-Olaf Lang**

Kai-Olaf Lang is a senior fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. He specializes in the transformation, political developments, and foreign and security policy of central and eastern European nations and their bilateral relations with Germany. He also focuses on EU enlargement and its implications. In recent years, Lang has carried out research on foreign and security policies of Central and Eastern Europe, problems regarding accession of central European countries to the EU, and the European neighborhood policy. He was previously a research fellow at the Federal Institute for Eastern and International Studies in Cologne, Germany. He holds a diploma in public administration and a doctorate in political science.

## **Elena Lazarou**

Elena Lazarou is a researcher and assistant professor of international relations at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) School of Social Sciences. She was formerly head of FGV's Center for International Relations from 2013 to 2014, and head of the Euro-Mediterranean Observatory of the Hellenic Center for European Studies in Athens, Greece, from 2009 to 2010. She has published articles, edited volumes, and written book chapters in English, Greek, and Portuguese, and is a regular contributor to the Brazilian press. Lazarou has also maintained an active interest in the development of think tanks in emerging economies. Currently she is serving as a policy analyst at the European Parliamentary Research Service, where her research focuses on Latin America, security and defense, and transatlantic relations. Lazarou received a PhD in international relations from the University of Cambridge in 2008. She has held post-doctoral research positions at the University of Cambridge and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and various visiting positions in think tanks and universities in Europe and the United States.

## **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. 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. Lee also participates as a member of the Trilateral Commission, Council of Councils, and many other transnational networks on research and policy studies. Since 2015, she has served on the steering committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Her research interests include multilateralism, democracy, and civil societies, with a focus on South Korea, Japan, and other East Asian countries. 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 *Transforming Global Governance with Middle Power Diplomacy: South Korea's Role in the 21st Century*, *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.

## **Ümit Pamir**

Ümit Pamir is a retired career diplomat and currently a member of the Global Relations Forum, Global Policy Trends Center, Wise Men Center of Strategic Studies, and the Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies. After graduating from the faculty of political sciences at Ankara University, he joined Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1965. Early in his career, he served in Turkish embassies in London, Rome, and Budapest, and at the Turkish permanent delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Pamir also served in several posts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including as director of the Middle East and Africa department and of the policy planning department. Subsequently, he served as Turkey's ambassador to the permanent mission to the International Civil Aviation Organization from 1990 to 1991, to Algeria from 1991 to 1995, and to Greece from 1995 to 1997. From 1997 to 2000, Pamir was chief advisor on foreign policy to Turkish Prime Ministers Bülent Ecevit and Mesut Yılmaz. Before his retirement, Pamir served as Turkey's permanent representative to the United Nations from 2000 to 2004 and to NATO from 2004 to 2007. Pamir was also a member of the Group of Wise Men selected by the secretary-general of NATO to draft the new strategic concept of the alliance.

## **In-kook Park**

Park is president of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies (KFAS). Prior to joining KFAS, Park was a career diplomat for the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1978 to 2011. He most recently served as ambassador and permanent representative of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations from 2008 to 2011, and previously served as ambassador to Geneva and Kuwait. He has also served in the United States, in Belgium at the Republic of Korea's Mission to the European Union, and in Saudi Arabia. At the headquarters of the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he served as director of the United Nations division II, director of the disarmament and nuclear energy division, deputy minister for policy planning and international organizations in 2006, and deputy foreign minister for multilateral and global issues in 2007. Between 2002 and 2003, he was secretary to the president of the Republic of Korea for international security. His other ambassadorial roles include serving as president of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in 2004, chairman of the second committee of the UN General Assembly from 2009 to 2010, and co-chair of the preparatory committee for the UN Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012. He 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 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, *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.

## **Quentin Peel**

Quentin Peel is an associate fellow attached to the Europe Program at Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London, and a freelance commentator for the *Financial Times*. He previously held a one-year Mercator senior fellowship at Chatham House. In a long career at the *Financial Times*, Peel was chief foreign affairs columnist from 1998 to 2008, and foreign editor and an assistant editor of the newspaper from 1994 to 1998. Before that, he was a *Financial Times* correspondent in Johannesburg (1976–81); Africa editor (1981–84); and bureau chief in Brussels (1984–87), Moscow (1988–91), Bonn (1991–94), and Berlin (2010–2014). He is a regular speaker and broadcaster on international affairs for the *BBC*, *CNN*, *Deutsche Welle*, *France 24*, *Radio France Internationale*, *RTE*, and many others, with a particular focus on the European Union, transatlantic relations, Russia, and Germany. He has a degree in economics from Cambridge University.

