

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Monday, March 12, 2012
8:15 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.*

*Tuesday, March 13, 2012
8:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.*

*1777 F Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006*

The Council of Councils Inaugural Conference

*This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils Initiative,
is made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation.*

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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 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.

This meeting is not for attribution, unless otherwise noted. Participants are welcome to make use of the information received at the meeting, but neither the identity of the speakers nor that of any other participant may be revealed, nor may one cite a CFR meeting as the source of the information. Use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

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BRAZIL

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Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

CHINA

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French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

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German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

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Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Inaugural Conference

Agenda

Monday, March 12, 2012

8:15–8:45 a.m.	<i>Light Breakfast</i>	Room 100
8:45–9:00 a.m.	<i>Welcoming Remarks</i> Richard N. Haass , <i>President, Council on Foreign Relations</i> (United States)	Room 100
9:00–10:30 a.m.	<i>Session One</i> The State of Global Governance <i>Panelists:</i> Enrique Berruga , <i>President, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations</i> (Mexico) Thierry de Montbrial , <i>President, French Institute of International Relations</i> (France) Chunsi Wu , <i>Director, Institute of International Strategy Studies, Shanghai Institutes</i> <i>for International Studies</i> (China) <i>Chair:</i> Stewart M. Patrick , <i>Senior Fellow and Director of the International Institutions</i> <i>and Global Governance Program, Council on Foreign Relations</i> (United States) <i>Guiding Questions: What form of “global governance” is most appropriate to the</i> <i>twenty-first century? What have been the most important institutional innovations in</i> <i>recent years—and where has such reform been lagging? Going forward, what issue areas</i> <i>will lend themselves to new forms of multilateral cooperation? How can established and</i> <i>emerging powers cooperate to advance this reform agenda?</i>	Room 100
10:30–10:45 a.m.	<i>Coffee Break</i>	
10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.	<i>Session Two</i> The Challenge of Iran <i>Panelists:</i> Memduh Karakullukçu , <i>Vice Chairman and President, Global Relations</i> <i>Forum</i> (Turkey) Amos Yadlin , <i>Director, Institute for National Security Studies</i> (Israel) Igor Yurgens , <i>Chairman, Institute of Contemporary Development</i> (Russia) <i>Chair:</i> Volker Perthes , <i>Director, German Institute for International</i> <i>and Security Affairs</i> (Germany) <i>Guiding Questions: What challenges does Iran pose to the nuclear nonproliferation</i> <i>regime? What are the prospects for effective multilateral action in confronting Iran’s</i> <i>nuclear ambitions—and for closing loopholes permitting countries to pursue nuclear</i> <i>weapons under the guise of peaceful nuclear energy? What options should be on the table</i> <i>in such situations?</i>	Room 100

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12:15–2:00 p.m.	<i>Lunch and Speaker</i> <i>The Multilateral View</i>	Rockefeller-Peterson Room
	<i>Speaker: Robert B. Zoellick, President, World Bank Group</i> <i>Presider: Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)</i> <i>*This session will be on the record.</i>	
2:15–3:45 p.m.	<i>Session 3</i> <i>Lessons of Libya</i>	Room 100
	<i>Panelists: Elizabeth Sidiropoulos, National Director, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)</i> <i>Stefano Silvestri, President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)</i> <i>Rizal Sukma, Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)</i> <i>Michael Wesley, Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia)</i> <i>Chair: Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House (United Kingdom)</i>	
	<i>Guiding Questions: What does the experience of Libya suggest about the threshold that should trigger international action—and appropriate forms of intervention in the case of mass atrocities? How should the international community respond in such cases? When UNSC authorization is impossible to secure, are other options available?</i>	
3:45–6:00 p.m.	<i>Free Time (Business Center with wifi available)</i>	Members Lounge
6:00–7:00 p.m.	<i>Cocktail Reception</i>	Rockefeller-Peterson Room
7:00–8:30 p.m.	<i>Dinner and Speaker</i> <i>The View from the Obama Administration</i>	Rockefeller-Peterson Room
	<i>Speaker: Robert D. Hormats, Undersecretary for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment, U.S. Department of State</i> <i>Presider: Thierry de Montbrial, President, French Institute of International Relations (France)</i> <i>*This session will be on the record.</i>	

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Tuesday, March 13, 2012

8:30–9:00 a.m.	Light Breakfast	Room 100
9:00–10:30 a.m.	Session 4 The Dollar's Future as a Reserve Currency	Room 100
	<i>Panelists: Thomas A. Bernes, Executive Director, Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)</i> <i>Michael Emerson, Associate Senior Research Fellow, Center for European Policy Studies (Belgium)</i> <i>Yasushi Kudo, Director/Representative, Genron NPO (Japan)</i> <i>Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)</i> <i>Presider: Sebastian Mallaby, Director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and Paul A. Volcker Senior Fellow for International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)</i>	
	<i>Guiding Questions: How would you rate the stability of the dollar-based international monetary order versus a conceivable alternative? What other national currencies could play a larger role as reserve assets in the future? What are the prospects of multilateral alternatives to national reserve accumulation, including an enhanced role for the International Monetary Fund or greater use of SDRs?</i>	
10:30–11:00 a.m.	Coffee Break	
11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m.	Session 5 Wrap-Up—Where Do We Go from Here?	Room 100
	<i>Panelists: John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)</i> <i>Barry Desker, Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)</i> <i>Sook-Jong Lee, President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)</i> <i>Chair: Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)</i>	
	<i>Guiding Questions: What have the previous sessions suggested about the prospects for—and potential forms of—multilateral cooperation in handling global challenges? What issues should be on the agenda of the next CoC annual meeting? How would the membership like to see the CoC develop as a dynamic entity, capable of encouraging dialogue and informing policy debates in member countries?</i>	
12:30–2:00 p.m.	Informal Lunch	Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Participant Biographies

