

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, May 6, 2018
6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 7, 2018
8:30 a.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 8, 2018
8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.*

The 2018 Council of Councils Annual Conference

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

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-nine major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles 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-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

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TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Agenda

Sunday, May 6, 2018

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Opening Dinner, and Discussion*
A Conversation With António Guterres

Speaker:

António Guterres, Secretary-General, United Nations

Welcoming Remarks and Moderator:

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

Monday, May 7, 2018

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Trade Without Trump: The Way Forward

Guiding Questions: What are the strengths and weaknesses of the current global trading system? How can regional and international trade governance be advanced and adapted to the twenty-first century? What policies can address the genuine shortfalls in the existing multilateral trading system? How can the world prepare itself for the possible erosion of the rules-based trading system and best avoid a downward spiral of tariffs, retaliation, and counter-retaliation?

Panelists:

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

Oliver Stuenkel, Associate Professor, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

Sohn Yul, Chair of the Center for Japan Studies, East Asia Institute (South Korea)

Zhang Haibing, Director of the Institute for World Economy Studies,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Moderator:

Joseph Chinyong Liow, Dean,

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Strengthening Effective Climate Change Action

Guiding Questions: What have been the major successes and failures of the Paris Agreement's approach to mitigating and adapting to climate change, and how can the lessons learned be applied going forward? What impact will the U.S. intention to withdraw from the accord have on its prospects? Should there be a Paris 2.0 accord and, if so, how should it differ? How

can additional partnerships among regions, subnational governments, and the private sector advance the agreement's ambitions?

Panelists:

Sunjoy Joshi, *Chairman, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Sergey Kulik, *Director for International Development, Institute of Contemporary Development (Russia)*

Silvia Maciunas, *Deputy Director of International Environmental Law, International Law Research Program, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Moderator:

Gilead Sher, *Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

12:15 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Working Lunch* **Helen & Frank Altschul Room**
Common Challenges Think Tanks Face

Chair:

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

1:45 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Coffee Break* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

2:00 p.m.–3:00 p.m. *Session Three* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
**Global Governance Working Papers Discussion:
Migration and Monetary Policy**

Panelists:

Daniel Gros, *Director, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

Patrycja Sasnal, *Head of the Middle East and Africa Program, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

Moderator:

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

3:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m. *Free Time*

5:30 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception* **Maurice R. Greenberg and Rita Hauser Rooms**

6:00 p.m.–7:15 p.m. *Public Session* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch

Panelists:

Michael Fullilove, *Executive Director, Lowy Institute (Australia)*

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

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

Igor Yurgens, *Chairman, Institute for Contemporary Development (Russia)*

Moderator:

Alan Murray, Chief Content Officer of Time Inc. Brands and President of Fortune, Meredith Corporation

7:15 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Dinner* **Helen & Frank Altschul Room**

Tuesday, May 8, 2018

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Four* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Geopolitical Implications of New Technology

Guiding Questions: What implications are dramatic advances in technological innovation likely to have on the future of great power relations—and on the nature of military power and strategic competition more generally? Which transformative technologies (e.g., artificial intelligence, genomics, machine learning, and robotics) carry the greatest risk to international security, whether through miscalculation, arms races, or unintended consequences? Are current international safeguards, standards, and institutions adequate to address security risks posed by innovation? If not, what new norms and rules of the road need to be established? Do past multilateral efforts to control new technologies (e.g., nuclear or chemical weapons) provide useful precedents?

Panelists:

Marc Hecker, Director of Publications,
French Institute of International Relations (France)

Rohinton P. Medhora, President,
Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Samir Saran, President, Observer Research Foundation (India)

Moderator:

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

10:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break* **Maurice R. Greenberg Room**

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Five* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
The Challenge From Iran and Its Global Implications

Guiding Questions: How should we assess Iran's regional ambitions and its ability to realize them? What can regional and international powers do to counter Iran's efforts to gain influence in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and elsewhere? How can Iran's ballistic missile capability be constrained? How can the perceived flaws in the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) be dealt with? If necessary, what should a follow-on agreement to the JCPOA look like? How do we approach all of this in the context of Iran's internal political situation?

