

**COUNCIL *on*
FOREIGN
RELATIONS**



COUNCIL OF COUNCILS
SEVENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE
CRISIS IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: REFORM OR RESET?

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



JANUARY 11–13, 2015

THE OBEROI HOTEL

NEW DELHI, INDIA

Hosted by

Observer Research Foundation

and

Council on Foreign Relations

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Council of Councils Mission Statement

The defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-four 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.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 11, 2015

Connaught, The Oberoi Hotel, New Delhi

7:00 p.m. – 7:10 p.m. *Welcome Remarks*

Sunjoy Joshi, *Director, Observer Research Foundation*

7:10 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. *Keynote Address*

THE MODI MANDATE: WHAT IT MEANS FOR INDIA AND THE WORLD

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

Speakers: **Shashi Tharoor**, *Member of Parliament and Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs*

Ashok Malik, *Australia India Institute –Observer Research Foundation Chair for Indo-Pacific Studies*

Siddharth Varadarajan, *Senior Fellow, Centre for Public Affairs and Critical Theory, Shiv Nadar University*

8:00 p.m. – 9:30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception and Dinner*

MONDAY, JANUARY 12, 2015

Nilgiri Hall, The Oberoi Hotel, New Delhi

9:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m. *Registration and light breakfast*

10:00 a.m. – 10:05 a.m. *Opening Remarks*

Stewart M. Patrick, *Senior Fellow and Director, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations*

10:05 a.m. – 11:30 a.m. *Session One*

NUCLEAR ASIA

Guiding Questions: What are the most challenging nuclear security issues in Asia and have these issues evolved? Are traditional notions of nuclear deterrence between states in Asia still viable? What effect has the rise of China and its growing strategic capabilities had on nuclear stability in Asia? How does the changing balance of power between China and the United States affect the security considerations of other Asian regional powers? Will this evolving strategic balance lead to further nuclear proliferation in Asia?

Presider: **C. Raja Mohan**, *Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation*

Panelists: **Rakesh Sood**, *Former Indian Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Disarmament and Nonproliferation*

Olivier Meier, *International Security Associate, German Institute for International and Security Affairs*

Chaesung Chun, *Chair of Asia Security Initiative Research Center, East Asia Institute*

11:30 a.m. – 11:45 a.m. *Tea and Coffee Break*

11:45 a.m. – 1:15 p.m. *Session Two*

NEW GEOMETRY OF EXTREMISM AND INSTABILITY—RESPONDING TO CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST AND SOUTHWEST ASIA

Guiding Questions: Will ongoing crises lead to a shift in the regional balance of power? Are new alignments and alliances emerging in the region? Are there discernible linkages among the various terror groups operating in this region? How real is the prospect that regional instability and violence might spill over into portions of Europe, Central Asia, and South Asia? What sort of role can regional and global powers play in resolving these conflicts and countering new forms of extremist violence sweeping the region?

Presider: **Richard N. Haass**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations*

Panelists: **Riccardo Alcaro**, *Senior Fellow, Italian Institute of International Affairs*

Oded Eran, *Senior Research Fellow and former Director, Institute for National Security Studies*

Memduh Karakullukçu, *President, Global Relations Forum*

1:15 p.m. – 3:00 p.m. *Working Lunch*

UNSCRIPTED DISCUSSION ON A PRESSING GLOBAL ISSUE

3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m. *Session Three*

GREAT POWER DYNAMICS IN THE INDO-PACIFIC

Guiding Questions: How divergent are the interests of the five big powers operating in the region—the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and India? Do the disputes in the East and South China Seas portend a new era of insecurity not only in East Asia but in the Indian Ocean region as well? Is there scope for regional cooperation among these great powers? What effects do evolving great power dynamics and competition have on middle powers in the region? What roles can these middle power countries and regional institutions play in mitigating differences among the great powers?