## **Volker Perthes**

Volker Perthes has been chief executive officer and director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs since October 2005. From 2015 to 2016, Perthes also served temporarily as UN assistant secretary-general and senior advisor to the UN special envoy for Syria; he currently chairs the Ceasefire



Task Force. Perthes is a frequent commentator in German and international media on German and European foreign and security policies, international relations and geopolitics, and regional dynamics and transitions in the Middle East.

### **Vivien Pertusot**

Vivien Pertusot is head of the Brussels office of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). He coordinates IFRI's research program Recalibrate Security in Europe and in the Transatlantic Area (RESET), which focuses on defense policies and cooperation in Europe. He is also the coordinator of the project Building Bridges Between National Perspectives on the European Union, which focuses primarily on issues related to the future of the European Union, security and defense policies in Europe, and the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union. He previously worked at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Carnegie Europe. He has published in *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *European Gestrategy*, and *Atlantico*, and for Royal United Services Institute and Carnegie Europe, among others. Pertusot holds a master's degree from King's College London and the French Institute for International and Strategic Affairs in Paris.

### **Iván Petrella**

Iván Petrella is secretary of federal integration and international cooperation at the Argentine Ministry of Culture. He has been academic director at the Pensar Foundation, legislator in the Buenos Aires City legislature, and professor of religious studies at the University of Miami and at Torcuato Di Tella University. He holds a bachelor's degree in foreign service from Georgetown University, and a master's degree in theological studies and a doctorate in religious studies from Harvard University.

### **Sarah Raine**

Sarah Raine is consulting senior fellow for geopolitics and strategy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). Raine is an established contributor for IISS's Asian and European security programs. Raine is also concurrently a nonresident transatlantic fellow in the Asia program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Berlin. Prior to moving to Berlin, Raine worked for three years at IISS' Asia office in Singapore. She previously worked as a director of Barchester, a UK-based strategic and corporate financial advisory company. She also worked for eight years as a diplomat in the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office, including a posting to the British embassy in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Raine is the author of two Adelphi books, *China's African Challenges* and *Regional Disorder: The South China Sea Disputes*. She is currently working on her third book on the future of European security policy.

### **Abdulaziz Sager**

Abdulaziz Sager is chairman and founder of the Gulf Research Center. He is also president of Sager Group Holding in Saudi Arabia. Sager has a special research interest in Gulf strategic issues and is a regular contributor to and commentator for international and regional media. In November 2003, Sager was appointed as a member of the Makkah Province Council. He also serves as a member of the advisory boards of the Arab Thought Foundation, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva Center for Security Policy, German Orient Foundation, Saudi Arabian Ministry of Higher Education, and for the fourth Arab Human Development Report for the UN Development Program. He serves as a member of the faculty in economics and administration at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. In December 2015, Sager hosted the conference of Syrian revolutionary and opposition forces in Riyadh, which resulted in the issuance of a final joint communique. He is the author of numerous publications, including "Political Reform Measures from a Domestic GCC Perspective", in *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf*; "Political Opposition in Saudi Arabia", in *Saudi Arabia in the*

*Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*; “Energy Shapes New Gulf Security Architecture”, in the *Journal of Middle Eastern Geopolitics*; and “Why for All Its Problems, the EU Is Still a Model for the Arab World”, in *Europe’s World*. He was also the chief editor of the *Gulf Yearbook*. Sager holds an MA in international relations from the University of Kent and a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster 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, cybersecurity 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 “The Shifting Digital Pivot: Time for Smart Multilateralism”, for Digital Debates. In addition to his academic publications, Saran is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. He is the director of Sardar Patel Policy University’s Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, and chairs CyFy, the India conference on Cyber Security and Internet Governance.