Panelists:

Mustafa Alani, Senior Advisor and Director of the Security and Defense Studies
Department, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)

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

Mark Fitzpatrick, *Executive Director of the Americas Office,*
International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)

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

Moderator:

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

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Closing Remarks, Wrap-Up, and Lunch*

Robert E. Rubin Library

Speaker:

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

Participant Biographies

Mustafa Alani

Mustafa Alani is senior advisor and director of the security and defense studies department at the Gulf Research Center. Alani previously worked as a consultant on Middle East security at the Middle East security program at the Royal United Services Institute. He is a frequent lecturer on political and security developments in the Middle East region, with a focus on Iraq, Iran, Yemen, and the Gulf Cooperation Council. He contributes frequently to international news agencies and leading newspapers in English and Arabic. Alani was educated at the University of Baghdad's department of politics and later at Keele University's department of international relations. He received his doctorate from the University of Exeter.

Steven Blockmans

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

Mariana Campero

Mariana Campero is executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Previously, she was senior director of Llorente y Cuenca, the leading public affairs consultancy in Ibero America and the global coordinator of the AMO Partnership. She was vice president of Zemi Communications LLC in New York, a boutique international consulting firm, where she focused on cross-border communication and strategy for blue-chip corporations and governments in Latin America. Campero founded Toi & Moi and was also a founding associate of the European franchise Fit-Me in Mexico City. Campero holds a BA from the Mexico Autonomous Institute of Technology (ITAM) and an MA from Columbia University.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is the president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in the studies of the United Nations, Chinese foreign policy, and U.S.-China relations, and has published extensively on UN reform and China's multilateral diplomacy. Chen is also the editor in chief of the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* journal, published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing House in Singapore. He is an adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. Chen is a high-level advisor to the Independent Team of Advisors for the UN Economic and Social Council dialogue on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, member of the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, senior advisor on economic diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the International Business Leaders Advisory Council for the Mayor of Shanghai. He is also vice-chairman of the China National Association of International Relations. Chen was recognized as a "Leading Scholar of Shanghai" in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

Chun Chaesung

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

Laura von Daniels

Laura von Daniels is deputy head of the Americas division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Before joining SWP, she worked as assistant professor of political economy at the Central European University in Budapest. Daniels was previously a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and a research fellow at Princeton University. She holds an MA in quantitative methods from Columbia University and a PhD in political science from the Free University of Berlin.

Sławomir Dębski

Sławomir Dębski is director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, a position he previously held from 2007 to 2010. From 2011 to 2016, he was director of the Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding, and the editor in chief and editorial board member of the online journal *Intersection: Russia/Europe/World*. From 2008 to 2015, he was a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters. Until 2010, he was editor in chief of the Russian-language quarterly *Evropa*. Currently he is editor in chief of the quarterly *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny (Polish Diplomatic Review)*. He is the author of *Between Berlin and Moscow: German-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, which won the Klio Award and an award from *Eastern Review*, as well as articles and collections of sources on diplomatic history. Dębski received a PhD in history from Jagiellonian University in 2002.

Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is the treasurer and an executive committee member of the Argentine Council for International Relations. He is also a board member of the food company Havanna. De Santibañes has been published in numerous journals on international relations and Argentine foreign policy, including *Armed Forces and Society* and *Comparative Strategy*, and has written the book *Argentina and the World: Steps for Successful Integration*. He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and of the World Economic Forum Expert Network. He holds a BA in business economics from Di Tella University and an MA from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. From 2006 to 2009, he pursued doctoral studies in King's College's department of war studies.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). A diplomat from 1972 to 2013, he was permanent representative of Italy to the European Union in Brussels, chief of staff, and director general for European integration at the Italian ministry of foreign affairs. Previously, he served in New York at the United Nations, and in Algiers, Beijing, and Paris. He also served as diplomatic counselor of the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers. In June 2014, he was appointed as Italy's member of the college

of European commissioner. Formerly a fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, and visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples, Feroci is currently a professor in the School of Government of the Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali, in Rome. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs.

Mark Fitzpatrick

Mark Fitzpatrick is executive director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Americas office and head of the IISS Nonproliferation and Nuclear Policy program. He joined IISS after a twenty-six-year career in the U.S. Department of State, which included serving as acting deputy assistant secretary for nonproliferation. He is the author of *Asia's Latent Nuclear Powers: Japan, South Korea and Taiwan; Overcoming Pakistan's Nuclear Dangers*; and *The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: Avoiding Worst-Case Outcomes*; and the editor of six books on countries and regions of proliferation concern. He has lectured throughout the world and is a frequent media commentator. He is a cofounder of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium.