Presider: **Steven Blockmans**, *Senior Research Fellow and Head of the EU Foreign Policy Unit, Center for European Policy Studies*

Panelists: **Dongxiao Chen**, *President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies*

Ralf Emmers, *Associate Dean, Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

Nitin Pai, *Cofounder and Director, Takshashila Institute*

7:30 p.m. – 9:30 p.m. *Dinner and Keynote*

Connaught, The Oberoi Hotel, New Delhi

7:30 p.m. – 8:30 p.m. *Keynote Address*

THE ROLE OF THINK TANKS AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

Moderator: Samir Saran, Senior Fellow and Vice President, Observer Research Foundation

Speaker: Navtej Singh Sarna, Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India

8:30 p.m. – 9.30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception and Dinner*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13, 2015

Nilgiri Hall, The Oberoi Hotel, New Delhi

9:00 a.m. – 9.30 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m. *Session Four*

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF INTERNET GOVERNANCE

Guiding Questions: Can new frameworks resolve the gridlock between multilateral and multistakeholder approaches to global Internet governance? Can the Internet remain a largely “free exchange zone” or will states assert increased sovereign restrictions over communication and trade? What do current court cases tell us about the tensions between business and states when it comes to Internet governance? Is the Internet Assigned Numbers Authority (IANA) transition going to democratize Internet resource management? Are we likely to see a “balkanization” of the Internet, as states invest in their own critical resources?

Presider: Stewart M. Patrick, Senior Fellow and Director, International Institutions and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations

Panelists: Thomas Gomart, Vice President for Strategic Development, French Institute of International Relations

Sergey Kulik, Director for International Development, Institute of Contemporary Development

Mahima Kaul, Fellow, Observer Research Foundation

11:00 a.m. – 11:30 a.m. *Tea and Coffee Break*

11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m. *Session Five*

CHALLENGES FOR A POST-2015 CLIMATE CHANGE AGREEMENT

Guiding Questions: What were the most important achievements and shortcomings of the recent twentieth session of the Conference of the Parties (COP) of the UN Framework Convention on

Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Lima, Peru? What are the main obstacles to North-South consensus on a binding climate change agreement at the 2015 UNFCCC meeting in Paris—and can these differences be bridged? Is such an international agreement the most effective means of providing signals to businesses and society, or are there other approaches to achieve desired mitigation and adaptation goals? Can any universal international agreement be aligned with national priorities? How can “universal participation” and “equity” be addressed concurrently? How can national governments be encouraged and incentivized to align domestic policy with international commitments?

Presider: **Jayant M. Mauskar**, Advisor, Observer Research Foundation

Panelists: **Navroz Dubash**, Senior Fellow, Centre for Policy Research

Ettore Greco, Director, Italian Institute of International Affairs

David Welch, CIGI Senior Fellow and Chair of Global Security, Centre for International Governance Innovation

1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.

Lunch and Keynote

A PORTRAIT OF INDIA

*Speaker: **Patrick French**, Author and Historian*

2:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Session Six

FUTURE OF MULTILATERAL TRADING SYSTEMS

Guiding Questions: Will mega free trade agreements (FTAs) like the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) fundamentally alter the global trading system? Would such FTAs bias market access through increased technical standards and other barriers? What effects would such FTAs likely have on the emerging and low-income economies in Asia and Africa? Are we likely to see a revival of multilateral trade led by the World Trade Organization, or can its obituary be written? How are the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) and other emerging economies likely to respond to such changes in the global trade system?

Presider: **Neelam Deo**, Director, Gateway House

Panelists: **Rohinton Medhora**, President, Center for International Governance Innovation

Yul Sohn, Chair of Japan Studies Center, East Asia Institute

Alyssa Ayres, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan and South Asia, Council on Foreign Relations

4:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

Closing Remarks

6:30 p.m.

*Transportation from Oberoi Hotel to **Longchamp**, Taj Mahal Hotel*

7:00 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.

Cocktail Reception

7:30 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.

