

LOWY INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

COUNCIL *on*
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS FIFTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



23-25 February 2014

*Lowy Institute for International Policy,
31 Bligh Street,
Sydney, Australia*

*Convened by
Lowy Institute for International Policy
&
Council on Foreign Relations*

Council of Councils Mission Statement

Many of the defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty 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 or the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. Use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS

AUSTRALIA

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Lowy Institute for International Policy
Parliament of Australia
The Australian National University

FRANCE

The French Institute of International Relations

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation

ITALY

Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)

JAPAN

Genron NPO
Government of Japan
The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)

KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

NEW ZEALAND

Victoria University of Wellington

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Shanghai Institute for International Studies

SINGAPORE

Singapore Institute of International Affairs
S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

TURKEY

World Economic Forum

UNITED KINGDOM

The International Institute for Strategic Studies - London (IISS)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Council on Foreign Relations
International Monetary Fund

AGENDA

Sunday, 23 February 2014

7:30–9:30 p.m. *Opening Dinner*
Hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations

The Malaya
King Street Wharf
Sydney

Monday, 24 February 2014

8:15–8:45 a.m. *Welcoming Coffee and Registration*

8:45–9:00 a.m. **Welcoming Remarks**
Michael Fullilove, *Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy*
Richard Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations*

9:00–10:30 a.m. *Session One*
How to revitalise the G20: A view from the Australian Chair

Panellists: **Arthur Sinodinos AO**, *Assistant Treasurer (Australia)*
Mike Callaghan AM PSM, *Program Director, G20 Studies Centre, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)*
David Lipton, *First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (United States)*

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

Guiding Questions: Is there a gap between the G20's purpose and processes? How do you improve the way the G20 operates, especially with respect to communication and transparency? What should the G20's priorities be in 2014? Can the Brisbane Leader's Summit change the G20's trajectory?

10:30–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two*
How to respond to the global challenge of Iran

Panellists: **Gareth Evans AC QC**, *Former Australian Foreign Minister; Former Head, International Crisis Group (Australia)*
Anthony Bubalo, *Research Director and Program Director, West Asia, Lowy Institute (Australia)*

Chair: **Richard Haass**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Guiding Questions: Should the Iranian nuclear issue be seen as a global non-proliferation question or a regional balance of power issue? What should the role of non-regional, but also non-P5+1, actors be in responding to the Iranian issue? What implications does the international response to the Iranian nuclear question have for other global non-proliferation challenges such as North Korea?

12:30–2:00 p.m. **Lunch and Keynote**
Peter Varghese AO, *Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)*

2:00–3:30 p.m. Session Three
Minilateralism versus multilateralism in Asia

Panellists: **Chaesung Chun**, *Chair, Asia Security Initiative Research Center, East Asia Institute; Professor, Seoul National University (South Korea)*
Yasushi Kudo, *President, The Genron NPO (Japan)*
Simon Tay, *Chairman, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore)*

Chair: **Michael L'Estrange AO**, *Founding Executive Director, National Security College, Australian National University (Australia) TBC*

Guiding Questions: What are the most effective and stabilising ways to organise security and diplomatic cooperation in Asia? What are the relative merits of bilateralism, inclusive multilateralism (eg. East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum) and 'minilateralism'? What are the prospects for inclusive multilateral institutions in Asia, such as the East Asia Summit, to manage big strategic issues such as US-China tensions? What should be the criteria for countries to join minilateral cooperative groupings and under what circumstances might such groupings include China? What should be the role of extra-regional players, such as the EU or key European countries, in Asian diplomatic institutions and security structures?

3:30–4:30 p.m. *Transport to Garden Island Naval Dockyard*

4:30–6:00 p.m. Session Four
Maritime security in the Asia Pacific
Session to be conducted on a Royal Australian Navy Amphibious Vessel, HMAS Choules

Panellists: **Jenny Hayward Jones**, *Program Director, Melanesia, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)*
Shixin Zhou, *Research Fellow at the Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies (China)*
Osamu Onoda, *Visiting Fellow, The Genron NPO (Japan)*

Chair: **Rory Medcalf**, *Program Director, International Security, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)*

Guiding Questions: How real is the possibility of maritime/aerial security tensions in East Asia leading to war? How can maritime security risks in the East China Sea and South China Sea be managed in the absence of strategic trust between China and other countries? Is the Pacific Islands region becoming a theatre for geo-strategic competition? Are there any prospects for ameliorating maritime tensions within multilateral forums or frameworks, including negotiated codes of conduct?

6.00–7:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception on HMAS Choules*

7:30–10:30 pm.

Dinner and Keynote

The Hon. John Howard OM AC, *former Prime Minister of Australia*
Hosted by the Lowy Institute for International Policy

**Quay
Restaurant**
Circular Quay
Sydney

Tuesday, 25 February 2014

8:30–9:00 a.m.

Welcoming Coffee

9:00–10:30 a.m.