Jacek Foks

Jacek Foks is deputy director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, a position he previously held from 2003 to 2010. He was formerly director of the department of planning and sport policy, and undersecretary of state in the Polish ministry of sport and tourism. He has been special secretary of the International Associations of Sports Law since 2008. Foks is a former member of the Polish UNESCO Committee and of the foundation board of the World Anti-Doping Agency. He was previously editor in chief of the *Polish Foreign Affairs Digest* and is a member of the board of editors for the *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny (Polish Diplomatic Review)*. He is author or coauthor of dozens of articles. His main research interests include EU law, international sports law and sports, as well as international relations. He has an LLM from the University of Warsaw.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute. He has been associated with Lowy Institute since its establishment in 2003. Fullilove wrote the feasibility study for the Lowy Institute in 2002 and served as the director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. He has also been a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia, and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Fullilove writes widely on global issues and U.S. and Australian foreign policy in publications including the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the Australian press. As a speaker and commentator, he appears regularly on broadcasters such as the ABC, BBC, and CNN. Fullilove graduated in arts and law from the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales. He studied as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, where he received an MA and PhD in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) based in Paris and Brussels. He was previously the institute's vice president for strategic development and the director of its Russia/New Independent State Center. He is also the coeditor of the trilingual electronic series *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Gomart's current research focuses on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and think tanks. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was an assistant professor at the Sorbonne, cadet officer in the army, Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies in King's College London. Gomart has also managed many projects with leading international think tanks. He recently published "The Return of

Geopolitical Risk: Russia, China, and the United States” in *Etudes de l’Ifri* and “Etats-Unis, Chine et Russie: La France face aux trois grands” in *Revue des deux mondes*. He recently coedited *Notre intérêt national: Quelle politique étrangère pour la France?* for Odile Jacob and “Foreign Policy Challenges for the Next French President” in *Etudes de l’Ifri*. Gomart holds an EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and a PhD in history from the Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros has been the director of the Centre for European Policy Studies since 2000. He also serves as advisor to the European Parliament and is a member of the advisory scientific committee of the European Systemic Risk Board and the Euro 50 Group of eminent economists. He has held positions at the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission, and served as advisor to several governments, including the United States and the United Kingdom. Gros is editor of *Economie Internationale* and *International Finance*. He is the author of several books and numerous articles in scientific journals. His main areas of expertise are the European monetary union, macroeconomic policy, economics of transition to a market economy, public finance, banking, and financial markets. Gros holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is in his fifteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations. He was the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush and the director of policy planning at the State Department, where he was a principal advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell. He has also served as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and as the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department’s Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of thirteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds a master’s degree and a doctorate from Oxford University.

Ha Young-Sun

Ha Young Sun is chairman of the board of trustees of the East Asia Institute. He also serves as a member of the Presidential National Security Advisory Group and the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation. Ha is also a professor emeritus in political science and international relations at Seoul National University. He was the co-chairman of the Korea-Japan Joint Research Project for New Era, director of Seoul National University’s Center for International Studies and American Studies Institute, president of the Korea Peace Studies Association, and research fellow at Princeton University’s Center for International Studies and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. He has written or contributed to several books and edited volumes including *Korean Peninsula Among Big Powers 1972 vs 2014*; *Trustpolitik 2.0 on the Korean Peninsula: Complex Policy of Deterrence, Engagement, and Trust*; *Toward 2020: Ten Agendas for South Korea’s Foreign Policy*; and *A New Era for Korea-Japan Relations: Seven Tasks for Bilateral Cooperation*. Ha received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and his PhD from the University of Washington.

Marc Hecker

Marc Hecker is the director of publications at the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) and editor in chief of *Politique étrangère*. He is also a research fellow at the Security Studies Center. He has written and