Ana Paola Barbosa

Ana Paola Barbosa is currently in the Chancery Headquarters of the Embassy of Mexico in Washington, DC. Previously, she worked at the Permanent Mission of Mexico to the United Nations. She served as political affairs officer at the Embassy of Mexico in Canada, adviser to the director-general for North America, and as adviser to the Office of Special Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She has also served as a collaborator for the Secretariat of the High-Level Group of the Security Council of the United Nations General Assembly. She holds a BA in international relations from the Universidad Iberoamericana and an MA in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Randolph Bell

Randolph Bell is the managing director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in the United States (IISS-US), where he has overall responsibility for the operations of the Washington, DC, office. Prior to joining IISS-US, he was manager of national security at the Markle Foundation, where he worked on cybersecurity, intelligence community information sharing, and technology policy issues. He recently coauthored two Harvard Belfer Center reports on the Pakistani military and was a Department of Defense adviser/case writer through the Belfer Center, writing about the Pakistani police. He also founded and is the lead producer and director of Floating Films and has produced award-winning documentaries on international issues. He has an MPP from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he was a public service and Belfer international and global affairs fellow, and he graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College, where he won the Thomas T. Hoopes Prize for his senior thesis.

Thomas A. Bernes

Thomas A. Bernes was appointed executive director of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) in December 2010, having held the position on an acting basis since November 2009. Prior to these appointments, Bernes served in a number of international positions, including director of the independent evaluation office of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). From 2001 to 2005, he was the executive secretary of the joint IMF/World Bank development committee and deputy corporate secretary of the World Bank Group. In 1996, he was elected executive director of the IMF for Canada, Ireland, and Caribbean countries.

Prior to his period at the IMF and World Bank, Bernes served as the senior economic official for Canada in international forums. He was appointed assistant deputy minister of the international trade and finance branch of Canada's finance department in 1992 and G7 finance deputy for Canada in 1995. He served as alternate governor for Canada for the IMF, the Asia Development Bank, the African Development Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank. He was also a director of the Canadian Export Development Corporation. He participated as a member of the task force on reform of the multilateral development banks established by the Development Committee. From 1983 to 1985, he served with the head of the general trade policy division of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. In 1991, he became executive director of the Coordinating Secretariat on Canadian Unity. Bernes joined the public service of Canada in 1970 and served in a variety of positions with industry, trade and commerce, and foreign affairs.

Enrique Berruga

Enrique Berruga is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. Berruga previously served as vice president of communication and corporative relations for Grupo Modelo.

Throughout his diplomatic career he served as permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations, ambassador of Mexico to Costa Rica, and personal representative of the president of Mexico to the United Nations Reform. He also worked in the Mexican embassies in Ireland, the United States, and Britain. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has served as assistant secretary of foreign affairs, chief of staff of the secretary, and general secretary of the Mexican Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

Berruga was also executive director of the Mexican Institute for International Cooperation and general director of foreign affairs at the Ministry of Education. He is a member of the governing board of the International Peace Academy and has been decorated by the governments of Germany, Spain, Japan, Panama, and Sweden. He has authored several books and articles, most recently *Destination Los Pinos* and *Mexico in the World*.

In academia, he has taught foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy, and theory of foreign policy at the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM). Berruga holds a bachelor's degree in foreign affairs from El Colegio de México and a master's degree in international economy and the theory of international relations from the Johns Hopkins University.

John Chipman

John Chipman is director-general and chief executive of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London. From 1983 to 1984, Chipman served as a research associate at the IISS, where he was also a NATO fellow. He worked in Paris as a research associate at the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs from 1985 to 1987. Since 1987, he has held the posts of assistant director for regional security and later director of studies at IISS, before assuming the directorship in 1993. He is the author of *NATO's Southern Allies* and *French Power in Africa*, as well as of numerous chapters in books, scholarly articles in professional journals, and opinion pieces in newspapers. He founded IISS *Strategic Comments*. In 2001 he conceived and launched a new annual forum for consultations between defense ministers and analysts in the Asia-Pacific called the Shangri-La Dialogue. In 2004 he transferred the concept to the Gulf with the convening in Bahrain of an IISS summit Manama Dialogue, which is now held annually with national security advisers drawn from the region and other outside powers.

