

COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
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**COUNCIL OF COUNCILS
TWELFTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



NOVEMBER 17–19, 2019

PARIS, FRANCE

Hosted by

French Institute of International Relations (Ifri)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

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 the Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-eight 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 in members' countries.

About Ifri

Ifri is a research center and a forum for debate on major international political and economic issues. Headed by Thierry de Montbrial since its founding in 1979, Ifri is a nongovernmental, nonprofit organization. As an independent think tank, Ifri sets its own research agenda, publishing its findings regularly for a global audience. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, Ifri brings together political and economic decision-makers, researchers, and internationally renowned experts to animate its debate and research activities.

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 affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On- and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

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South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

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Global Relations Forum (GIF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Twelfth Regional Conference

Agenda

Sunday, November 17, 2019

Yacht Club de France
41 Avenue Foch
75116 Paris

7:00 p.m.–10:00 p.m. *Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion*
A Conversation With Camille Grand

Welcoming and Opening Remarks:

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

James M. Lindsay, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Keynote Speaker:

Camille Grand, *Assistant Secretary General for Defense Investment, North Atlantic Treaty Organization*

Moderator:

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

Monday, November 18, 2019

Ifri office
27 Rue de la Procession
75015 Paris

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*

The Future of the European Union

Guiding Questions: Is the European Union (EU) capable of acting as a powerful, independent voice in global affairs, in the context of recent crises, member-state politics, and EU institutional developments? How will the newly elected European Parliament influence EU policies? How do current nomination processes for critical EU posts (including for Parliament, Commission, President of the Council, and EU Central Bank) affect the balance of power between EU institutions and member states, particularly when it comes to migration, security, and defense policy? Looking out over the next five years, how do we expect the EU's position in the world to evolve, including its relations and policies toward the United States, China, and Russia, and its capacity to promote liberal values and multilateral cooperation?

Panelists:

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

Fyodor Lukyanov, *Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (Russia)*

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

Moderator:

Nicoletta Pirozzi, *Institutional Relations Manager and Head of the EU, Politics, and Institutions Programme, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two*

Toward a Global Governance of Migration?

Guiding Questions: What should the rationale and objectives behind the global governance of migration be? How and to what extent can origin, transit, and destination countries agree on common policy objectives and instruments to create a shared approach to this issue? Does the Global Compact on Migration provide an effective framework for such governance? If not, what other policies could work, and where can the necessary international leadership emerge to bridge divides between the Global North and South? To what extent should nonstate actors (subnational, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, migrant communities, and refugees) be involved in the global governance of migration?

Panelists:

Anne Koch, Associate, Global Issues Division,

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Ricardo E. Lagorio, Member of the Argentine Council for International Relations and Ambassador of the Argentine Republic to the Russian Federation, and Concurrent to Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan (Argentina)

Patrycja Sasnal, Head of Research and Senior Fellow for the Middle East, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)

Igor Yurgens, Chairman, Institute of Contemporary Development (Russia)

Moderator:

Anat Kurz, Director of Research and Senior Research Fellow, and Editor of Insight, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

12:15 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Informal Lunch*

1:45 p.m.–3:15 p.m. *Session Three*

The Weaponization of Economic Interdependence

Guiding Questions: Does the overuse of coercive financial and economic tools (such as sanctions) risk triggering a cycle of retaliation or driving countries to insulate themselves from global economic networks? What rules or norms, if any, should determine how states leverage economic interdependence to coerce others for geopolitical ends? Given the asymmetric power of the United States in the global financial system, how can other countries ensure the United States does not unilaterally weaponize interdependence in ways that conflict with their core interests? What are the potential trends and geoeconomic battlegrounds of the future, and how can they be governed?