Public Event

CRISIS IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

*Moderator: **C. Raja Mohan**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation*

*Speakers: **Richard N. Haass**, President, Council on Foreign Relations*

***Sunjoy Joshi**, Director, Observer Research Foundation*

***Rohinton Medhora**, President, Center for International Governance Innovation*

8:30 p.m. – 10:00 p.m. Dinner Reception

PARTICIPANT BIOS

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is a visiting fellow with the Center on the United States and Europe (CUSE) at the Brookings Institution, where he researches transatlantic relations and multipolarity, using Iran's nuclear issue as a test case. Alcaro joined CUSE after ten years as a research fellow within the transatlantic program of the Istituto Affari Internazionali (Italian Institute for International Affairs) in Rome. Alcaro worked on a number of projects on U.S.-European relations, with a focus on issues such as NATO and transatlantic cooperation in Europe's neighboring regions, particularly Russia, Iran, the Gulf, North Africa, and the Middle East. He is the coordinator of Transworld, an EU-funded project on transatlantic relations and their role in global governance carried out by a consortium of thirteen U.S. and EU research centers. Between 2006 and 2010, he authored the external relations section of *European Policy Analyst*, the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly on the European Union. Alcaro is also a fellow with the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program and in 2007 he participated in the German Marshall Fund's Marshall Memorial Fellowship program.

Alyssa Ayres

Alyssa Ayres is senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). At CFR she conducts two projects, one focused on India's role in the world, and one on the new geopolitics of China, India, and Pakistan. She directs the U.S. Relations with South Asia Roundtable Series, blogs regularly for *Asia Unbound*, and is a contributor to Forbes.com. From 2010 to 2013, she served as deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia, covering a dynamic region of 1.3 billion people, and providing policy direction for four U.S. embassies and four consulates in India and South Asia. Prior to serving in the Obama administration, Ayres was founding director of the India and South Asia practice at McLarty Associates, the Washington-based international strategic advisory firm, from 2008 to 2010. Immediately prior, she served in the U.S. Department of State as special assistant to the undersecretary for political affairs as a CFR international affairs fellow.

Her book on nationalism, culture, and politics in Pakistan, *Speaking Like a State*, was published worldwide by Cambridge University Press in 2009, and received the American Institute of Pakistan Studies book prize for 2011–2012. She has coedited three books on India and Indian foreign policy. Ayres has been awarded numerous fellowships and received four group or individual Superior Honor Awards for work at the State Department. She received an AB magna cum laude from Harvard College, and an MA and PhD from the University of Chicago.

Rajiv K. Bhatia

Rajiv K. Bhatia has been director-general of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) since June 2012. As a career diplomat, he served India with distinction for over thirty-seven years. He was India's ambassador/high commissioner in Kenya, Myanmar, Mexico, and South Africa. Presently, he is also member of the Academic Council of Jawaharlal Nehru University, member of the governing council of the National Institute of Design (ND), and member-secretary of the governing council of ICWA.

Since his retirement from the Indian Foreign Service in 2009, he has published more than 125 articles on international affairs in India's national dailies, journals, and periodicals. He has delivered lectures at the National Defence College, Foreign Service Institute, universities, and other institutions in India. He has been interviewed

by BBC, Bloomberg News, AP, NDTV, Doordarshan, and Lok Sabha TV. Since mid-2012, Bhatia has led ICWA delegations to Russia, China, Belgium (for interaction with the EU), Australia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Myanmar. He also addressed Track II conferences in Beijing, Shanghai, Port Louis, and Paris, and interacted with leading academics in London, Kuala Lumpur, and Jakarta.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is head of EU foreign policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, Belgium. Blockmans is also a part-time professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam and one of the founding members of the Centre for the Law of EU External Relations (CLEER) at the T.M.C. Asser Institute. He holds a PhD in law from Leiden University. He is the author of *Tough Love: The EU's Relations with the Western Balkans* and the coeditor of more than ten volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance* and *Differentiated Integration in the EU: From the Inside Looking Out*. For the past fifteen years, he has worked for EU institutions and member states' governments on numerous technical assistance projects in the geographical neighborhood of the EU and in Asia.