coauthored several books, including *Intifada française? De l'importation du conflit israélo-palestinien* (French Intifada? The Importation of the Israel-Palestinian Conflict) and *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age*. Hecker also teaches a course on terrorism and asymmetric warfare at Sciences Po. He holds a PhD in political science from the Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi is chairman of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He previously served in the Indian Administrative Service for more than twenty-five years. Since 2009, Joshi has overseen the transformation of ORF into India's foremost think tank in a range of sectors, from foreign policy to internet governance, development studies, and national security. Joshi writes regularly on strategic issues relating to India's energy needs and their interplay with the country's development challenges in the context of the contemporary climate change narrative. His long-form publications include "The Future of Energy," "Reforming Energy Policy and Pricing," "The Search for Energy Security," and "Beyond the Plateau in U.S.-India Relations." Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies as well as distinguished visitor to the program on energy and sustainable development at Stanford University.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the vice chairman and president of Global Relations Forum (GRF). His policy work at GRF includes global energy dynamics, European energy security, global economic and financial governance, and the economic prospects of the Middle East and North Africa. Karakullukçu is also the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum.com. Previously, he served as the founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI Teknokent, an innovation community of over one hundred technology companies. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was the senior advisor to the president; the coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and the strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. Karakullukçu has also served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yoichi Kato

Yoichi Kato is a senior research fellow at the Asia Pacific (AP) Initiative, an independent think tank in Tokyo. He is also an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington. His area of expertise includes the national security strategy of Japan, U.S.-Japan alliance, and U.S.-China strategic relations. Prior to joining the AP Initiative, Kato was a national security correspondent at *Asahi Shimbun* and also the chief of the newspaper's U.S. general bureau in Washington, DC. While at *Asahi Shimbun*, Kato was a visiting scholar at Peking University's School of International Studies. He has also been a visiting research fellow at CSIS and the U.S. National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Kato also previously taught national security strategy at Gakushuin University in Tokyo. His recently published *Gendai Nihon no Chiseigaku* (Geopolitical and geoeconomic risks for Japan). Kato earned his MA in international relations from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and his BA in foreign studies from the Tokyo University.

Christian Koch

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

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO. Under Kudo's leadership, Genron NPO has conducted various research programs, including evaluations of government performance and analyses of party pledges made during general elections. Under the Northeast Asia regional program, Kudo has developed crucial track two dialogues, such as the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, to tackle pressing regional issues. The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders was established in 2016 as a venue for open and free debate among intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries. The forum is a collaborative effort to bolster democracy and address challenges faced by the democratic system, with a goal to jointly identify common issues and present potential solutions. In 2017, Kudo launched the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform that invites ten international think tanks to exchange views on global issues and propose recommendations to strengthen the liberal order and democracy. Prior to joining Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds 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 the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. He previously served as the director of the department for relations with the European Union, deputy director of the foreign policy and the information policy departments of the Russian presidential administration, director of the Arms Control Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies, and project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been the president of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. He began his work at FGV as a professor in its Graduate School of Economics (EPGE). Simonsen Leal was director of FGV Business from 1992 to 1997, general director of EPGE from 1994 to 1997, and FGV's vice president from 1997 to 2000. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and several corporate boards. He was awarded the Grand Cross of Scientific Merit of Brazil and several military awards. He studied civil

engineering at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and received a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Hervé Lemahieu

Hervé Lemahieu is a research fellow at the Lowy Institute, where he pilots an initiative and research team mapping the distribution of military, diplomatic, and economic power in Asia. Lemahieu also co-chairs the annual track 1.5 Australia-France Strategic Dialogue. Lemahieu covers the military-civil relations, political economy, and foreign policy of Southeast Asia with a focus on Myanmar. His analysis has been featured or quoted in the *Asian Nikkei Review*, Bloomberg, *Bangkok Times*, *El País*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Straits Times*, and *South China Morning Post*. Prior to joining the Lowy Institute, he was research associate for political economy and security at the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). In parallel, Lemahieu worked alongside the IISS director of studies on the development of the institute's worldwide research activities, raising project funding, and developing the institute's commercial advisory arm, IISS Consulting. Lemahieu earned an MSc in global governance and diplomacy from St. Antony's College and an MA in international relations and modern history from the University of St. Andrews. He has also studied at Sciences-Po.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr. was president of Carleton College in Minnesota and previously was Herbert H. Lehman professor of economics at Williams College, where he was twice provost. A specialist in economic development, Lewis has lived in Pakistan, Kenya, and Botswana, and has served as a consultant to their governments and research institutions. In 1983, Lewis received the Presidential Order of Meritorious Service from the Botswana government. He has written several books, including *The Economics of Apartheid*. He edited former Botswana President Q.K.J. Masire's memoirs, *Very Brave or Very Foolish? Memoirs of an African Democrat*. Lewis also has served on a number of corporate, educational, and other nonprofit boards, including the Robina Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he was vice chairman. He holds a BA from Williams College and a PhD from Stanford 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), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He is a leading authority on the U.S. foreign policy-making process and the domestic politics of U.S. foreign policy. Lindsay has been a member of the faculty at the University of Iowa and at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, where he was the Tom Slick chair for international affairs and inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law. He has also served as deputy director and senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution, and was director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council during the Bill Clinton administration. He has written widely on various aspects of U.S. foreign policy, U.S. government, and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. His blog, *The Water's Edge*, can be found at blogs.cfr.org/lindsay.