Panelists:

Juan Battaleme, Academic Director,

Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

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

Zha Xiaogang, Deputy Director of Research Management and Coordinator for the Center for West Asia and Africa Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Moderator:

Thierry de Montbrial, *Founder and Executive Chairman,
French Institute of International Relations (France)*

3:15 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Coffee Break*

3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m. *Session Four*
Global Governance Working Paper Discussion

Panelists:

Jude Alawa, *Department of Public Health and Primary Care,
University of Cambridge (United Kingdom)*

Thomas J. Bollyky, *Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics, and Development
and Director of the Global Health Program,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Swee Kheng Khor, *Senior Fellow, Health Systems and Policy,
University of Malaya (Malaysia)*

Moderator:

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)*

4:40 p.m. Shuttle bus departs for Hôtel de Brienne
Meeting point: Ifri lobby

Hôtel de Brienne
14 Rue Saint-Dominique
75007 Paris

5:00 p.m.–6:45 p.m. *Tour of the Nuclear Command Post of the French Ministry of Armed Forces*
The French Nuclear Deterrence Strategy

Speaker:

Martin Briens, *Chief of Staff to the French Minister of Armed Forces (France)*

6:45 p.m. Depart to Cercle de l'Union Interalliée. Participants will have the option to take a short walking tour (25 minute, 1.7 km) across the Seine River and through the Champs-Élysées Garden or group taxi to dinner.

7:15 p.m.–10:00 p.m. *Reception, Dinner, and Discussion*
A Conversation With Rémy Rioux

Cercle de l'Union Interalliée
33 Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré
75008 Paris

Speaker:

Rémy Rioux, *Chief Executive Officer, French Development Agency (France)*

Moderator:

Thierry de Montbrial, *Founder and Executive Chairman,
French Institute of International Relations (France)*

Tuesday, November 19, 2019

Ifri office
27 Rue de la Procession
75015 Paris

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Five*

European Strategic Autonomy and Transatlantic Relations

Guiding Questions: What would European strategic autonomy look like, and is there a common understanding of the concept throughout Europe? How lofty should the level of ambition be in terms of political, operational, and military autonomy? How are the European Union and EU member states' efforts to strengthen European military capabilities perceived? What would a more strategically autonomous Europe mean for the Atlantic Alliance and its other international alliances? What are the implications of Brexit for European aspirations for a more independent role in global security affairs?

Panelists:

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

Corentin Brustlein, Director of the Security Studies Center,
French Institute of International Relations (France)

James M. Lindsay, Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and
Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Moderator:

Günther Maihold, Deputy Director and Member of the Executive Board,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Six*

Overcoming the Challenge of Meeting the Paris Agreement Goals

Guiding Questions: How can enough political will be generated to meet the Paris goals? How can financing—public, private, domestic, and international—be made consistent with the transition to a net-zero greenhouse-gas emissions world? What policies and strategies can address the inertia in global energy systems and industries? What policies can ensure that countries enhance their nationally determined contributions as early as 2020? What should be the role of nonstate actors, including private corporations and subnational entities, in the fight against climate change? How can the world successfully address climate change without U.S. involvement?

Panelists:

Alex Benkenstein, Head of the Governance of Africa's Resources Programme,
South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)

Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega, Director of the Centre for Energy and Climate,
French Institute of International Relations (France)

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

Moderator:

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

12:15 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Informal Lunch*

Public Events

2:00 p.m.–2:45 p.m. **The Changing Political Agenda and Role of Think Tanks in the Next Decade**

Speakers:

Thierry de Montbrial, *Founder and Executive Chairman, French Institute of International Relations (France)*

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

Moderator:

Sophie Pedder, *Paris Bureau Chief, Economist (United Kingdom)*

2:45 p.m.–4:00 p.m. **Ten Years Ahead: Insights Into the Agendas of International Think Tanks**

Panelists:

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

Rohinton P. Medhora, *President,*

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Samir Saran, *President, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, *President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)*

Moderator:

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

4:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception*

Participant Biographies

Jude Alawa

Jude Alawa is a graduate student studying public health at the University of Cambridge as a Rotary Scholar and a Fox Fellow. His most recent work has focused on providing water purification devices to Syrian refugee camps and addressing interventions to improve chronic disease care among refugees in Lebanon and Turkey. Previously, he worked for the National Health Service in London evaluating and implementing new models of community health care, for the Council on Foreign Relations researching domestic and global health policy, and for Pharos Global Health devising appropriate interventions to address international health disparities. Alawa earned a degree in global affairs and molecular, cellular, and developmental biology with a concentration in global health from Yale University.