Session Five

The Trans-Pacific Partnership and Global Trade

Panellists: **Ettore Greco**, *Director, Italian Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*
Stephen Grenville AO, *Nonresident Fellow, Lowy Institute (Australia)*
Françoise Nicolas, *Director, Center for Asian Studies, French Institute of international relations (France) TBC*

Chair: **Barry Desker**, *Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Guiding Questions: What are the prospects for the Trans-Pacific Partnership? What are its implications for the liberalisation of global trade? What are the prospects for global trade liberalisation more generally?

10:30–11:00 a.m.

Coffee Break

11:00a.m.–12:30p.m.

Session Six

Should there be rules for how states exploit cyberspace?

Panellists: **Memduh Karakullukçu**, *President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*
Alex Neill, *Shangri-La Dialogue Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)*
Robert Ayson, *Director, Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand)*

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

Guiding Questions: Do there need to be stronger formal and/or informal rules and understandings between states about the use of Cyberspace? Do there need to special rules around use of cyber space for intelligence collection? What constitute reasonable boundaries and understandings for allies or friendly partner nations when it comes to collecting information about each other's policy thinking and capabilities? How have the Snowden affair and revelations of NSA intelligence collection shaped international negotiations about cybersecurity and internet governance?

12:30–2:00 p.m.

Lunch and Closing Remarks

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

FIFTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

23-25 FEBRUARY 2014

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

Dr Michael Fullilove is the Executive Director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy.

He has been associated with the Lowy Institute since its establishment. He wrote the feasibility study for the Institute in 2002 and has served as the Director of its Global Issues Program since 2003. He has also worked as a Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, an adviser to Prime Minister Paul Keating, and a lawyer. He remains a Nonresident Senior Fellow at Brookings.

Dr Fullilove writes widely on Australian foreign policy, US foreign policy and global issues in publications including *The New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Daily Beast*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *The National Interest* and *Foreign Affairs*, as well as the Australian press. He is a sought-after media commentator and speaker in Australia and abroad, appearing on programs such as *Radio National Breakfast*, *Lateline* 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 also studied as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford, where he took a master's degree and a doctorate in international relations.

Dr Fullilove's first book, *'Men and Women of Australia! Our Greatest Modern Speeches*, was published by Vintage. He is the co-editor, with Anthony Bubalo, of *Reports from a Turbulent Decade* (Viking), an anthology of the Lowy Institute's best work. His new book, *Rendezvous with Destiny: How Franklin D. Roosevelt and Five Extraordinary Men Took America into the War and into the World*, was published in Australia and the United States in 2013 by Penguin.

Richard Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations, a position he has held for more than a decade. The Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries.

Dr Haass is the author or editor of twelve books on American foreign policy and one book on management. His most recent book is *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*.

From January 2001 to June 2003, Dr Richard Haass was director of policy planning for the Department of State, where he was a principal adviser to Secretary of State Colin Powell. Confirmed by the U.S. Senate to hold the rank of ambassador, Dr Haass also served as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of

Afghanistan and U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process. For his efforts, he received the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award.

Dr Haass has extensive additional government experience. From 1989 to 1993, he was special assistant to President George H.W. Bush and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. In 1991, Dr Haass was awarded the Presidential Citizens Medal for his contributions to the development and articulation of U.S. policy during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Previously, he served in the Departments of State (1981-85) and Defense (1979-80) and was a legislative aide in the U.S. Senate.

Dr Haass also was vice president and director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, the Sol M. Linowitz visiting professor of international studies at Hamilton College, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a lecturer in public policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and a research associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. A Rhodes scholar, Dr Haass holds a BA from Oberlin College and Master and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from Oxford University. He has received honorary degrees from Hamilton College, Franklin & Marshall College, Georgetown University, Oberlin College, Central College, and Miami Dade College.

Panelists

Session One: How to revitalize the G20: A view from the Australian Chair

Senator Arthur Sinodinos AO was sworn in as Assistant Treasurer on 18 September 2013.

He first entered the Australian Senate in October 2011 and was appointed Shadow Parliamentary Secretary to the Leader of the Opposition in September 2012 a position he held until the election of the Abbott Government.

Senator Sinodinos is known for his focus on substantive topics affecting Australia's increasingly complex economic and financial landscape.

He is an expert on financial markets, economics and public policy, reflecting his experience gained through previous roles as an economist with the Commonwealth Treasury and Department of Finance.

He worked for former Prime Minister John Howard, whilst he was Opposition Leader as his Senior Economic Adviser from 1987-89 and again in 1995-96.

In 1997, Senator Sinodinos became Prime Minister Howard's Chief of Staff, a position he held for nine years. In 2006 he went to work with Goldman Sachs JB Were and then the National Australia Bank and various corporate appointments.

Senator Sinodinos was a member of various pro-bono boards including the Mary MacKillop Foundation, a charity which funds "small life changing projects" for the underprivileged, the Aboriginal Employment Strategy Pty Ltd and the Australian Institute of Management.