### **Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), an independent foreign policy think tank based in Johannesburg. Before her current appointment, she was director of studies at SAIIA from 1999 to 2005. She was previously research director at the South African Institute of Race Relations and editor of the *Race Relations Survey* (now the *South Africa Survey*), an annual publication documenting political and constitutional developments and socioeconomic disparities in South Africa. She is a member of the international advisory board of the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, the *Chinese Quarterly of Strategic Studies* of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, and the journal of the Graduate Institute of International Development in Geneva. She is also the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. Until recently, Sidiropoulos served on the international advisory board of EU Development Commissioner Andris Piebalgs. Her research focuses on South Africa’s foreign policy, BRICS, and the role of emerging powers in Africa. Most recently, she published on India’s foreign policy in Africa and China’s One Belt One Road initiative. Her most recent coedited volumes are *Institutional Architecture & Development: Responses From Emerging Powers*, *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns*, and *Institutional Architecture & Development: Responses from Emerging Powers*. She holds an MA in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

### **Abhijit Singh**

Abhijit Singh is a senior fellow and head of the maritime policy initiative at the Observer Research Foundation. He is a former naval officer and maritime professional with specialist and command experience in Indian naval ships, and in 2007 was involved in the writing of India’s maritime strategy. He is a keen commentator on maritime matters and has written extensively on security and governance issues in the Indian Ocean and Pacific littorals. His articles and commentaries have been published in the National Bureau of Asian Research, the Lowy Institute’s *Interpreter* blog, *World Politics Review*, *Diplomat*, and Center for Strategic and International Studies’ *Pacific Forum*. He is the editor of two books on maritime security—

*Indian Ocean Challenges: A Quest for Cooperative Solutions* and *Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific*. He has published papers on India's growing maritime reach, security of sea lines of communication in the Indo-Pacific region, Indian Ocean governance issues, and maritime infrastructure in the Asian littorals. In 2010, he assisted Vice Admiral G. M. Hiranandani (Ret.) in the authorship of the third volume of works on Indian naval history, *Transition to Guardianship: The Indian Navy 1991–2000*.

### **Matias Spektor**

Matias Spektor is associate professor of history and international relations at Getulio Vargas Foundation, where he specializes in international security and grand strategy. He is the author of books on Henry Kissinger and Brazil, U.S.-Brazil relations under Presidents George W. Bush and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and Brazil-Argentine nuclear relations. He has been a visiting fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, King's College London, and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Spektor writes a weekly foreign policy column for *Folha de S. Paulo*, Brazil's leading newspaper. He holds a doctorate from Oxford University.

### **Johannes Thimm**

Johannes Thimm is deputy head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He works on issues concerning U.S. foreign policy and its domestic determinants, as well as transatlantic relations. In his current role at SWP, he is a frequent contributor to German and international media. He recently published the book *The United States and Multilateral Treaties: A Policy Puzzle*, an analysis of the U.S. reluctance to join many international agreements. Before joining SWP, Thimm briefly worked at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Vienna. Thimm studied political science and international relations at the University of Washington and Yale University and received his PhD from Freie Universität Berlin.

### **Marcos Tourinho**

Marcos Tourinho is assistant professor of international relations at Getulio Vargas Foundation in Sao Paulo. His research interests include international institutions, international law, and global justice, with an emphasis on international security governance. His recent publications include *Targeted Sanctions: The Impacts and Effectiveness of United Nations Action*; "Towards a World Police? The Implications of Individual UN Targeted Sanctions", in *International Affairs*; and "Regulating Intervention: Brazil and the Responsibility to Protect", in *Conflict, Security and Development*. Tourinho holds a PhD from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, where he is also a research fellow.

### **Nicolai von Ondarza**

Nicolai von Ondarza is deputy head of the EU/Europe research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He is also a lecturer in the European studies postgraduate program organized jointly by three Berlin Universities. At SWP, von Ondarza focuses on governance of the European Union (EU), EU-UK politics, and the EU's Common Security and Defense Policy. His recent publications include "Brexit into Uncharted Waters? The British Referendum Initiates Complex Exit Negotiations—and Perhaps the Renewal of the EU" and "Euro-Sceptics in Power: Integration-Critical Parties in the European Parliament and National Governments." Von Ondarza previously worked at the Bundeswehr Institute for Social Sciences and the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder).