Dongxiao Chen

Dongxiao Chen has been president of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS) since July 2013. Prior to this position, Chen was vice president in charge of academic research and international exchanges at SIIS. Previously, he was deputy director of the department of academic research and international exchanges, director of the department of international organizations and international law, and director of the department of American studies at SIIS. Chen specializes in the studies of Chinese foreign policy, Sino-U.S. relations, and UN collective security. His latest publications include *Global Security Governance and the Reform of UN Security Regime*, *Grand Strategic Landscape: Asia in 2020*, *China's UN Diplomacy*, *China's Role in International System*, "Complexity and Transformational Structure of China-U.S. Relations" (in *China-U.S. Relations Transformed*, edited by Suisheng Zhao), and *UN: New Agenda and New Challenges*. Chen is the chief editor of *Global Review*, published by SIIS. He also serves as chair of the Shanghai Association of Future Asia and vice chair of the Shanghai Association of American Studies. Chen is adjunct professor at the Shanghai International Studies University. He also holds the position of nonresident senior fellow at the Center for American Studies, China Institute for International Studies; senior advisor of International Business Leaders Advisory Council (IBLAC) for the mayor of Shanghai; and senior advisor of the Shanghai Foreign Affairs office and Shanghai Taiwan Affairs office of the Shanghai Municipal Government.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is chair of the Asia Security Initiative Research Center at the East Asia Institute. He is a professor in the department of political science and international relations and director of the Center for International Studies at Seoul National University. Chun also serves as a member of the advisory committee for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Unification of the Republic of Korea. He received his MA from Seoul National University and PhD in international relations from Northwestern University. His 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*, *Theory of East Asian International Relations*, and "The Rise of New Powers and the Responding Strategies of Other Countries."

Neelam Deo

Neelam Deo has been the Indian ambassador to Denmark and the Ivory Coast with concurrent accreditation to several West African countries. She has also served in Indian embassies in Bangkok, Paris, Rome, and Washington, DC. Deo liaised with the U.S. Congress on strategic issues and spoke on India's position in her interactions with various think tanks and universities. Deo's last assignment was as consul general in New York from 2005 to 2008. During the course of her assignments in the Ministry of External Affairs, she was joint secretary for Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and the Maldives. At different times over the course of her career, Deo has been on the desk for Bhutan, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific, the latter during an era of growing anti-Indian sentiment in Fiji. She has also worked on the Middle East and North Africa desk—most significantly during the 1980–88 Iran-Iraq war—and retains an active interest in the region. She has a master's degree from the Delhi School of Economics and is currently on the boards of Breakthrough (a human rights organization), Oxfam India, and Mahindra CIE Automotive Limited. Apart from her articles and commentaries written exclusively for Gateway House, Deo writes for several mainstream publications, and is an occasional commentator for mainstream television news channels.

Navroz K. Dubash

Navroz K. Dubash is a senior fellow at the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi. Dubash works on climate change policy and governance at subnational, national, and international scales, the political economy of energy and water, and the role of civil society in global environmental governance. He is a lead author and synthesis report author for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) and has served on India's expert group on low-carbon strategies for inclusive growth and other national committees on water and energy policy. He serves on the editorial boards of *Global Environmental Politics*, *Climate Policy*, *Energy Research in Social Science*, *Environmental Policy and Governance*, and the *Journal of Environment and Development*. In addition to other books and journal articles, Dubash has edited *A Handbook on Climate Change and India: Development, Politics, and Governance*. Dubash holds an AB from Princeton University, and MA and PhD degrees in energy and resources from the University of California, Berkeley.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is associate dean and associate professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at the Nanyang Technological University (NTU) in Singapore. His research interests cover security studies and international relations theory, maritime security, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author or editor of eleven books and monographs. He is also the series coeditor of Routledge's *Warwick Studies in Globalization* and an editorial board member of the *Pacific Review*. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Security*, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Contemporary Politics*, *Political Science*, and numerous book chapters in edited volumes. At RSIS, Emmers has served as the coordinator of the Multilateralism and Regionalism Programme (2009–2013), acting head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (2011), and head of graduate studies (2006–2009). He completed his MSc and PhD under the supervision of the late Michael Leifer in the international relations department of the London School of Economics.