In 2008, Senator Sinodinos was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia for his service to politics through the executive function of government, to the development of economic policy and reform and to the Greek community.

He returned to politics in October 2011, when he succeeded Liberal Senator Helen Coonan from NSW.

In December 2011, the then Opposition Leader Mr Abbott announced the creation of the Coalition Deregulation Taskforce to cut Government red and green tape by \$1billion a year and appointed Senator Sinodinos as chairman of the taskforce.

Senator Sinodinos has also held the positions of Honorary Treasurer of Liberal Party Australia NSW Division and President of Liberal Party of Australia NSW Division.

Mike Callaghan AM PSM commenced as Program Director of the G20 Studies Centre in December 2012. Mike has extensive experience on international economic issues, both in the Australian Treasury and the International Monetary Fund.

Mike was Executive Director, International, in the Australian Treasury from 2008 until 2012. He was also Australia's G20 Finance Deputy and a member of the Financial Stability Board. Mike also served as the Prime Minister's Special Envoy, International Economy.

From 2005 until 2007 Mike was Executive Director, Revenue Group in the Australian Treasury and was responsible for tax policy and legislation. Prior to this position he spent four years in Washington DC as Executive Director representing a constituency of 14 countries, including Australia and Korea. Mike was also a member of an eminent persons group tasked with reporting on improving cooperation and collaboration between the IMF and the World Bank.

Between 1999 and 2000, Mike served as Chief of Staff to the Australian Treasurer, the Hon Peter Costello.

Mike Callaghan joined the Australian Treasury in 1974 and has held various senior positions, including heading the Economic Division and Financial Institutions Division and being the Secretary to the Prime Minister's Task Group on International Financial Reform in 1998. He also worked at the IMF in the early 1980s.

Mike has economic and law degrees from the Australian National University and is a graduate of the Royal College of Defence Studies, London. In 2009 he was awarded the Public Service Medal for services to the Australian Government. In 2013 he was made a Member of the Order of Australia.

David Lipton assumed the position of first deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund on September 1, 2011. Prior to this, he was special adviser to the managing director of the IMF starting July 26, 2011. Before joining the Fund, he was special assistant to the President of the United States, and served as senior director for international economic affairs at the National Economic Council and National Security Council at the White House.

Previously, Lipton was a managing director at Citi. Prior to joining Citi in May 2005, he was at Moore Capital Management for five years, and before that he spent a year at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Lipton served in the Clinton administration at the Treasury Department from 1993 to 1998, including as assistant secretary and undersecretary of the Treasury for international affairs. Before that, he was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center of Scholars. From 1989 to 1992, Lipton worked as an economic adviser to the governments of Russia, Poland and Slovenia. Lipton began his career with eight years on the IMF staff.

He has a Ph.D. and M.A. from Harvard University in 1982 and a B.A. from Wesleyan University in 1975.

Professor the Hon. Gareth Evans AC QC has been Chancellor of the Australian National University since January 2010, and is President Emeritus of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group, the independent global conflict prevention and resolution organisation which he led from 2000 to 2009.

He previously spent 21 years in Australian politics, thirteen of them as a Cabinet Minister. As Foreign Minister (1988-96) he was best known internationally for his roles in developing the UN peace plan for Cambodia, concluding the Chemical Weapons Convention, and initiating new Asia Pacific regional economic and security architecture. He has written or edited, individually or jointly, ten books - most recently *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and for All*, published by the Brookings Institution in 2008 (paperback edition 2009) and *Nuclear Weapons: The State of Play* (ANU, 2013) - and has published over 100 journal articles and chapters on foreign relations, human rights and legal and constitutional reform.

He has co-chaired two major International Commissions, on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2000-01), and Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (2008-10) whose report *Eliminating Nuclear Threats* was published in December 2009. He was a member of the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004), the Blix Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction (2006), the Zedillo Commission of Eminent Persons on The Role of the IAEA to 2020 and Beyond (2008) and the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention. He is Co-Chair of the International Advisory Board of the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect and Chair of the ANU-based Centre for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

Gareth Evans was made a Companion of the Order of Australia (AC) on 11 June 2012 for "eminent service to international relations, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region, as an adviser to governments on global policy matters, to conflict prevention and resolution, and to arms control and disarmament." In December 2011 Foreign Policy magazine cited him as one of the Top 100 Global Thinkers for 2011 "for making 'the responsibility to protect' more than academic". In May 2010 Gareth Evans was awarded the 2010 Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Four Freedoms Award for Freedom from Fear, for his pioneering work on the Responsibility to Protect concept and his contributions to conflict prevention and resolution, arms control and disarmament.