Chipman regularly broadcasts for television and radio on regional conflict and current strategic trends and writes frequently for leading newspapers on European, Middle Eastern, and Asian security issues. As director of IISS, he has traveled to over one hundred countries to maintain the institute's public policy network. In 1999 he was made Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (CMG) in the Queen's Birthday Honours. He is a member of the international advisory board of Reliance Industries Ltd. In the nonprofit sector he serves on the board of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. He holds a BA in history from Harvard University, an MA in international history from the London School of Economics, and an MPhil and a DPhil in international relations from Balliol College Oxford.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is a professor in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Seoul National University. Chun's major fields of interest include international relations theory, security studies, South Korean foreign policy, and East Asian security relations. He is also a chair of the Asia Security Initiative Research Center of the East Asia Institute. He is a member of the advisory committees for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Ministry of Reunification. His recent publications are *A Study on the Formation of European Modern States System*, *Critique of Constructivism from the Perspective of Postmodernism and Realism*, *The Rise of New Powers and the Responding Strategies of Other Countries*, and *Theory of East Asian International Relations*. He holds an MA from Seoul National University and a PhD from Northwestern University in international relations theory.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is the founder and president of the French Institute for International Relations. He is also the chairman of the French-Austrian Center for European Economic Convergence. In 2008 he launched the World Policy Conference, and from 2007 to 2008 he was a member of the committee that published the *French White Paper on Defense and National Security*. From 2004 to 2005, he was a member of the consultative board to the director-general of the World Trade Organization. In 1973, de Montbrial was entrusted with the creation of the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he served as director until 1979.

From 1993 to 2001, de Montbrial was the first chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research. He is professor emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers and a former professor at the École Polytechnique, where he chaired the economics department from 1974 to 1992. He is also a visiting professor at the China Foreign Affairs University. He is a member of the advisory committee of the Peterson Institute for International Economics and the Carnegie Moscow Center and of the advisory council of the Stanford Institute for International Studies.

He serves on the international advisory board of Lafarge and chairs the international advisory board of Office Chérifien des Phosphates. He is also on the board of directors of Capgemini and the Renault Foundation. He is a member of the steering committee of the Bilderberg Meetings. He has been a columnist for *Le Monde* since 2002 and was a columnist for *Le Figaro* from 1989 to 2001. He sits on the editorial advisory board of *Foreign Policy*, the editorial board of *Russia in Global Affairs*, and the editorial board of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*.

He was awarded the Grand Prix of the French Geographic Society in 2003. He is a Commandeur of the Légion d'honneur, Grand Officier of the ordre national du Mérite and has been awarded other state honors by the French and several foreign governments. He is a graduate of the École Polytechnique and the École des Mines and received a PhD in economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Barry Desker

Barry Desker is the dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies at NTU. He is the inaugural Bakrie professor of Southeast Asia policy. He concurrently holds a number of other appointments, including serving as nonresident ambassador of Singapore to the Holy See and Spain and chairman of Singapore Technologies Marine.

Desker 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; director of the policy, planning, and analysis division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1984 to 1986; and deputy permanent representative to the United Nations from 1982 to 1984. He was educated at the University of Singapore, the University of London, and Cornell University.

David Dewitt

David Dewitt joined the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) as vice president of programs in July 2011, where he oversees the strategy and implementation of all the organization's work programs and research-related activities. Previously, he was associate vice president of research, social sciences, and humanities; professor of political science; and university professor at York University, and served as director of York University's Centre for International and Security Studies from 1988 to 2006. He is author or contributing editor of numerous books, refereed articles, and chapters in addition to commissioned papers on Canadian foreign, security, and defense policy; international and regional security and conflict management in the Asia Pacific and the Middle East; arms control and proliferation; and human security. In the early 1990s he codirected the North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue, a *Foreign Affairs*-sponsored track-two diplomacy initiative, and has been involved in various track-two initiatives on security in the Asia Pacific and in the Middle East. He has led a number of policy-focused nongovernmental research organizations that have dealt with security and governance issues in those two regions. Dewitt holds a BA from the University of British Columbia and an MA and PhD from Stanford University.

Douglas Kuseni Dlamini

Douglas Kuseni Dlamini is the chief executive officer of Old Mutual South Africa and Emerging Markets. Prior to this, he was the head of Anglo American's South African operations. He has also held the position of executive chairman of Richards Bay Coal Terminal Company and a number of senior positions at Anglo Gold Ashanti and De Beers Consolidated in South Africa and the United Kingdom. Kuseni is active in a number of professional bodies, including the South African Institute of International Affairs and the advisory board of Wits Business School. He graduated cum laude from the University of Natal with a bachelor's degree in social science with honors and was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, where he read for his MPhil.

Michael Emerson

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is both the vice president for strategic development and the director of the Russia/NIS Centre at the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), based in Paris and Brussels. He is the editor of the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.Nei.Visions*.

Gomart's academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space. He was a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute for International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow in the Department of War Studies at King's College in London. From 2002 to 2010, he lectured on international affairs at the Special Military School of Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan. In 2008, he codirected the Ifri/CSIS project *Europe, Russia, and the United States: Finding a New Balance*. Gomart belongs to the editorial boards of *Politique étrangère* and *La Revue des deux mondes*. He holds a PhD in history from the University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne and an EMBA from HEC Paris.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is president of the Council on Foreign Relations, a position he has held since July 2003. From January 2001 to June 2003, Haass was director of policy planning for the U.S. 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, 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.

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.

From 1989 to 1993, Haass 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, he 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.

Haass is the author or editor of eleven books on American foreign policy, including *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*. He is also the author of one book on management, *The Bureaucratic Entrepreneur: How to Be Effective in Any Unruly Organization*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College and both master and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University. He has received honorary doctorates from Hamilton College, Franklin & Marshall College, Georgetown University, and Oberlin College.