Oded Eran

Oded Eran, a senior research fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Israel, served as director

of INSS from July 2008 to November 2011, following a long career in Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He held several positions during his tenure with the government. In his most recent post before joining INSS, Eran served as the World Jewish Congress (WJC) representative in Israel and the secretary-general of the WJC Israel Branch. From 2002 to 2007, he served as Israel's ambassador to the European Union, where he also covered NATO. Prior to that, he was Israel's ambassador to Jordan (1997–2000) and head of Israel's negotiations team with the Palestinians (1999–2000). Other previous positions include deputy director-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and deputy chief of the Israeli embassy in Washington, DC. Between 1992 and 1997, he was also in charge of economic affairs and negotiations with the EU (for the Association Agreement) and the Palestinians (Paris Protocol), and led the Israeli delegation to the regional economic group of the Madrid Conference. Eran serves as an advisor to the Knesset subcommittee on foreign affairs. Born in 1941 in Tel Aviv, Israel, he holds a PhD from the London School of Economics.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is the vice president for strategic development and former director of the Russia/NIS Center (2008–2013) at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), based in Paris and Brussels. He is the editor of the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.Nei.Vision*. Gomart's academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space. As 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 in the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, Gomart has acquired a diversified international experience. He lectured on international affairs at the Special Military School of Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan (2002–2010). Gomart belongs to the editorial boards of *Politique étrangère* and *Revue des deux mondes*. Some of his recent publications include *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy*, with Adrian Dellecker (2011); *Russie.Nei.Visions* 2009; *Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin's Legacy* (2008); and *EU-Russia Relations: Toward a Way Out of Depression* (2008). He holds an EMBA from HEC Paris and a PhD in history from Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is director of the Italian Institute of International Affairs (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 freelance journalist since 1988.

His recent publications include: "Rapporto Sulla Politica Estera italiana," *Nuova Cultura*; "La Politica Estera dell'Italia," *Il Mulino*; "Damage Control: Italy and the European Financial Crisis" in *Southern Europe in Trouble: Domestic and Foreign Policy Challenges of the Financial Crisis*; and *EU Crisis Management: Institutions and Capabilities in the Making*.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States dedicated to the study of American foreign policy. He served as the independent chair of the official multi-party panel established in 2013 to address some of the most divisive political issues

affecting Northern Ireland. For his efforts to promote peace and resolution there, he received the 2013 Tipperary International Peace Award. From 2001 to 2003, Haass was director of policy planning for the Department of State as well as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process. He was also 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 from 1989 to 1993. 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*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds a BA from Oberlin College and both an MA and PhD from Oxford University. He has received honorary degrees from Hamilton College, Franklin & Marshall College, Georgetown University, Oberlin College, Central College, and Miami Dade College.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi has been director of Observer Research Foundation (ORF) since 2009. His own field of work remains energy and environment and he has been writing and commenting on strategic issues related to India's energy needs and their interplay with the country's development challenges in the context of the contemporary climate change narrative.

He began his career with the Indian government as a member of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in 1983, and served in various capacities for twenty-five years before he left to pursue his primary interests in energy and environment. He handled oil and gas exploration as joint secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas and has been director of the boards of national energy companies such as ONGC, OVL, OIL, and MRPL. He was the founding mission director for the Watershed Development Mission and subsequently managing director of the Renewable Energy Development Agency in the state of Madhya Pradesh.

His experience of policymaking and implementation cuts across the conventional as well as nonconventional energy sectors and covers issues related to water use and its conservation and management. He has been visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, and distinguished visitor to the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, Stanford University. He takes a keen interest in social development and is vice president of the Mountain Children's Foundation.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu has served as the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum (GRF), a Turkish membership association focusing on international affairs and the global agenda, since 2009. He is also the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, kanunum.com.

Previously he served as the senior advisor to the chairwoman of Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD) and as the founding managing director of Istanbul's leading science park, Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI Teknokent, currently an innovation community of over one hundred technology companies.

During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president, coordinator of the law technology and policy graduate program, and 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 (LSE) and ITU.

Karakullukçu's earlier research interests in law and finance addressed issues in international financial regulation and public debt dynamics. His work includes research commissioned by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank on inflation dynamics, debt instruments, and debt markets. His recent policy work at GRF includes technology and security issues, global energy analysis, global economic/financial governance, and the economic prospects of the Middle East and North Africa region. Earlier in his career, Karakullukçu worked as a specialist in structured finance in London. Karakullukçu received his BS in electrical engineering and in economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, his MSc in finance at the LSE, and his JD at Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

Mahima Kaul

Mahima Kaul heads the Cyber and Media initiative at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and is also the editor of its monthly *Cyber Monitor*. The initiative provides a vibrant platform for discussing internet policy issues in India. The initiative also hosts CyFy: The India Conference on Cyber Security and Cyber Governance, India's biggest Internet policy platform.