Anthony Bubalo is the Research Director at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He is also the Director of the West Asia Program covering the Middle East, Central and Southwest Asia. His research focuses on Australian policy towards West Asia and the linkages between West Asia and East Asia. He has produced research on Islamism, democratisation and energy security, with a particular focus on Egypt, Israel and the countries of the Gulf. He comments regularly on Middle Eastern politics for the Australian and international media outlets. He has written for The Australian, The Age, The Sydney Morning Herald, the Financial Times, Ha'aretz and Asahi Shimbun newspapers as well as The American Interest and ForeignPolicy.com. He is the co-editor, with Michael Fullilove, of Reports from a Turbulent Decade (Viking), an anthology of the Lowy Institute's best work. Before joining the Lowy Institute Anthony was an officer in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for thirteen years. He served in Australian diplomatic missions in Saudi Arabia and Israel and was Senior Middle East Analyst with the Office of National Assessments from 1996 to 1998. From 2002-2003 he was director of the Policy and Coordination Unit of the Australian government's Iraq Task Force, and immediately prior to joining the Lowy Institute Anthony was DFAT's Senior Speechwriter.

Lunch and Keynote

Peter Varghese AO took up his position as Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade on 3 December 2012.

Prior to this appointment, Mr Varghese was Australia's High Commissioner to India from 2009 to 2012. Between 2004 and 2009, he was Director-General of the Office of National Assessments. Before that he was the Senior Adviser (International) to the Prime Minister. Mr Varghese was Australia's High Commissioner to Malaysia from 2000 to 2002. He has also served overseas in Tokyo (1994), Washington (1986-88) and Vienna (1980-83).

Mr Varghese has held a wide range of senior positions in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra, including as Deputy Secretary (2002-2003), First Assistant Secretary of the International Security Division (1997), Head of the White Paper Secretariat (1996-97) which drafted Australia's first white paper on foreign and trade policy, First Assistant Secretary of the Public Affairs Division (1994-96), and Assistant Secretary of Staffing (1991-92). He was seconded to the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet as First Assistant Secretary of the International Division (1998-1999).

Mr Varghese was born in 1956 in Kenya to Indian born parents. He migrated to Australia as a young child in 1964. Mr Varghese is a graduate and university medalist in history from the University of Queensland. He is married with one adult son.

He was appointed an Officer in the Order of Australia (AO) in 2010 for distinguished service to public administration, particularly in leading reform in the Australian intelligence community and as an adviser in the areas of foreign policy and international security. He was awarded a Doctor of Letters *honoris causa* by the University of Queensland in July 2013 in recognition of his distinguished service to diplomacy and Australian public service.

Session Three: **Minilateralism versus multilateralism in Asia**

Chaesung Chun is a professor of Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University. He also chairs Asia Security Initiative Research Center at East Asia Institute. He is a member of Advisory Committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Reunification. He holds an M.A. from Seoul National University, as well as a Ph.D. in international relations theory from Northwestern University. Dr. Chun's research interests include international relations, security studies, South Korean Foreign policy and East Asian security relations. His recent publications include *Is Politics Moral?: Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism* (Hangilsa, 2012), *Theory of East Asian International Relations* (EAI, 2011), and *Critique of Constructivism from the Perspective of Postmodernism and Realism* (Korean Journal of International Relations, 2010).

Yasushi Kudo is founder and president of The Genron NPO. He has been regularly conducting evaluations of each major political party's election pledges and of the incumbent administration's performance. He also established influential high-level, private-sector channels of dialogue, such as the Tokyo-Beijing Forum between Japan and China in 2005, and Japan-South Korea Future Dialogue between Japan and South Korea in May 2013. In December 2013, he launched the New Civil Diplomacy Initiative aimed at solving the challenges facing East Asia.

He received a Master of Economics at Yokohama City University. Before the foundation of The Genron NPO, he was an editor of "Financial Business," a monthly magazine specializing in the financial sector, and "Debate: Toyo Keizai," Japan's leading issue-oriented magazine.

In October 2001, he set up The Genron NPO, and became its president in order to create a stage for responsible and quality discussion, which the everyday mass media didn't provide. He has been

regularly conducting evaluations of each major political party's election pledges and of the incumbent administration's performance. He has also served as a member of Japanese government and private-sector advisory committees.

In Asia, he established an influential high-level, private-sector channel of dialogue (the Tokyo-Beijing Forum) between Japan and China in 2005. In May 2013, he initiated The First Japan-South Korea Future Dialogue, capitalizing on his experience in facilitating Japan-China dialogue. The dialogue was based on public opinion in Japan and South Korea.

In December 2013, The Genron NPO launched the New Civil Diplomacy Initiative, which aims to create a peaceful and stable new order in East Asia. Discussions focus on how to establish synthetic and strategic multinational civil dialogue, and how to reinforce messages from Japan about international issues. Kudo works to arouse public opinion through intellectual discussion with the intention to solve issues.

Professor Simon Tay is a public intellectual as well as private advisor to major corporations and policy-makers.

He is concurrently Chairman of the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, the country's oldest think tank and founding member of the ASEAN network of think tanks. He is also an Associate Professor, teaching international law at the National University of Singapore. His commentaries feature regularly in newspapers such as TODAY, Jakarta Post (Indonesia) and the China Daily. He also featured on television with BBC, CNN, Bloomberg, CNBC & Channel News Asia.