James A. Haley

James A. Haley joined the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) as the director of the global economy program in January 2012 and now oversees the research direction of the program and related activities. Haley has served in a number of positions in Canada's Department of Finance, most recently as general director of the economic and fiscal policy branch. At the Department of Finance, he co-chaired the G20 working group on rebalancing global demand and represented Canada in various international forums.

From 2003 to 2006, Haley was research director in the international department of the Bank of Canada, where he advised the governor and deputy governor on international economic and financial market developments, external imbalances, International Monetary Fund (IMF) reform, and related policy issues. From 1993 to 1996, he was a senior economist in the Research and European II Departments of the IMF. Haley holds a BA in economics from Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, and received his postgraduate training in economics at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

Marco Incerti

Marco Incerti is the head of communications and a research fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). For CEPS, he follows the developments of think tank-related policy in Europe and is in charge of the European Transparency Initiative dossier. During his tenure, CEPS has been ranked for five years in a row among the Top Ten Think Tanks in the world, and it received the European Public Affairs Award for Think Tank of the Year in 2008, 2010, and 2011. Before joining CEPS, Incerti worked in the international law department of the University of Rome "La Sapienza." Since joining CEPS in 2002, he has concentrated on the European constitutional process, following the work of the Convention on the Future of Europe and focusing in particular on institutional reform. In this context, he founded and managed the European Policy Institutes Network from 2003 to 2006. Incerti is a member of the steering committee of the Brussels Think Tanks Dialogue, the Young Transatlantic Network of the German Marshall Fund, and the European Association of Communication Directors.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum. He is also managing partner at Kroton Consulting and founding partner of the online legal informatics initiative kanunum.com. His advisory work specializes in higher education, technology policy, and analysis of international economic and political affairs. He has served as the senior adviser to the chairwoman of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association from 2007 to 2010. Previously, Karakullukçu was the founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) ARI Teknokent. During this period, he also served as the senior adviser to the president of İTÜ, the coordinator of the law, technology, and policy master of science program, and the strategic adviser at the İTÜ Remote Sensing Facility. He has been a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics (LSE) and İTÜ. From 1992 to 1994, he worked as a specialist in structured finance at the London and Istanbul offices of an international investment bank. His previous academic work includes research commissioned by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the dynamics of Turkish debt markets. Karakullukçu holds a BS in electrical engineering and a BS in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo has served as representative of the Genron NPO since November 2011. Kudo was previously with Toyo Keizai, Inc., publisher of a leading business weekly magazine *Shukan Toyo Keizai*, and was later appointed editor of the monthly magazine *Financial Business and Debate: Toyo Keizai*, a bimonthly issue-oriented magazine. Kudo holds a master's degree from the Graduate School of Economics of the Yokohama City University.

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik is the director for international development at the Institute of Contemporary Development. Kulik 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 was the director of the Department for Relations with the European Union in the administration of the Russian president, the deputy director of the foreign policy department of the Russian president, the head of the Arms Control Center at the Institute of the USA and Canada Studies in the Russian Academy of Sciences, and a project leader of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Elena Lazarou

Elena Lazarou is an assistant professor and researcher at the Contemporary Brazilian History Research and Documentation Center. Lazarou's interests include theories of European integration, European foreign policy, multilateralism, and regional integration. She also has an interest in the European Union's (EU) relations with Turkey and Brazil. Her current research focuses on the transformation of Europe beyond the crisis and on Brazil's strategic partnerships with the EU and with Turkey. Lazarou is also an associate researcher at the Center for International Studies at the University of Cambridge, where she completed her PhD in international relations in 2008. Previously, she has been a visiting fellow at the Hellenic Observatory at the London School of Economics and Political Science, visiting scholar at Columbia University and New York University, and research associate at the Center for International Policy Research at the University of Sheffield.

Sook-Jong Lee

Sook-Jong Lee is president of East Asia Institute. Lee is also professor in the Department of Public Administration and Graduate School of Governance at SungKyunKwan University. She served the Korean Association on Contemporary Japanese Studies as president and the Consultation Committee for National Security as adviser to the president. She is a member of the Presidential Committee on Local Administration Reform and the Research Council on a New Era for Korea and Japan. Her previous positions include senior research fellow at the Sejong Institute, visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, and professorial lecturer at the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University. Her research interests are the identity and nationalism angles in foreign policies, soft power, and regional cooperation in East Asia. Lee has published numerous articles and edited books. Her recent publications are *Allying with the United States: Changing South Korean Attitudes*, *Korean Perspectives on East Asian Regionalism*, and *China's Asymmetrical Soft Power to Hard Power in East Asia*. Recent books she coedited include *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, *Toward Managed Globalization*, and *Japan and East Asia*. She holds a PhD in sociology from Harvard University.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Before returning to CFR in 2009, Lindsay was the inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin, where he held the Tom Slick chair for international affairs at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. From 2003 to 2006, he was vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR. He previously served as deputy director and senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution. From 1987 to 1999, he was a professor of political science at the University of Iowa.

From 1996 to 1997, Lindsay was director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. He has also served as a consultant to the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (Hart-Rudman Commission) and as a staff expert for the United States Institute of Peace's congressionally mandated task force on the United Nations.