Juan Battaleme

Juan Battaleme is academic secretary of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He is also the director of the faculty of national defense's master's degree program at Argentina's National Defense University and a professor in several undergraduate and graduate universities in Argentina, including the Argentine University of Business, the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina (CEMA) University, and the University of Buenos Aires. He specializes in national security, with a focus on Argentine foreign policy, national defense, and cybersecurity. Throughout his career, he has worked as an advisor and analyst on foreign and digital policy. He was previously in charge of the academic direction of the Argentine University of Business. He is a consulting member of several institutions in the international relations field, including the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences' International Policy Institute, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and CARI. He was a Fulbright Scholar, National Defense University fellow, and a Chevening Scholar. He has a degree in political science from the University of Buenos Aires, a master's degree in international relations from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, and a master's degree in state sciences from the CEMA University.

Alex Benkenstein

Alex Benkenstein is head of the Governance of Africa's Resources programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). His work at SAIIA focuses on a number of resource governance-related issues, particularly in the fields of the blue economy, climate change, and extractive-industry governance. Through his work with SAIIA, Benkenstein works with a number of partners in the public and private sectors, including the Benguela Current Commission, the Southern African Development Community Secretariat, the Western Indian Ocean Marine Science Association, and the World Gold Council. He holds a master's degree in international studies from the University of Stellenbosch and a master's degree in program evaluation from the University of Cape Town.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is head of European Union (EU) foreign policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies and professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the EU. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defence* and *Regroup and Reform: Towards a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the European neighborhood policy in context of the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy. He is an editor of fifteen academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

Thomas J. Bollyky

Thomas J. Bollyky is director of the Global Health program and senior fellow for global health, economics, and development at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is also an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University. Bollyky directed the first CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force devoted to global health, *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income*

Countries. Prior to joining CFR, Bollyky was a fellow at the Center for Global Development and director of intellectual property and pharmaceutical policy at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Senate, and his work has appeared in publications including the *Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *New York Times*. He has served as a consultant to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as a temporary legal advisor to the World Health Organization. In 2013, the World Economic Forum named Bollyky as one of its global leaders under forty. He is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways*. Bollyky received a BA in biology and history from Columbia University and a JD from Stanford Law School.

Corentin Brustlein

Corentin Brustlein is director of the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri) Security Studies Center. His work focuses on nuclear and conventional deterrence, arms control, military balance, and U.S. and French defense policies. He was previously a research fellow at Ifri and a lecturer at the University of Lyon. He has been the lead editor of Ifri's Proliferation Papers since 2014 and serves on the UN secretary-general's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. His most recent publications include *The Erosion of Strategic Stability and the Future of Arms Control in Europe* and *Entry Operations and the Future of Strategic Autonomy*. He holds a PhD in political science from the Jean Moulin University of Lyon.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is executive chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979, and professor emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. A member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, he is also a member of several other foreign academies. De Montbrial served as the first chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research from 1993 to 2001 and chaired the department of economics at the Ecole Polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. Earlier, he created the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as its first director from 1973 to 1979. De Montbrial is the author of more than twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System* and *Living in Troubled Times*. He is a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, a grand officer of the National Order of Merit, and a recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun—Gold and Silver Star in Japan in 2009—among other state honors. A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, de Montbrial holds a PhD in mathematical economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is dean and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. His research interests include security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. He is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia-Pacific*, coauthored with Sarah Teo. Emmers has written articles for peer-reviewed journals including *Asian Survey*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, and the *Pacific Review*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes. He completed his MSc and PhD in the international relations department of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega

Marc-Antoine Eyl-Mazzega joined the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri) Centre for Energy as a director in September 2017. Prior to Ifri, he spent six years at the International Energy Agency, notably as the Russia and sub-Saharan Africa program manager, where he conducted oil and gas market analyses and was responsible for institutional relations for the region. He was previously in charge of the

Ukraine observatory at the Robert Schuman Foundation. He holds a PhD in international relations from Sciences Po.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is executive director of the Lowy Institute, where he served as director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. Previously, he was 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. He has written several books and writes widely on Australian and U.S. foreign policy for, among others, the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and the Australian press. In 2019, he was appointed a member of the Order of Australia for significant service to international relations. He graduated in arts and law from the University of Sydney and from the University of New South Wales. Fullilove studied as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, where he received a master's degree and a doctorate in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and the director and founder of Ifri's Russia/NIS Center. Before joining Ifri, Gomart was an assistant professor at the Sorbonne and a cadet officer. He has focused on the former Soviet Union as well as wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. He was previously a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. Gomart's recent publications include *Notre Intérêt National*, edited with Thierry de Montbrial; "Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?" edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; and *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitiques*. A member of the Strategic Review Committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017, he is also a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique Etrangère*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros has been 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 also received a Fulbright Scholarship for 2019 and 2020 at the University of California, Berkeley. He has held positions at the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission, and served as advisor to several governments, including the United States, France, 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, public finance, banking, and financial markets. Gros holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is in his seventeenth 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 has served as the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush and as the U.S. State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell. He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the 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 master's and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University.

Marc Hecker

Marc Hecker is director of publications and editor in chief of *Politique étrangère* at the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri). He is also a research fellow at Ifri's Security Studies Center. He has written and coauthored several books, including *Intifada française? De l'importation du conflit israélo-palestinien* 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.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is vice chairman of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the founding president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu also serves as the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Science Park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has 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.

Tatiana Katouéva-Jean

Tatiana Katouéva-Jean is head of the Russia/NIS Center at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Kastueva-Jean holds a degree from the State University of Ekaterinburg, a dual master's degree in international relations from Sciences Po and the Moscow State University of International Relations, and a master's degree in international relations from the University of Marne-la-Vallée.

Swee Kheng Khor

Swee Kheng Khor is an interdisciplinary health systems and policies practitioner from Malaysia. Previously, he worked in clinical practice, refugee and disaster relief, clinical research, and pharmaceutical anti-corruption. His sixteen-year career has spanned the public, private, nonprofit, and academic sectors, with work covering more than ninety countries across three continents. Initially trained as a doctor at the National University of Malaysia, he earned a Membership of the Royal Colleges of Physicians of the United Kingdom and an MPH from the University of California, Berkeley.

Anne Koch

Anne Koch is a researcher and policy analyst at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), where she works in the field of migration and refugee policy. Prior to joining SWP, she held research and lecture positions at the European University Viadrina, Hertie School of Governance, and University College London; was a visiting researcher at the University of Oxford's Refugee Studies Centre; and worked for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' Peacebuilding, Livelihoods, and Partnerships section. Her areas of expertise include global migration governance, European migration and refugee policy, and development cooperation. Koch's work has been published in *Forced Migration Review*, *Human Rights Law Review*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. She holds an MA in human rights from University College London and a PhD in political science from the Hertie School of Governance.

Anat N. Kurz

Anat N. Kurz is director of research, senior research fellow, and editor of *Insight* at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). She is also a member of the editorial board of INSS' quarterly publication, *Strategic Assessment*. Her current research focuses on Israeli-Palestinian relations, the Middle East political process, and intra-Palestinian politics. Kurz has lectured and published extensively on the institutionalization processes of organized popular struggles and their oscillation between political and violent courses of action, the Palestinian national movement, Israeli-Palestinian relations, and policy dilemmas of dealing with substate conflicts and insurgencies. She is the author of *Fatah and the Politics of Violence: The Institutionalization of a Popular Struggle* and *The Palestinian Uprisings: War with Israel, War at Home*; editor and contributing author of *Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism; Islamic Terrorism and Israel: Hizballah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas*; and *Hamas: Radical Islam in a National Struggle*. She holds an MA in social psychology and a PhD in political science from Tel Aviv University.