Simon is also a Senior Consultant at WongPartnership, a leading Asian law firm. He serves on the Global Advisory Boards for Toyota Motor Corporation and MUFG, the world's second largest financial group. Furthermore, he sits as a board member for two major Singaporean corporations, Hyflux Ltd, a billion dollar water treatment company, and Far East Organization.

From 1992 to 2008, he served in public positions for Singapore, including as Chairman of the National Environment Agency, reporting to the Minister as an independent Member of Parliament, and to coordinate the Singapore Volunteers Overseas. He continues to serve on several Singapore Government committees for climate change and security relations in the Asia-Pacific. He has taught as a visiting professor at Yale University, the Fletcher School and Harvard Law School.

Mr Tay is a prize-winning author of stories and poems and, in 2010, his novel *City of Small Blessings* was awarded the Singapore Literature Prize. He graduated in law from the National University of Singapore (1986), where he was president of the student union for three terms, and from Harvard Law School (1993), where he won the Laylin prize for the best thesis in international law.

Professor Michael L'Estrange AO graduated with Honours from Sydney University in 1974, majoring in History. He was awarded the 1975 NSW Rhodes Scholarship and studied at Oxford University from 1976 to 1979. He graduated with First Class Honours in Philosophy, Politics and Economics and won two University Blues for cricket.

In 1981, Professor L'Estrange joined the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. Among other appointments, he served in 1984-85 on the staff of Mr Justice Hope's Royal Commission into Australia's Security and Intelligence Agencies.

In 1986, Professor L'Estrange was awarded a Harkness Fellowship and spent two academic years under the auspices of the Fellowship studying at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington DC and at the Institute of International Studies at the University of California at Berkeley.

From 1989 to 1994, Professor L'Estrange worked for several Leaders of the Opposition in a range of policy advisory positions. In 1995, he was appointed the inaugural Executive Director of the Menzies Research Centre in Canberra.

In March 1996, Professor L'Estrange was appointed by the Prime Minister as Secretary to Cabinet and Head of the Cabinet Policy Unit. He served in that capacity until July 2000 when he became Australia's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.

Professor L'Estrange returned from that posting in January 2005 to take up the position of Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canberra, a position he held until August 2009.

In 2007, Professor L'Estrange was appointed as an Officer in the Order of Australia 'for service to the development and implementation of public policy in Australia, particularly national security and foreign policy, and to international relations through fostering diplomatic, trade and cultural interests including strengthening Australia's relationship with the United Kingdom'.

Professor L'Estrange was appointed Head of College of the National Security College at the Australian National University in December 2009.

Session Four: **Maritime security in the Asia Pacific**

Jenny Hayward-Jones is Director of The Myer Foundation Melanesia Program at the Lowy Institute. Prior to joining the Lowy Institute Jenny was an officer in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for thirteen years, serving in the Australian missions in Vanuatu and Turkey. She worked as Policy Adviser to the Special Coordinator of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands from its inception in July 2003 and in 2004. Jenny holds a BA (Hons) in political science from Macquarie University; her Masters thesis for Monash University focused on governance and political change in Vanuatu. Jenny's interests focus on Australian policy in the Pacific Islands region, political and social change in Melanesia, and the strategic and economic challenges facing Pacific Islands in the Asian century. She is the author of two Policy Briefs on Fiji and several reports from major conferences on regional issues, on PNG and on Solomon Islands that she has convened in Australia, New Zealand and Solomon Islands.

Dr Shixin Zhou a research fellow in Institute for Foreign Policy Studies and Center of Asia-Pacific Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. He got his master degree in International Relations, Shanghai International Studies University from 2002 to 2005 and got his doctor degree in International Relations, Shanghai International Studies University from 2005 and 2008. During 2006-2007, he studies in Tel Aviv University as a visiting scholar for a year. During July to December of 2011, he studies in attending the program of Managing Global Governance in Germany. He works in Shanghai Institutes for International Studies from 2008 and now is head of Department of Major-Power Relations of Institute for Foreign Policy Studies. His research focuses are China's Foreign Policy, Politics and Security in Southeast Asia, China-ASEAN Relations, and Regional Integration in East Asia. Some of his latest works are: Perspectives of Asia's Participation in Global Economic governance, *Asia-Pacific Economic Review*, 2011; An Analysis of Confidence Building Measures in ASEAN Regional Forum, *Southeast and South Asia Studies*, 2011; Perspectives of China-ASEAN Economic Relations and Regional Integration, *Innovation*,

2012; Institutional Building of Regional Cooperation in East Asia, *International Economic Cooperation*, 2012; Evolution and Perspective of Shangri-la Dialogue, *Southeast and South Asia Studies*, 2012; "Strategic Dynamics of Small-Country Groups: Based on a Comparative Analysis of GCC and ASEAN" *Southeast and South Asia Studies*, 2013; "Path Competition and Choice of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation", *International Economic Cooperation*, 2013; "ASEAN Dispute Management Mechanisms and their Effects", *Southeast Asia Survey*, 2013.