Lindsay has written widely on various aspects of American foreign policy and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize, named a finalist for the Arthur S. Ross Book Award, and selected as a top book of 2003 by the *Economist*. His other books include *Agenda for the Nation*, coauthored with Henry J. Aaron and Pietro S. Nivola, which was named an Outstanding Academic Book of 2004 by *Choice Magazine*, and *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*. He has also contributed articles to the op-ed pages of many major newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. He writes the blog *The Water's Edge* which discusses the politics of American foreign policy and the domestic underpinnings of American global power.

Sebastian Mallaby

Sebastian Mallaby is director of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies and Paul A. Volcker senior fellow for international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Mallaby is also a contributing editor for the *Financial Times* and served previously as a columnist and editorial board member at the *Washington Post*. His interests cover a wide variety of domestic and international issues, including financial markets, the implications of the rise of newly emerging powers, and the intersection of economics and international relations. In addition to his monthly column for the *Financial Times*, his recent writing has been published in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Atlantic Monthly*.

Mallaby's latest book, *More Money Than God: Hedge Funds and the Making of a New Elite*, was released in June 2010. *More Money Than God* was the recipient of the 2011 Loeb Prize, a finalist in the *Financial Times*/Goldman Sachs prize, and a *New York Times* best-seller. His previous books are *The World's Banker*, a portrait of the World Bank under James Wolfensohn, which was named as an Editor's Choice by the *New York Times*; and *After Apartheid*, which was named by the *New York Times* as a Notable Book.

Before joining the *Post* in 1999, Mallaby spent thirteen years with the *Economist*. While at the *Economist*, he worked in London, where he wrote about foreign policy and international finance; in Africa, where he covered Nelson Mandela's release and the collapse of apartheid; and in Japan, where he covered the breakdown of the country's political and economic consensus. Between 1997 and 1999, he was the *Economist*'s Washington bureau chief and wrote the magazine's weekly Lexington column on American politics and foreign policy. His *Foreign Affairs* essay on failed states in 2002 was cited by commentators in the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, and *Time* magazine. He is a two-time Pulitzer Prize finalist: once for editorials on Darfur and once for a series on economic inequality. Mallaby was educated at Oxford. He graduated in 1986 with a First Class degree in modern history.

Robin Niblett

Robin Niblett became the director of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) in January 2007. Before joining Chatham House, Niblett was the executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) from 2001 to 2006. During his last two years at CSIS, he also served as director of the CSIS Europe program and its initiative for a renewed transatlantic partnership.

Most recently, Niblett is the author of the Chatham House reports *Playing to Its Strengths: Rethinking the UK's Role in a Changing World* and *Ready to Lead? Rethinking America's Role in a Changed World* and editor and contributing author to *America and a Changed World: A Question of Leadership*. He is also author or contributor to a number of CSIS reports on transatlantic relations and is contributing author and coeditor, with William Wallace, of *Rethinking European Order*. He is a frequent panelist at conferences on transatlantic relations and has testified on a number of occasions to the House of Commons Defense Select Committee and Foreign Affairs Committee as well as U.S. Senate and House committees on European affairs.

Niblett is a nonexecutive director of Fidelity European Values Investment Trust. He is a council member of the Overseas Development Institute, a member of the Global Agenda Council on Global Institutional Governance, and the chairman of the Global Agenda Council on Europe of the World Economic Forum. He holds a BA in modern languages and MPhil and DPhil degrees from New College, Oxford.

Yuho Nishimura

Yuho Nishimura is the assistant to the representative Yasushi Kudo at the Genron NPO, where he serves as a manager of international projects, mainly the Tokyo-Beijing Forum, a bilateral talk between Japan and China. He holds a BA in global studies from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Keisuke Okada

Keisuke Okada is the editorial adviser to the Genron NPO. He is also the executive managing director of the English Language Education Council and a senior editor of the Cross-Media Department of the *Japan Times*. He joined the *Japan Times* as a reporter in 1970 and since then has held numerous positions with them, including deputy domestic news editor in charge of political and economic news, editor of the *Japan Times Weekly*, director in charge of the editorial department, and the general manager of the advertising department. He joined the Genron NPO in 2010 as the editor of the English website. He holds a BA in international relations from Sophia University in Tokyo.

Andrew Parasiliti

Andrew Parasiliti is the executive director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in the U.S. office (IISS-US), the corresponding director for the IISS-Middle East, and a member of the IISS directing staff. He specializes in U.S. foreign policy, including the role of Congress; U.S. policy toward Iran, Iraq, and the Middle East; and the U.S. economy. He also serves on the board of directors of both IISS-US and U.S. Friends of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Prior to joining IISS, Parasiliti was a principal of government affairs–international at the BGR Group and an executive director of BGR Capital & Trade from 2005 to 2009. He served as foreign policy adviser to U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE), who served on the Foreign Relations, Select Intelligence, and Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs committees from 2001 to 2005. He was also the director of the Middle East Initiative at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University from 1999 to 2001 and the director of programs at the Middle East Institute from 1996 to 1999. He is an emeritus member of the board of directors of the U.S.-India Business Council and a former director of the U.S.-Serbia Business Council. He serves on the board of AI-Monitor.