She is a research fellow at ORF looking at a broad spectrum of issues in Internet governance. Her most recent publications include an ORF issue brief, "Global Internet Governance: India's Search for a New Paradigm," and an essay entitled "State Responsibility in the Cyber Commons: Deepening the India-US Relationship" in an ORF-Heritage Foundation report, *Indo-US Cooperation on Internet Governance and Cybersecurity*. She contributes regularly to *Index on Censorship*, a UK magazine, on issues of Internet freedom in India. She is an India Project Advisory Committee member of the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) and the European Union's "Advancing Internet Freedoms" project, which looks at Internet freedom in India, Pakistan, and Malaysia.

Kaul was a panelist at the 2014 Stockholm Internet Forum and was nominated to the 2013 Asian Forum for Global Governance, an annual workshop jointly organized by ORF and ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. In 2012, she was awarded an Emerging Leaders Fellowship at the Australia India Institute at the University of Melbourne, where she presented a paper on digital inclusion in India.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is founder and president of the Genron NPO. Kudo founded this independent think tank, which quickly established itself as a platform for responsible discussions about democracy and citizenship, in October 2001. Since then, it has been a reliable source of high-quality research for the general public. Kudo regularly conducts evaluations of all the major political parties' election pledges and the performance of the government in Japan. The Genron NPO established the Tokyo-Beijing Forum, a platform for high-level civil diplomacy between Japan and China, in 2005, and the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, a similar platform between Japan and South Korea, in May 2013. Along with the bilateral dialogues, the think tank conducted joint opinion polls and comprehensive comparative studies of public opinion on Japan-China relations, and Japan-South Korea relations. In November 2013, the Genron NPO launched the New Civil Diplomacy initiative, which aims to establish a platform for multilateral dialogue on contentious issues in Northeast Asia and the promotion of regional cooperation and stable governance with civil society participation.

Prior to founding the Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of *Kinyu Business*, a monthly financial magazine, and *Ronso: Toyo Keizai*, a leading magazine in Japan dedicated to debate on contentious political, economic, and social

issues. He has also served as a member of several private-sector advisory committees to the Japanese government. He received a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University.

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik serves as the director for international development at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He is also a member of the Academic Council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, and a member of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. Previously, he served as the director of the Department for Relations With the European Union, Administration of the Russian President; as the deputy director of the Foreign Policy Department of the Russian President; as the head of the Arms Control Center, Institute of USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; and as a project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI).

Ashok Malik

Ashok Malik is a columnist who writes for leading Indian and international publications including the *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, *Asian Age*, *Pioneer* and *ndtv.com*. He focuses on Indian domestic politics and foreign/trade policy, and their increasing interplay, as well as on the broader process of globalization and how it is influencing policy choices in not just the economy but in social sector spheres such as health, education, and urbanization.

In 2007, Malik contributed a chapter, "The BJP, the RSS Family, and Globalization", to the book *Globalization and Politics in India*. In 2011, he co-authored a paper, *India's New World: Civil Society in the Making of Foreign Policy*, published by the Lowy Institute for International Policy. In 2012, Malik's book, *India: Spirit of Enterprise*, was published. In the same year, he was a member on the bilateral Taskforce on Perceptions, commissioned by the Australia India Institute, University of Melbourne, to assess and make recommendations on the relationship between Australia and India. In June 2013, Malik was named to the Australia India Institute-ORF Chair for Indo-Pacific Studies. His work will focus on the bilateral relationship between India and Australia as well as emergent challenges related to maritime and energy security, and new institutional architecture in the Indo-Pacific region. He is a regular participant in conferences and track II dialogues, between Indian interlocutors and those from the United States, China, Singapore, Pakistan, Australia and other countries. In 2014, Malik endorsed and advised the Narendra Modi election campaign. He is currently working on a book on the mechanics of that campaign.

Jayant M. Mauskar

Jayant M. Mauskar is an advisor to the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. In this capacity, he continues to he continues to pursue his keen interest in environmental and trade matters and their impact on India's international relations.