Osamu Onoda is a senior fellow of the Harvard Asia Center from July 2013 to June 2015. His research focuses national security strategy of Japan, U.S. and China and Chinese military capabilities.

Osamu Onoda is an adviser for Toshiba Corporation Social Infrastructure Systems Company. He also serves as senior visiting fellow of the Genron NPO since January 2014 .

Osamu Onoda retired from Japan Air Self Defense Force (JASDF) as Lieutenant General in July 2012. The last assignment was Commander, Air Education and Training Command (AETC). The command includes the air basic training group, six flight training wings/squadrons, five technical schools, and the officer candidate school. The AETC consists of more than 6,000 active-duty, civilians and 120 trainer and fighter aircraft and trains more than 10,000 students per year.

Osamu Onoda is a 1977 graduate of the National Defense Academy. His expertise in JASDF was a communication and electronics. He has commanded squadrons, 3rd Air Depot, 7th Air Wing and the Western Air Force. His numerous staff positions in the Air Staff Office include the Director of Personnel and Education Department, the Head of Defense Planning and Program Division, and the program managers of Aircraft Control and Warning System, E-767 Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), KC-767 Air Refueling Tanker and Transport and C-2 Transport Aircraft.

Rory Medcalf is Director of the International Security Program at the Lowy Institute and a Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington DC. His professional background spans diplomacy, journalism and intelligence analysis. He has worked as a senior strategic analyst with the Office of National Assessments, Canberra's peak intelligence agency. His experience as an Australian diplomat included a posting to New Delhi, a secondment to Japan's foreign ministry, and truce monitoring after the civil conflict in Bougainville. He has contributed to three landmark reports on nuclear arms control: the Canberra Commission, Tokyo Forum, and International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. His earlier work in journalism was commended in Australia's leading media awards, the Walkleys.

In parallel with his analytical work, Mr Medcalf has been active in the development of Australia's relations with India. He is Associate Director of the Australia-India Institute and the head of its Sydney Node at the University of New South Wales. He is also co-chair of the Australia-India Roundtable, the leading informal dialogue between the two countries.

His principal research subjects in 2013-14 include opinion polling on Indian attitudes to the world, the development of an Indo-Pacific concept of the Asian strategic environment, Australia's defence challenges, and maritime and nuclear strategy in Indo-Pacific Asia.

Dinner and Keynote

The Hon. John Howard OM AC is the former Prime Minister of Australia. He was born July 26, 1939, in Sydney, Australia. He became leader of the Liberal Party in 1985. He was defeated in his 1989 bid to retain his leadership. In 1995 he regained the leadership. Having promised major tax reform during his 1998 reelection campaign, he oversaw the implementation of a new taxation system in 2000. In 2006 he introduced controversial labor-relations reforms.

Session Five: The Trans-Pacific Partnership and Global Trade

Ettore Greco is Director of the IAI and also heads the transatlantic program of the institute. He worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from January 2006 to July 2007. He taught at the universities of Parma and Bologna. From 2000 to 2006 he worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. From 1993 to 2000 he directed the IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also Deputy Director of the 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 EU's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations and the Balkans. He has been a free-lance journalist since 1988.

Dr Stephen Grenville AO works as a consultant to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank on financial sector issues in East Asia. He is a Visiting Fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Policy. Between 1982 and 2001 he worked at the Reserve Bank of Australia, for the last five years as Deputy Governor and Board member. Before that, he was with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris, the International Monetary Fund in Jakarta, the Australian National University and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Dr Francoise Nicolas is a senior Researcher and Director of the Center for Asian Studies at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), Paris, and an Adjunct Associate Professor in International Economics at Paris-East University (Marne-la-Vallée). She also teaches at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (Langues' O Paris) and at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques (Sciences Po, Paris) and is an occasional consultant to the Directorate for Financial, Fiscal and Enterprise Affairs (DAFFE) of the OECD.

She holds a Ph.D in international economics (1991) and an MA in political science (1985) from the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva, Switzerland). She has also studied at the University of Sussex (1980-81) and was a visiting fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) in Singapore (1999) and at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy (KIEP) in Seoul (2004).

Her research focuses on development Strategies in East Asia; FDI and growth; regional economic integration; emerging economies and globalization. Her latest publications include: « Economic regionalism in East Asia : The end of an exception ? », in Tong Sarah (ed.), *Trade, Investment and Economic Integration (Volume One: Globalization, Development and Security in East Asia)*, World Scientific Publishing, forthcoming; « China's Direct Investment in the European Union: Challenges and Policy Responses », *China Economic Journal*, vol. 7, No 1, 2014, pp. 103-25, forthcoming.