Joseph Chinyong Liow

Joseph Chinyong Liow is dean and professor of comparative and international politics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Nanyang Technological University, in Singapore. He previously held the

inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in Southeast Asia studies at the Brookings Institution, where he was also a senior fellow in the foreign policy program. Liow's research interests encompass Muslim politics and social movements in Southeast Asia and the international politics of the Asia-Pacific region. Liow is the author, co-author, or editor of fourteen books, including *Ambivalent Engagement: The United States and Regional Security in Southeast Asia After the Cold War*, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*, and *Dictionary of the Modern Politics of Southeast Asia*. His commentaries on international affairs appear in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *New York Times*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, and *Wall Street Journal*, and he has testified before the U.S. Congress. Liow has also consulted for a wide range of multinational corporations and sits on the board of several peer-reviewed academic and policy journals and the expert panel of the Social Science Research Council. Liow is also Singapore's representative on the advisory board of the ASEAN Institute of Peace and Reconciliation. Liow holds a BA in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, an MSc in strategic studies from the Nanyang Technological University, and a PhD in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Silvia Maciunas

Silvia Maciunas is the deputy director of international environmental law in the international law research program with the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). In this role, Maciunas provides strategic guidance, operations coordination, and management of the thematic area. Previously, she was a CIGI senior research fellow. At CIGI, in addition to her role as deputy director, Maciunas's research assesses how climate change protection measures are affected by the international legal framework within which the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change operates. Maciunas explores avenues to make the broader legal framework supportive of climate change protection measures and to develop policy options. Maciunas previously served as deputy director of the oceans and environmental law division at Global Affairs Canada. Prior to that, Maciunas was the sole proprietor of a law firm and a consultant in international environmental law. She has held a number of positions within Global Affairs Canada. She has a BComm from the University of Manitoba, an LLB from the University of Ottawa and an LLM in international law.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He previously served on CIGI's international board of governors. Prior to that, he was vice president of programs in Canada's International Development Research Centre. His fields of expertise are monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, aid effectiveness, and development economics. He has published extensively on these issues in professional and nontechnical journals and has produced two books: *Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries* and *Financial Reform in Developing Countries*, which he coedited with José Fanelli. Medhora has coedited *Canada-Africa Relations: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* and *Crisis and Reform: Canada and the International Financial System*, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes, respectively, in the Canada Among Nations book series. He has also coedited *International Development: Ideas, Experience, and Prospects*. Medhora was recently named as a member of the Commission on Global Economic Transformation. He serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, Partnership for African Social and Governance Research, and Balsillie School of International Affairs and on the advisory boards of the McLuhan Centre at the University of Toronto and WTO Chairs Program. Medhora received his BA, MA, and PhD in economics from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years.

Park In-kook

Park In-kook is president of the Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies. He previously served as the Republic of Korea's ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations and Kuwait. Park joined the South Korean foreign ministry in 1978 and served in the United States, Brussels, and Saudi Arabia. In the foreign ministry, Park served as the director of the UN Division II and Disarmament and Nuclear Energy Division, deputy minister for policy planning and international organizations, and deputy foreign minister for multilateral and global issues. He also served as secretary to the president of the Republic of Korea for international security. Park has taken on other ambassadorial roles as president of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and chairman of the Economic and Financial Committee (Second Committee) of the UN General Assembly. He also served as co-chair of the Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on Sustainable Development. He was as a visiting professor at Seoul National University's Graduate School of International Studies and Korea University. He was previously a council member of the World Economic Forum. Park holds bachelor's and master's degrees from Seoul National University.