Parasiliti holds a BA, cum laude, from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, an MA in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia, and a PhD from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Stewart M. Patrick

Stewart M. Patrick is senior fellow and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program 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; the challenges posed by fragile, failing, and postconflict states; and the integration of U.S. defense, development, and diplomatic instruments in U.S. foreign and national security policy. He is the author of the book *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security* and he writes the blog *The Internationalist*.

From February 2005 to April 2008, he was research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed the center's research and policy engagement on the intersection between security and development. He also served as a professorial lecturer in international relations/conflict management at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

From September 2002 to January 2005, 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. He joined the staff as an international affairs fellow at CFR. Prior to government service, Patrick was a research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University (NYU) from 1997 to 2002. In that capacity he designed and ran two multischolar research programs on postconflict reconstruction and on multilateralism and U.S. foreign policy. He also taught U.S. foreign policy at NYU as an adjunct professor of political science.

He 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. He is the author, coauthor, or editor of five books and the author of numerous articles and chapters on the subjects of multilateral cooperation, state-building, and U.S. foreign policy.

Volker Perthes

Volker Perthes has served as chairman and director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, since October 2005. He has been with the institute since 1992 and has served as head of SWP's Middle East research group for several years.

Perthes was assistant professor at the American University of Beirut from 1991 to 1993 and taught at the Universities of Duisburg, Muenster, and Munich. He currently teaches as professor of political science/international relations at Humboldt University Berlin and Free University of Berlin. He is a member of the advisory council of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale, the Innovation Advisory Council of the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, and the Berlin Demografie Forum. He is a frequent commentator in German and international media.

Perthes earned a doctorate from the University of Duisburg, Germany, in 1990, and his habilitation in 1999.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental is the president of Rozental & Asociados, a specialized niche consultancy providing political and economic advice to Mexican and foreign multinational companies. Since 2007, Rozental has been a senior nonresident fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and a senior policy adviser to Chatham House in London.

Rozental was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, having served as deputy foreign minister from 1988 to 1994, ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1995 to 1997, ambassador to Sweden from 1983 to 1988, and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva from 1982 to 1983. Since 1994, he holds the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. During 2000 and 2001, he was a roving ambassador and special envoy for President Vicente Fox. In 2002, he was named founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, where he served until the end of 2006. In 2006, he was a member of President-elect Felipe Calderon's advisory council on foreign policy. He is chairman of the board of ArcelorMittal Mexico and an independent board member of ArcelorMittal Brazil, Wilson Sons, and Ocean Wilson Holdings. He is a member of the strategic advisory board of EADS Mexico and the advisory council of Kansas City Southern de México.

Rozental obtained his professional degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas in Mexico and an MA in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania. He also did postgraduate studies at the University of Bordeaux in France.

Özdem Sanberk

Özdem Sanberk, a retired career diplomat, served as the Turkish ambassador to London from 1995 to 2000. Earlier in his career, he served in Madrid, Amman, Bonn, and Paris. He was the adviser to Prime Minister Turgut Özal from 1985 to 1987. Sanberk then served as the Turkish ambassador and permanent representative to the European Union. Subsequently, he was the permanent secretary-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ankara. Following his retirement in 2000, he served as the director of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation in Istanbul. He is a frequent commentator on international affairs in the Turkish press. Sanberk is currently a member of the Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies in Istanbul and has served as the director of the International Strategic Research Organisation since June 2010. He is a graduate of the law faculty of Istanbul University.

Zaki Shalom

Zaki Shalom is a member of the research staff at the Institute for National Security Studies and the Ben-Gurion Research Institute at Ben-Gurion University. Shalom has published extensively on various facets of Israel's defense policy, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the role of the superpowers in the Middle East, and Israel's struggle against Islamic terror. His work has also focused on the study of Israel's nuclear option, both in historical and contemporary perspectives.

Shalom is the author of numerous articles and several books, including *Israel's Nuclear Option: Behind the Scenes Diplomacy between Dimona and Washington* and *Ben-Gurion's Political Struggles, 1963–1967: A Lion in Winter*. In 2007 he was awarded the prime minister's prestigious David Ben-Gurion Memorial Prize for his book *Fire in His Bones*, which deals with Ben-Gurion's activities following his resignation as prime minister and until his death. He holds a BA from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a PhD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher is a senior partner at Gilead Sher & Co. Law Offices. Sher's practice areas are corporate law, project finance, international business ventures, investments and transactions, constitutional law, and dispute resolution. He is a visiting professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania and Tel Aviv University. He is also a former head of bureau and policy coordinator for Israel's prime minister and minister of defense, Ehud Barak, and was the co-chief negotiator from 1999 to 2001 at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks as well as in extensive rounds of covert negotiations. He served under the late prime minister Ytzhak Rabin as delegate to the 1994–1995 Interim Agreement negotiations with the Palestinians.

Sher is a colonel and a former brigade commander and deputy division commander in the Armored Corps of the Israel Defense Forces, as well as a military judge. Previously, he was a board member of the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and president of Israel Shotokan Karate Association (Fifth Dan). He is a member of the Council for Peace and Security, chairman of the board of the Sam Spiegel Film and Television School Jerusalem, founding co-chairman of the Blue White Future, and a member of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists. He is the author of *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001: Within Reach*.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). Previously, Sidiropoulos was director of studies at SAIIA and research director at the South African Institute of Race Relations, where she was editor of *Race Relations Survey* (now the *South Africa Survey*), an annual publication documenting political and constitutional developments and socioeconomic disparities in South Africa.