Ambassador Barry Desker is the Dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and concurrently Director, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, NTU. He is the inaugural Bakrie Professor of Southeast Asia Policy. Ambassador Desker is a Member of

the Presidential Council for Minority Rights, Singapore. He is also a Member of the Board of Directors of the Lee Kuan Yew Exchange Fellowship.

He was the Chief Executive Officer of the Singapore Trade Development Board from 1994 to 2000, after serving in the foreign service since 1970. He was Singapore's Ambassador to Indonesia from 1986 to 1993.

He is currently also Non-Resident Ambassador of Singapore to the Holy See and Spain, Chairman of Singapore Technologies Marine and a Board Member of International City Holdings and Avex International Holdings Singapore.

He was educated at the University of Singapore, University of London and Cornell University. He was awarded a honorary LLD by Warwick University in 2012 and the University of Exeter in 2013.

His research interests include the WTO, terrorism and civil conflict in Asia, as well as regional economic and security issues. He has published most recently in the *Washington Quarterly*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Survival*, *Internationale Politik*, *Asia Policy*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia* and *The Pacific Review*.

Session Six: **Should there be rules for how states exploit cyberspace?**

Memduh Karakullukçu is the Vice-Chairman and President of Global Relations Forum, the Managing Partner at Kroton Consulting, and the Founding Partner of the online legal informatics initiative, kanunum.com. His advisory work specializes in higher education and technology policy, and analysis of international economic and political affairs. He has served as the senior advisor to the Chairwoman of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) during 2007-2010.

Previously, Mr Karakullukçu was the Founding Managing Director of Istanbul's leading science park, Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) ARI Teknokent, currently an innovation community of 80 technology companies. During this period, Mr Karakullukçu also served as the senior advisor to the President of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ), the Coordinator of the Law Technology and Policy MSc programme and the strategic advisor at the ITU Remote Sensing Facility. He has been a member of the academic staff at the LSE and ITU.

Earlier in his career, he has worked as a specialist in structured finance at the London and Istanbul offices of an international investment bank (1992-1994). His previous academic work includes research commissioned by the IMF and the World Bank on the dynamics of Turkish debt markets. He has presented his work on technology and innovation policy at various international fora like the OECD, NATO ARW, SEFI and AURP.

Mr Karakullukçu received his B.S. in Electrical Engineering and B.S. in Economics at MIT, M.Sc. in Finance at the LSE and his J.D. at Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

Alex Neill worked in the British government for more than seven years, and from 2005-2013, has been Head of the Asia Security Programme at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies in London. He is a strong Chinese linguist, and has published on Chinese security issues, but also has much wider interests and expertise in Asian security.

Professor Robert Ayson is Professor of Strategic Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and works in close association with Victoria's Centre for Strategic Studies. He has also held academic positions with the Australian National University, Massey University and the University of Waikato, and official positions with the New Zealand government as an intelligence analyst and select committee advisor. He is an Honorary Professor with the New Zealand Defence Force Command and Staff College. He gained his MA as a Freyberg Scholar at the ANU and his PhD as a Commonwealth Scholar at King's College London.

Professor Ayson has a particular interest in how we think about strategic competition and cooperation, including the management of armed conflict. This work has ranged from exploring the ideas of Hedley Bull and Thomas Schelling to evaluating New Zealand and Australian responses to the changing Asia-Pacific balance between China and the United States. It also includes his current research for a book on Asia's Security and his long-standing interest in nuclear issues. A frequent media commentator and contributor to the Lowy Institute's *Interpreter* blog, he can be followed on twitter at @robayson.

Dr Stewart Patrick is senior fellow and director of the program on international institutions and global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). His areas of expertise include multilateral cooperation in the management of global issues; U.S. policy toward international institutions, including the United Nations; and the challenges posed by fragile, failing, and post-conflict states.

From September 2002 to January 2005, Dr Patrick 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. Following government service, he was Research Fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed CGD's work on weak states and U.S. national security.

Dr Patrick is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and former CFR International Affairs Fellow. From 1997-2002, he was research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, where he also taught U.S. foreign policy. He has also taught at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, DC.

Dr Patrick is the author or co-author of four books, including *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security* (2011), and *The Best Laid Plans: The Origins of American Multilateralism and the Dawn of the Cold War* (2009), as well as numerous articles and chapters on the subjects of multilateral cooperation, state-building, and U.S. foreign policy. He is also the executive producer of CFR's Global Governance Monitor (www.cfr.org/ggmonitor), an award-winning, web-based, multimedia initiative that maps and evaluates multilateral efforts to address global challenges. In addition, he writes the CFR blog "[The Internationalist](#)".

Dr Patrick graduated from Stanford University with a BA in human biology and honors in humanities, and received his doctorate in international relations, as well as two masters degrees, in international relations and European history, from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Participants

Bertrand Badre is Managing Director and World Bank Group Chief Financial Officer. Mr Badré is responsible for the financial and risk management strategies of the World Bank Group and for the institutions that make up the Group. This includes development of new, innovative financial products and services, oversight of the financial reporting, and mobilization of financial resources in alignment with the Group's strategy. Mr Badré contributes to the international dialogue on financial standards and best practices, primarily through his representation of the Group at the Financial Stability Board. In

addition, Mr Badré oversees the Information and Technology Solutions Vice Presidency and the General Services Department.