Spending more than thirty-four years as a public servant as an officer of the Indian Administrative Service, he has had hands-on experience in international trade, investment promotion, overseas investments, international contracts, and the dynamics of petroleum sector and environmental issues, especially climate change. He has been closely associated with major policy and regulatory initiatives in the domain of trade, energy, and environment for more than fifteen years, having occupied key positions in the Ministry of Commerce, Petroleum, and Natural Gas and the Ministry of Environment and Forests. He has also been chairman of the Central Pollution Control Board. He has spent more than five years as director on the board of major public sector undertakings such as ONGC, OVL, and OIL. Following his retirement, he was associated with climate change negotiations and was a member of

several central government committees. He is permanent invitee to the governing council of the Indian Institute of Tropical Meteorology (IITM), Pune, under the Ministry of Earth Sciences, for the period 2012–2017. From July 2013 onward, he is an independent director on the board of directors of SAIL, a premier central public sector enterprise.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), a nonpartisan think tank located in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. CIGI's research programs focus on the global economy, global security and politics, and international law. Previously, he was vice president for programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre, a research funder. He received his doctorate in economics in 1988 from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years. His fields of expertise are monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, and aid effectiveness. His recent publications include coedited books on development thought and practice, Canada's relations with Africa, and Canada's role in the international financial system. He serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research.

Oliver Meier

Oliver Meier is an associate at the International Security Division of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. Previously, he was senior researcher with the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg and the international representative and correspondent of the U.S. Arms Control Association. He has also worked on the staff of Uta Zapf, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and chairperson of the subcommittee on disarmament, arms control, and nonproliferation in the German Bundestag; a senior arms control and disarmament researcher with the Verification Research, Training, and Information Centre (VERTIC) in London; and a consultant to several nongovernmental organizations.

Meier's expertise includes control of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, multilateral disarmament and nonproliferation, as well as European security issues. He has published widely on arms control and nonproliferation issues. Meier holds a PhD in political science from the Free University of Berlin. He has studied international relations at the Department of Political Sciences at the Free University of Berlin and was a fellow at the Center for Arms Control and International Security at Stanford University.

C. Raja Mohan

C. Raja Mohan is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), where he leads the Strategic Studies Initiative. He is also a foreign affairs columnist for the *Indian Express*; a visiting research professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies, Singapore; a nonresident senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC; and a nonresident fellow at the Lowy Institute, Sydney.

Earlier, he was a professor of South Asian studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, and the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Mohan served as the diplomatic editor and the Washington correspondent of the *Hindu* and the strategic affairs editor of the *Indian Express*. He has also been a member of India's National Security Advisory Board. His books include *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy*, *Impossible Allies: Nuclear India, United States, and the Global Order*, and *Samudra Manthan: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Indo-Pacific*.

Vishal Nigam

Vishal Nigam is a former Indian Air Force officer with a career spanning twenty-five years. He works in the aerospace and defense wing of a leading private sector company in India. He also writes for *Geopolitical and Strategic Analysis* on changing trends in the defense and aviation sectors. Over the years he has published several papers related to the changing strategic landscape with a focus on China as an emerging technological hub in the aviation sector. He has recently authored a book, *Dragon in the Air: Transformation of China's Aviation Industry and Air Force*. Nigam is a graduate in economics (honors) from Delhi University, with an MBA in personnel management and another in international business strategy.

Nitin Pai

Nitin Pai is cofounder and director of the Takshashila Institution, an independent, nonpartisan think tank and public policy school in Chennai, India. In addition to his research in geopolitics, he teaches policy analysis and economic reasoning at Takshashila's Graduate Certificate in Public Policy (GCPP) program. He writes a regular column on the Asian balance of power in *Business Standard* and has written for several national and international publications.

Before Takshashila, Pai worked for many years with the telecoms regulatory authority in Singapore. He has also designed radio-frequency communications equipment and satellite payload, and was involved in the construction of international undersea cables.

Pai holds a master's degree from National University of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He was an undergraduate scholar at Nanyang Technological University and is an alumnus of National College, Bangalore.