Sidiropoulos is the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. Her many publications include a special issue of the *South African Journal of International Affairs* on India in Africa; *Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy 1994–2004*, coedited with Alex Vines; *International Security and African Regional Security: Perspectives from South Africa*; *Global Security in a Multipolar World*; *Global Power Shifts and South Africa's Southern Agenda: Caught between African Solidarity and Regional Leadership*; and *Power Shifts and Global Governance: Challenges from South and North*.

Stefano Silvestri

Stefano Silvestri has been president of the International Affairs Institute since 2001. Silvestri has been a lead writer for *Il Sole 24 Ore* since 1985. From January 1995 to May 1996, he served as undersecretary of state for defense, having been an adviser to the undersecretary of foreign affairs for European matters in 1975 and a consultant to the prime minister's office under various governments. He continues to act as a consultant to both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministries of Defense and Industry. As a professional journalist, he has been a special correspondent and columnist for *Globo*, and a member of the Policy Committee of *Europeo*, and he has contributed articles on foreign and defense policy to numerous national daily papers. He was professor of Mediterranean security issues at the Bologna Centre of Johns Hopkins University from 1972 to 1976, and worked at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London from 1971 to 1972. He is currently a member of the administrative council of the Italian Industries Federation for Aerospace, Defense, and Security and of the Trilateral Commission.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been the president of Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) since 2000. From 1986 to 1997, Simonsen Leal served as a professor in the School of Graduate Economics of Fundação Getúlio Vargas (EPGE/FGV), director of FGV-Business from 1992 to 1997, general director of EPGE from 1994 to 1997, and FGV's vice president from September 1997 to August 2000. He is also a member of several corporate boards. Simonsen Leal holds a degree in civil engineering from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro's School of Engineering and has a master's degree in mathematical economics from the Brazilian National Council for Research's National Institute of Pure and Applied Math. He also has a PhD from EPGE/FGV and a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Rizal Sukma

Rizal Sukma is currently the executive director at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta. Sukma has worked extensively on Southeast Asia's security issues, Indonesia's defense and foreign policy, military reform, Islam and politics, and domestic political changes in Indonesia. He is also chairman of international relations at the Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board and a member of the board of governors of the implementing agency for the Bali Democracy Forum and the Institute for Peace and Democracy.

Sukma has served as a member of the National Committee on Strategic Defense Review at the Ministry of Defense, Republic of Indonesia, and as a member of the National Drafting Committee for the National Defense Bill (2000–2002) and the Armed Forces Bill (2002–2003). In 2007 he was a Fulbright visiting scholar at Columbia University. In July 2005, he became the first Indonesian to receive the Nakasone Award. He was named as one of 100 Global Thinkers 2009 by *Foreign Policy*. Sukma is the author of numerous papers and reports and has published in several journals and other internationally circulated publications. He holds a PhD in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Jusuf Wanandi

Jusuf Wanandi is the cofounder and vice chairman of the board of trustees of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Foundation and senior fellow of CSIS, Jakarta. Wanandi is chairman of the Indonesian National Committee for the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, co-chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, Indonesia, a member of the steering committee, and concurrently member of the standing committee of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council. He is also president director of the publishing company of the *Jakarta Post*, chairman of the board of the Prasetya Mulya Graduate School of Management, and chairman of the Foundation of Panca Bhakti University in Pontianak, West Kalimantan.

Wanandi was previously assistant professor of law at the University of Indonesia and has served in various national and international organizations over the course of his career. He was appointed secretary of the Indonesian Supreme Advisory Council, and secretary-general of the National Education Council, and was a four-term representative in the People's Consultative Assembly. He was active in the Golkar Party from 1979 to 1988 as a member of the central board in various capacities. He has written extensively in national and international magazines and newspapers and has edited a number of books on political and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region.

Michael Wesley

Michael Wesley is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy. Previously, Wesley was professor of international relations and director of the Griffith Asia Institute at Griffith University. Prior to this, he was the assistant director-general for transnational issues at the Office of National Assessments and a senior lecturer in international relations at the University of New South Wales.

From 2007 to 2009, Wesley was the editor of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. He has served on the Australian Research Council's college of experts and the Queensland Art Gallery's board of trustees. He is a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and an adjunct professor at Griffith University and the University of Sydney. His most recent book, *There Goes the Neighbourhood: Australia and the Rise of Asia*, won the 2011 John Button Prize for best writing on Australian public policy.

Wu Chunsi

Wu Chunsi is director of the Institute of International Strategy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies and is also a visiting fellow with the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. She has extensive research interests on Chinese-U.S. security relations, arms control, nuclear deterrence, and Northeast Asian security. Her major publications include *Deterrence Theories and Missile Defense* and *Deterrence and Stability: China-U.S. Nuclear Relationship*, coauthored with Zhu Mingquan and Su Changhe.

From August 1997 to October 2006, Wu worked for the Center for American Studies at Fudan University as assistant researcher and associate professor. In 2004–2005, she was granted a fellowship on arms control by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Ford Foundation for a one-year study on Chinese-U.S. space cooperation at the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She holds bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in international relations from the Shanghai-based Fudan University.