Mr Badré joined the World Bank in March 2013. Previously, he served as the Group Chief Financial Officer at Société Général, and before that he served as the Group Chief Financial Officer of Crédit Agricole from July 2007 to July 2011.

Between 2004 and 2007, Mr Badré was Managing Director of Lazard in Paris responsible for the Financial Services Group. In 2003, he was invited to join President Chirac's diplomatic team and was closely involved in the preparation of the G8 summit in Evian. In that capacity, he served as the President's deputy personal representative for Africa and as a spokesman for the working group on new international financial contributions to fight poverty and fund development, which produced The Landau Report. In 2002, he was a member of the World Panel on Financing Water Infrastructure chaired by Michel Camdessus, a panel of financial experts to assess ways of attracting resources to the water field.

In 1999 Mr Badré joined Lazard, where he spent 18 months as Assistant Director in London, before transferring to New York as Director in the mergers & acquisitions department with specific focus on the financial services sector. From 1995 to 1999, he served in the French Ministry of Finance where he led a number of control, audit and consultancy missions for the French National Audit Office. During this period, he was seconded to the World Bank in Togo to support the Ministry of Agriculture on budget matters. He began his career in 1989 as Assistant Group Controller for BFI-Ibexsa, a Franco-American company that is now part of Avnet.

Mr Badré has served as Director on a number of boards, including the Supervisory Board of *Eurazeo* between 2010 and 2012, *Haulotte Group* since 2005, various boards of the leading French regional daily Newspaper Group *Ouest France*, and represented *Crédit Agricole* and *Société Générale* on the board of a number of their subsidiaries.

Mr Badré is a graduate of ENA (*Ecole Nationale d'Administration*) and *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*. He also studied history at Paris IV University (*La Sorbonne*), and graduated from HEC (*Hautes Études Commerciales in Paris*) business school. He is married to Vanessa and they have four children.

Mark Ryan is a Board Member of the Lowy Institute for International Affairs, and joined Westfield in 1994 after a career in media and government. After working for metropolitan newspapers in the early 1980s, he joined the Victorian Government as a press secretary in 1985 and became Director of the Victorian Government Media Unit in 1987. In 1989, he moved to Canberra as press secretary to the then Federal Treasurer, the Honourable Paul Keating, and later served as Senior Political Adviser to Keating as Prime Minister between 1991-94. He is a director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy and Chain Reaction, a not-for-profit cycling event company.

Dr Seiichiro Takagi is a Senior Adjunct Fellow, the Japan Institute of International Affairs. He obtained M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from Stanford University. After having taught at Graduate School of Policy Science, Saitama University and its reconstitution, the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, for over 20 years, he became Director of the Second Research Department, The National Institute for Defense Studies in April 1999. He moved to the Aoyama Gakuin University in April 2003 to teach at the School of International Politics, Economics, and Communication. He moved to the current position in April 2011. He is a specialist on Chinese foreign relations and security issues in the Asia-

Pacific region. He is the president of the Japan Association for International Security, a member of the Japan Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), and a board member of the Kazankai Foundation, which is specialized in cultural exchange between Japan and Asian nations, and the Partnership for International Strategies in Asia (PISA), an international academic NGO based in the George Washington University. His recent publications in English include *China Watching: Perspectives from Europe, Japan and the United States* (co-edited with Robert Ash and David Shambaugh, with contribution, Routledge, 2007); "The Taiwan factor in Japan-China relations," in Lm Peng Er, ed., *Japan's Relations with China* (Routledge, 2006); "The Asia-Pacific Nations: Searching for Leverage," in Ramon H. Meyers, Michel C. Oksenberg and David Shambaugh (eds.), *Making China Policy* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

Nandan Unnikrishnan joined ORF, as a Senior Fellow, in 2004 to help start the Eurasia Studies Programme.

An alumni of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), he began his career as a journalist with the Press Trust of India (PTI). From 1985 to 1987, he was deputed by PTI to the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA). In 1995, he moved to Business India's Television Channel - TVI - as the News Coordinator for International Affairs, after 15 years in PTI culminating with a three-year posting to Moscow as the Bureau Chief. He rose to head the channel by 1998. He left TVI in 1999 to join "Brandquiver Dotcom" as its content head. Subsequently he was a freelance journalist and documentary film producer.

Several channels have aired documentary films produced by Mr Unnikrishnan. His articles, primarily on international affairs, have appeared in many Indian publications. During his tenure with ORF, Mr Unnikrishnan has participated in several National and International conferences, lectured in various academic and specialised institutions in India and abroad.

Mr Unnikrishnan is a Vice President in ORF's Centre for International Relations. He looks after the U.S.Studies Programme and the Eurasian Studies Programme.