Stewart M. Patrick

Stewart M. Patrick is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). From 2005 to 2008, he was a research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed research and policymaking at the intersection of security and development. Patrick has also served on the U.S. State Department's policy planning staff, with lead staff responsibility for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, Patrick was a research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. Patrick is the author, most recently, of *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America with the World*. He has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Additionally, Patrick writes the *Internationalist* blog for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received two MA degrees and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

Volker Perthes

Volker Perthes has been executive chairman and director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) since October 2005. Since September 2015, Perthes has also served as senior advisor to the UN special envoy for Syria and is currently chairing the Ceasefire Task Force for Syria within the International Syria Support Group on behalf of the United Nations. Perthes is a frequent commentator in German and international media on German and European foreign and security policy, international relations and geopolitics, and regional dynamics and transitions in the Middle East.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental was the founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and is currently a member ex officio of its governing body. He is a senior policy advisor at Chatham House, member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies' council, and sits on the operating board of the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He served as deputy foreign minister of Mexico, ambassador to Sweden, permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva, and ambassador to the United Kingdom, as well as in various responsibilities within the Mexican foreign affairs secretariat and abroad. Since 1994, he has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He is an independent board member of Ocean Wilson Holdings and Wilson Sons (Brazil) and HSBC Bank in Mexico. He holds advisory positions with

Toyota, Brookfield Asset Management, Ingredion, Almex, and AT&T. He is president of his own consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He is also the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. Rozental obtained his professional degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas in Mexico, and his MA in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Luis Rubio

Luis Rubio is chairman of the Center of Research for Development (CIDAC) and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Before joining CIDAC, Rubio was planning director of Citibank in Mexico and served as an advisor to Mexico's secretary of the treasury. He serves on the boards of two hedge funds, Coca-Cola FEMSA and Afore Banamex. He has served on the board of directors of the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico City and is a member of the Trilateral Commission and Halifax International Security Forum's agenda working group. Rubio has published on political, economic, and international subjects. He is a contributing editor of *Reforma* and his analyses and opinions often appear in the United States, Mexico, and Europe in publications such as the *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, NPR, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He is also a frequent speaker at major international conferences. He is author or editor of forty-nine books, including *The Problem of Power: Mexico Requires a New System of Government*, *A Mexican Utopia: the Rule of Law Is Possible*, *NAFTA at Twenty: A Political and Strategic Perspective*, and *Mexico: A Middle Class Society, Poor No More, Developed Not Yet*. Rubio is the winner of the 1985 Association of Professional Researchers for Advancement book award, the 1993 Dag Hammarskjöld Medal, and the 1998 National Journalism Award for op-ed pieces. He holds a diploma in financial management and an MA and PhD in political science from Brandeis University.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is senior fellow and president of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) and heads the foundation's outreach and business development activities. He curates the Raisina Dialogue, an annual conference on geopolitics and geoeconomics, and chairs CyFy, an annual conference on cybersecurity and internet governance. Saran is co-chair of the T20 Argentina Task Force entitled "The Future of Work and Education for the Digital Age," a commissioner on the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, and a member of the South Asia advisory board and Global Future Council on Cybersecurity of the World Economic Forum. He is director of the Sardar Patel Police University's Center for Peace and Conflict Studies. His academic publications include *India's Climate Change Identity: Between Reality and Perception*, coauthored with Aled Jones; "New Norms for a Digital Society," an ORF special report; "India's Contemporary Plurilateralism" in the *Oxford University Press Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*; and "Navigating the Digital Trilemma" in the latest *CyFy Digital Debates*, of which he is the editor, among others. Saran is a frequent commentator in Indian and international print media on global governance, including climate change and energy policy, global development architecture, cybersecurity and internet governance, and India's foreign policy. Saran received his electrical and electronics engineering degree from the Manipal Institute of Technology and his master's degree in media studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science. His doctoral studies at the Global Sustainability Institute were on Indian attitudes toward climate change.

Patrycja Sasnal

Patrycja Sasnal is head of the Middle East and Africa program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, in Warsaw. She is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations' council and its European working group on Egypt and the Polish Ombudsman office's expert commission on migration. She has written on U.S.

and EU policies in the Middle East, sociopolitical transformation of the Arab world, migration trends, and modern Arab thought. Sasnal has been published in *Al-Ahram*, *EUobserver*, *Insight Turkey*, *Le Monde*, and *Polityka*. She was an associate researcher at the American University in Beirut and has lectured at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Warsaw and Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. In 2010, she was a Fulbright scholar at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Sasnal holds a PhD in political science.