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. From 2005 to April 2008, he was a research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed research and policy engagement on the intersection between security and development. Patrick has also served on the secretary of state's policy planning staff, with lead staff responsibility for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, Patrick was a research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. Patrick is the author of numerous articles and chapters on the subjects of multilateral cooperation, state building, and U.S. foreign policy. He has also written, co-written, or edited five books, including his most recent book, *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Additionally, Patrick writes the blog, *The Internationalist*, for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received his doctorate in international relations as well as two master's degrees from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is senior fellow and vice president at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He is the chair of CyFy 2014, an annual ORF platform that is India's premiere international event on cybersecurity and cyber

governance, bringing together government, industry, academia, and civil society. He is also the editor of the *CyFy* journal. Saran is an International Fellow of the International Cyber Policy Centre at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute.

He frequently speaks about cybersecurity and governance at leading institutions such as the Naval War College, Goa, India, and the National Defense University, Washington, DC. Apart from his academic publications, Saran is a prolific writer and authors frequent columns in newspapers such as the *Global Times*, *Times of India*, *Hindu*, *Mail Today*, and *Indian Express* on issues such as climate change, nontraditional security, radicalism, BRICS, and development policy in addition to cybersecurity governance.

His latest published work includes “Attitudes to Water in South Asia,” a joint ORF-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; “Privacy, Property and Sovereignty in the Cyber Age”; and “Indo-US Cooperation on Internet Governance and Cybersecurity,” a joint ORF -Heritage Foundation report.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is dean and professor of the Graduate School of International Studies at Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea. Before joining the faculty at Yonsei, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University, Seoul, Korea, and was a visiting scholar at institutions in the University of Tokyo, Waseda University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Currently, Sohn serves a number of government advisory committees including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Korea National Diplomatic Academy, and Northeast Asian History Foundation. He also has served president of the Korean Studies of Contemporary Japan. Sohn has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian political economy, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His most recent publications include “Attracting the Neighbors: Soft Power Competition in East Asia,” “Securitizing Trade: The Case of U.S.-Korea FTA,” and “Japan’s New Regionalism: China Threat, Universal Values, and the East Asian Community.” Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Rakesh Sood

Rakesh Sood joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1976. He has served in the Indian missions in Brussels, Dakar, Geneva, and Islamabad in different capacities and also as deputy chief of mission in Washington, DC. In Delhi, Sood served as director (disarmament) and set up the Disarmament and International Security Affairs Division, which he led for eight years until the end of 2000 as joint secretary. During this period, he was responsible for multilateral disarmament negotiations (Chemical Weapons Convention, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and Biological Weapons Convention verification protocols), bilateral dialogues on conventional ballistic missiles with Pakistan, strategic dialogues with other countries especially after the nuclear tests in 1998, and India’s role in the ASEAN forum. As India’s first ambassador and permanent representative to the Conference on Disarmament at the United Nations in Geneva from 2001 to 2004, he also chaired a number of working groups, including the negotiations on landmines and cluster munitions. Sood served on the UN secretary-general’s Disarmament Advisory Board (2002–2003).

He has served as ambassador to Afghanistan from January 2005 to January 2008, ambassador to Nepal from April 2008 to August 2011, and ambassador to France from August 2011 to March 2013, when he retired from the

diplomatic service after a career spanning thirty-six years. In September 2013, Sood was appointed special envoy of the prime minister (SEPM) for disarmament and nonproliferation issues; he held this position until May 2014.

Sood completed postgraduate studies in physics at St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi. He subsequently pursued postgraduate studies in economics and defense studies.

David A. Welch

David A. Welch is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), CIGI chair of global security at the Balsillie School of International Affairs, and professor of political science at the University of Waterloo. His 2005 book *Painful Choices: A Theory of Foreign Policy Change* is the inaugural winner of the International Studies Association ISSS Book Award for the best book published in 2005 or 2006, and his 1993 book *Justice and the Genesis of War* is the winner of the 1994 Edgar S. Furniss Award for an outstanding contribution to national security studies. He researches and writes on international security, foreign policy decision-making, international relations theory, and Asia-Pacific security. Currently, he is director of CIGI's project on Confidence, Trust, and Empathy in Asia-Pacific Security. He received his PhD from Harvard University in 1990.