## **Wu Chunsi**

Wu Chunsi is associate researcher and director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Her research interests include U.S.-China relations, China's foreign strategy, arms control, and regional security in Asia. She published *Deterrence Theories and Missile Defense* in 2001 and coauthored *Deterrence and Stability: China-U.S. Nuclear Relationship* in 2005. Before joining SIIS in 2006, Wu was a member of Fudan University's Center for American Studies. From January to March 2012, Wu was a visiting research fellow with the Freeman chair on China studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In 2004, 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 holds bachelor's and master's degrees in law, concentrating in international relations, and a doctorate in international relations, all from Fudan University.

## **Amos Yadlin**

Amos Yadlin has been the director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies, 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. He served for over forty years in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with nine years as a member of the IDF general staff. From 2006 to 2010, he served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence and from 2004 to 2006 as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, Yadlin earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases and served as head of the Israeli Air Force's 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 an MPA from Harvard University.

# Keynote Speaker Biographies

## **Stefan Kornelius**

Stefan Kornelius is foreign and editorial page editor of *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Germany's largest daily newspaper. In his reporting career, Kornelius served as Washington bureau chief and political correspondent from Bonn and from Berlin. His latest book, *Angela Merkel: The Chancellor and Her World*, is a foreign policy biography of Chancellor Angela Merkel.

## **Lars-Hendrik Röller**

Lars-Hendrik Röller is the chief economic advisor to Chancellor Angela Merkel. In 2011, he was appointed as the director of the economic and financial policy division in the Federal Chancellery and took on the role of sherpa for the Group of Seven (formerly Group of Eight) and Group of Twenty summits. He was previously chief competition economist of the European Commission (2003–2006) and president of the European School of Management and Technology in Berlin (2006–2011). He holds master's degrees in economics and in artificial intelligence and a PhD in economics.

# Observer Biographies

## **Ezgisu Biber**

Ezgisu Biber is director of the task force program at the Global Relations Forum (GRF). She is currently the director and rapporteur of the Middle East and North Africa task force; director of the international task force on the future of the nuclear deal with Iran; director of the task force on the rule of law, institutions, and development; and codirector of the Young Global Program. As one of GRF's first Young Scholars, she completed an internship at GRF in 2012. In 2013, she interned at the Center for Turkish Studies at the Middle East Institute (MEI) in Washington, DC, and then became a project assistant for MEI on projects in Gaziantep, Turkey. Biber then worked as an international relations expert at the Union of Black Sea and Caspian Business, an initiative of the Turkish Industry and Business Association. She obtained her BA in social and political sciences from Sabanci University and her MA in international affairs and international economics, with a concentration in conflict management, from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

## **Moritz Herzberg**

Moritz Herzberg interns for the staff of the executive board and the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. After studying at the French-German European Campus of Sciences Po Paris in Nancy, France, and at Durham University's department of history, he graduated in 2015 and is currently enrolled at Sciences Po Paris and Freie Universität Berlin to obtain his MA dual degree in European studies and political sciences.

## **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 resources. From 2013 to 2015, Lauster worked at the German Social Democratic Party headquarters. She holds an MA in international relations and peace and conflict studies.

## **Lea Metke**

Lea Metke is project officer to the director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). She joined IFRI in 2014 as a project officer for the study committee on French-German relations. She is also in charge of the partnership between IFRI and the OCP Policy Center, focusing on the organization of conferences and publication of policy-oriented papers. She earned a bachelor's degree in European studies and applied foreign languages and a master's degree in European studies from Sorbonne University.

## **Juergen W. Mueller**

Juergen W. Mueller has been chief economist and head of economic and market intelligence at Daimler AG since 2007. He is also a director of Daimler. Mueller joined Daimler in 1987 and has since held various positions within the company. As chief economist, he is responsible for monitoring and evaluating all macroeconomic and industry-related issues. A major portion of his daily tasks is the support of the divisional and functional strategic planning. He is a regular guest in the board of management meetings as well as the various divisional executive boards. As of March 2015, his field of responsibility was widened to group intelligence and corporate network, with responsibilities for political intelligence within the external affairs department and the coordination of Daimler's external political network.



## **Terrence Mullan**

Terrence Mullan is program coordinator for the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations' David Rockefeller Studies program, 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 and executive assistant to the president 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 (D-IL) as legislative aide for health care and veterans' affairs policy and Senator Paul G. Kirk, Jr. (D-MA) as legislative correspondent for economic development and international relations. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frédéric Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. He earned his BBA in international business and economics from George Washington University and an MA in international commerce and policy from George Mason University.