Shao Yuqun

Shao Yuqun is director of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau studies at the Shanghai Institutes of International Studies (SIIS). She is also a senior member of the Center for American Studies at SIIS. Shao's main research area covers U.S. foreign policy, with a focus on U.S. policy toward the Asia-Pacific, and South and Central Asia, U.S.-China relations, and cross-strait relations. She was previously a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, and the German Development Institute in Bonn. Shao has published papers and articles in Chinese and English, and is a regular commentator on international politics and international relations for media such as CCTV America and Oriental TV.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher is a senior researcher and head of the Center for Applied Negotiations at the Tel Aviv Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). Sher is a senior partner in Gilead Sher & Co. and serves on a number of executive boards. He previously served as then Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Ehud Barak's chief of staff and policy coordinator. From 1999 to 2001, he was Israel's chief and co-chief negotiator at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks. Sher was appointed under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as a delegate to the 1994–1995 Interim Agreement negotiations with the Palestinians. Sher is an Israeli Defense Force colonel, who served in reserve service as an armored corps brigade commander and a deputy division commander. He co-chairs the nongovernmental organization Blue White Future and chairs the executive board of Sapir Academic College, the largest public college in Israel. In 2016, Sher served as a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School and was a visiting scholar at Harvard's program on negotiations. He formerly was a guest lecturer at University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. He has authored *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001: Within Reach* and *The Battle for Home*, and coedited *Negotiating in Times of Conflict*, and *Spoilers and Coping with Spoilers in Israeli Peacemaking*.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs, which she has led since 2005. She is also the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. With more than twenty-six years of experience in the field of politics and international relations, Sidiropoulos is an expert on South Africa's foreign policy, south-south cooperation, and the role of emerging powers in Africa. She is a regular commentator in South African and foreign media. She has published on various aspects of South Africa's foreign policy, including on its peace-making model as a key dimension of its soft power, its development diplomacy, and edited a volume on South Africa's foreign policy in the first decade of democracy, *Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy 1994–2004*. She also coedited two books exploring the rise of the new development cooperation providers: *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns* and *Institutional Architecture and Development: Responses from Emerging Powers*. Sidiropoulos serves on the World Economic Forum Global Future Council on the Future of Regional Governance. Between 2012 and 2014, she served on the Scientific Advisory Board of EU Development Commissioner Andris Piebalgs. She is a member of the international advisory board of the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, the journal

of the Graduate Institute of International Development in Geneva, and the *Chinese Quarterly of Strategic Studies* of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.

Sohn Yul

Sohn Yul is the chair of the Center for Japan Studies at the East Asia Institute and a professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies. He is also president-elect of the Korean Association of International Studies for the 2018–2019 term. Before joining Yonsei, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and was a visiting scholar at the University of Tokyo, Waseda University, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Currently, Sohn serves a number of government advisory committees, including the South Korean foreign ministry, Korea National Diplomacy Academy, and the Northeast Asian History Foundation. He also served as president of the Korean Studies of Contemporary Japan. He 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 the Korea–U.S. Free Trade Agreement," and "Japan's New Regionalism China Shock, Values, and the East Asian Community." Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Oliver Stuenkel

Oliver Stuenkel is an associate professor of international relations at the Getulio Vargas Foundation, where he coordinates the São Paulo branch of the School of History and Social Science and the executive program in international relations. He is also a nonresident fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute in Berlin, a member of the Carnegie Rising Democracies Network, and a columnist for *Americas Quarterly* and *El Pais*. His research focuses on the foreign policy of Brazil, China, and India, and their impact on global governance. He is the author of *IBSA: The Rise of the Global South?*, *BRICS and the Future of Global Order*, and *Post-Western World*.

Hayanari Uchino

Hayanari Uchino is a visiting fellow at Genron NPO. He also serves as managing director of the financial and capital market research department at the Daiwa Institute of Research. From 2005 to 2014, Uchino was the Japan Securities Dealers Association's representative on the Consultative Advisory Group for the international auditing and assurance standards boards. During his two-year tenure at the Japanese ministry of finance, he was in charge of the Asian Development Bank Institute as a senior analyst of global capital markets when the institute had just been established and was coping with the international economic and policy issues related to the Asian currency and financial crisis in 1998.