Amos Yadlin

Amos Yadlin was named director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in November 2011, after more than forty years of service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), ten of which he was a member of the IDF general staff. Before his appointment as director of INSS, Yadlin joined the Washington Institute for Near East Policy as the Kay fellow on Israeli national security. He has written on national security, force development, intelligence, civil-military relations, and the military ethics of fighting terror.

From 2006 to 2010, Yadlin served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence. From 2004 to 2006, he served as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, he earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF Military Colleges and the National Defense College.

A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force (IAF), he has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases. He also served as head of the IAF planning department from 1990 to 1993. He accumulated about five thousand flight hours and flew more than two hundred and fifty combat missions behind enemy lines. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz—the destruction of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq.

Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an MPA from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is the chairman of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development, vice president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and a professor at the Higher School of Economics.

Yurgens graduated with a degree in economics from Moscow State University, when he began working in various positions with the international departments of the Professional Unions Central Council of the USSR and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Secretariat. From 1992 to 1997, he was the first deputy chairman of the Confederation of Independent States Trade Union Confederation. He later served as co-chairman of the Foundation for the Development of Parliamentarism in Russia from 1997 to 1998. In 1998, he became president of the All-Russian Insurance Association, serving until 2002. From 2002 to 2005, Yurgens served as vice president and executive secretary of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (RSPP) and he has been vice president of RSPP since 2005. Other positions held in recent years include chairman of the financial markets committee of the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry from 2000 to 2009, member of Public Chamber of the Russian Federation from 2007 to 2009, and first vice president of the investment bank Renaissance Capital from 2005 to 2010.

Yurgens has served on the board of directors of numerous commercial and nonprofit organizations, is a member of various institutions, and is the recipient of several state and international awards.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Robert D. Hormats

Robert D. Hormats was sworn in as undersecretary of state for economic growth, energy, and the environment on September 23, 2009.

Hormats was formerly vice chairman of Goldman Sachs (International). He joined Goldman Sachs in 1982. He served as assistant secretary of state for economic and business affairs from 1981 to 1982, ambassador and deputy U.S. trade representative from 1979 to 1981, and senior deputy assistant secretary for economic and business affairs at the Department of State from 1977 to 1979. He served as a senior staff member for international economic affairs on the National Security Council from 1969 to 1977, where he was senior economic adviser to Henry A. Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. He has been a visiting lecturer at Princeton University and served on the board of visitors of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the dean's council of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Hormats's publications include *The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars from the Revolution to the War on Terror*; *Abraham Lincoln and the Global Economy*; *American Albatross: The Foreign Debt Dilemma*; and *Reforming the International Monetary System*. Other publications include articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *American Banker*, and *Financial Times*. He was a recipient of the French Legion of Honor in 1982 and the Arthur Fleming Award in 1974.

Hormats holds a BA with a concentration in economics and political science from Tufts University and an MA and a PhD in international economics from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Robert B. Zoellick

Robert B. Zoellick became the eleventh president of the World Bank Group on July 1, 2007. Prior to joining the bank, Zoellick served as vice chairman, international; managing director; and chairman of the board of international advisers at Goldman Sachs from 2006 to 2007.

From 2005 to 2006, Zoellick served as the deputy secretary of the U.S. State Department. He was the department's chief operating officer and policy alternate for the secretary of state, in addition to having lead policy responsibility in a number of areas. From 2001 to 2005, he served in the U.S. cabinet as the thirteenth U.S. trade representative. He worked with ministers from nearly 150 economies to launch the Doha Development Agenda in the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 and then to complete the framework accord for opening markets in 2004. Zoellick was instrumental in completing the accession of China and Chinese Taipei to the WTO. He also completed or substantially advanced the accessions to the WTO of Cambodia, Saudi Arabia, Vietnam, Russia, and others.

Zoellick enacted or completed Free Trade Agreements (FTA) with Jordan, Chile, Singapore, Morocco, Bahrain, the five countries of Central America, the Dominican Republic, and Australia. He also launched FTAs with Peru, Colombia, and Panama and enacted a Basic Trade Agreement with Vietnam. Zoellick worked with the U.S. Congress to pass Trade Promotion Authority as well as preferential trade arrangements with Africa, the Andean countries, the Caribbean states, and all developing economies.

From 1985 to 1993, Zoellick served at the U.S. Treasury Department as deputy assistant secretary for financial institutions policy to counselor to the secretary; at the U.S. State Department as undersecretary of state for economic and agricultural affairs as well as counselor of the department with undersecretary rank; and briefly at the White House as deputy chief of staff and assistant to the president. He was the lead U.S. official in the Two-plus-Four process of German unification in 1989–90. He was the sherpa to the president for the preparation of the Economic Summits in 1991–92.

Zoellick has also served on many nonprofit boards, among them the Council on Foreign Relations, the European Institute, the American Council on Germany, the American Institute of Contemporary German Studies, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the National Bureau of Asian Research, the Overseas Development Council, and the advisory councils of the World Wildlife Fund and the Institute of International Economics. He has received a number of awards, including the Knight Commanders Cross, the Alexander Hamilton and Distinguished Service Awards, the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, and a doctorate of humane letters from St. Joseph's College.

Zoellick graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Swarthmore College. He earned a JD magna cum laude from the Harvard Law School and an MPP from the Kennedy School of Government.