Amos Yadlin

Amos Yadlin has been the director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies, Israel's leading strategic think tank, since November 2011. Yadlin was designated minister of defense of the Zionist Union Party in the March 2015 elections. For over forty years, he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with nine years as a member of the IDF general staff. From 2006 to 2010, he served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence and from 2004 to 2006, as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, Yadlin earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases and served as head of the Israeli Air Force's planning department. He participated

in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz, which destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an MPA from Harvard University.

Ye Yu

Ye Yu is an associate professor and assistant director of the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. Her research focuses on the role of China in global economic governance, with a focus in recent years on the Group of Twenty and multilateral development banks. Her main publications include a monograph “International Law Regulation of Oil Trade and Investment” and a series of articles. Ye earned her PhD in international economic law from Fudan University and was a visiting scholar at Yale University, University of Dundee, Texas A&M University, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is the chairman of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development (IN-SOR), and professor at the Higher School of Economics. He is also the president of the All-Russian Insurance Association, president of the Russian Association of Motor Insurers, president of National Union of Liability Insurers, member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, member of the presidium of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP), and member of Russian Council on International Affairs. Yurgens is author of numerous articles and monographs. Yurgens graduated from Moscow State University in 1974.

Zhang Haibing

Zhang Haibing is director of the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. She is also vice secretary general of the Shanghai Society of World Economics. Zhang specializes in the study of global economic governance, especially international development cooperation, the Group of Twenty, and BRICS-related issues. She was previously a visiting scholar at the Institute for Southeast Asia Studies, German Development Institute, and Center for Strategic and International Studies. Zhang was a 2016 Shanghai March 8th Red-Banner award winner.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

António Guterres

António Guterres is the ninth secretary-general of the United Nations. Prior to his appointment as secretary-general, Guterres served as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees from June 2005 to December 2015, heading one of the world's foremost humanitarian organizations during some of the most serious displacement crises in decades. Before joining the refugee agency, Guterres spent more than twenty years in government and public service. He served as prime minister of Portugal from 1995 to 2002, during which he was heavily involved in the international effort to resolve the crisis in East Timor. As president of the European Council in early 2000, he led the adoption of the Lisbon Agenda for growth and jobs, and co-chaired the first European Union-Africa summit. He was a member of the Portuguese Council of State from 1991 to 2002. Guterres was elected to the Portuguese parliament in 1976, where he served as a member for seventeen years. From 1981 to 1983, Guterres was a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, where he chaired the Committee on Demography, Migration, and Refugees. For many years, Guterres was active in the Socialist International, a worldwide organization of social democratic political parties. He was the group's vice-president from 1992 to 1999, co-chairing the African Committee and later the Development Committee. He served as president from 1999 until mid-2005. In addition, he founded the Portuguese Refugee Council as well as the Portuguese Consumers Association DECO, and served as president of the Centro de Acção Social Universitário, an association carrying out social development projects in poor neighborhoods of Lisbon, in the early 1970s. Guterres is a member of the Club of Madrid, a leadership alliance of democratic former presidents and prime ministers from around the world. Guterres graduated from the Instituto Superior Técnico with a degree in engineering.

Alan Murray

Alan Murray is chief content officer of Time Inc. Brands, Meredith Corporation, where he oversees editorial operations and is responsible for the company's commitment to quality journalism and storytelling. Murray is focused on harnessing the collective power and scale of all Meredith's brands to produce and distribute content on every platform. Murray also serves as president of Fortune. As editor in chief since 2014, he integrated the print and digital editorial teams, established new franchises and platforms, and helped significantly increase Fortune.com's traffic. His diverse background includes serving as president of the Pew Research Center, hosting an eponymous show on CNBC, and spending more than two decades at the *Wall Street Journal*, where his experience included overseeing digital operations and the Washington bureau. The author of four books, Murray is also a member of the Gridiron Club and the New York Economics Club.

Observer Biographies

Ari Heistein

Ari Heistein is the special assistant to Amos Yadlin at the Institute for National Security Studies, in Israel. He holds a BA in Near Eastern studies from Princeton University and an MA in Middle Eastern studies from Tel Aviv University.

Terrence Mullan

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

Ra Jiwon

Ra Jiwon is a research associate at the East Asia Institute. His main fields of interest are new security issues, including hybrid and automated warfare, private military companies, and the relationship between politico-economic systems and military recruitment. He has contributed articles to major local newspapers on international relations and U.S. foreign policy. Ra received his BA and MA from Seoul National University.