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio is a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and has served as ambassador of the Argentine Republic to the Russian Federation, and concurrently to Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, since 2016. He is also a professor of international relations and foreign policy at the University of Buenos Aires and the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina. He previously served as director of planning and strategic analysis at the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreign policy advisor to the governor of Buenos Aires, foreign policy advisor to the vice president of Argentina, deputy chief of mission at the Argentine Embassy in the United States, and chief of staff to the undersecretary of defense and minister of defense, and was posted at the permanent mission of Argentina to the United Nations. He earned a BS in politics and is a PhD candidate at the City University of New York.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been president of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. Previously, he served as FGV vice president from 1997 to 2000, general director of its Graduate School of Economics (EPGE) from 1994 to 1997, and director of FGV Business from 1992 to 1994, having begun his work at the foundation as a professor in the EPGE. A member of the National Academy of Engineering, he was awarded Brazil's Grand Cross of the National Order of Scientific Merit, as well as several military awards. Simonsen Leal 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 director of the Asian power and diplomacy program at the Lowy Institute. His work analyzes and quantifies shifts in the geoeconomics, military balance, and diplomatic networks of Asia. Among other projects, Lemahieu leads the research for the annual Asia Power Index, a data-driven assessment he developed to map the changing distribution of power in the region, launched by the institute in 2018. He also co-chairs the annual track 1.5 Australia-France Strategic Dialogue. Lemahieu joined Lowy from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, where he was research associate for political economy and security, specializing in Southeast Asia. In an earlier role at Oxford Analytica, he consulted on early warning and geopolitical risk for governments and international organizations. His commentary and analysis have appeared in media outlets and publications including BBC, Bloomberg, CNN, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Straits Times*, *South China Morning Post*, and *Nikkei Asian Review*. Lemahieu has an MSc in global governance and diplomacy from the University of Oxford and an MA in international relations and modern history from the University of St Andrews.

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 seventy fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. He has been a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Iowa and the University of Texas, and served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council in 1996 and 1997. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge*, hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*, and cohosts the weekly podcast *The World Next Week*. His most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Fyodor Lukyanov is chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, the oldest Russian nongovernmental organization providing expertise in the field of security and foreign affairs. He is editor in chief of *Russia in Global Affairs*, a journal published in Russian and English with the participation of *Foreign Affairs* since 2002. Lukyanov is also research director of the Valdai Discussion Club and member of the presidium of the Russian International Affairs Council. Additionally, he is a research professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Günther Maihold

Günther Maihold has been deputy director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) since 2004, and is an honorary professor in political science at the Free University of Berlin. Previously, Maihold was a lecturer at Gerhard-Mercator University GH Duisburg and the Free University of Berlin's Institute for Latin American Studies. From 2011 to 2015, he assumed the German Academic Exchange Service's Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt chair at Mexico's National University and El Colegio de México. He spent eight years abroad working as a project manager in social policy consulting in Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama, and at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Department for Latin America and the Caribbean. In 1999, he was appointed director of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation's Ibero-American Institute in Berlin. Before that, Maihold was a research fellow at the University of Regensburg's Institute for Scientific Policy and Public Law. He studied sociology and political science and received his PhD from the University of Regensburg.

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Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), which he joined in 2012. A member of the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz, Medhora serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research, and

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Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs and a professor at Luiss University's School of Government. Appointed as Italy's member of the European Commission in 2014, he served as a diplomat from 1972 to 2013, as permanent representative of Italy to the European Union, chief of staff to the Italian minister of foreign affairs, and director general for European integration at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served at the United Nations and in Algeria, China, and France, and was also advisor to the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers. Nelli Feroci was previously a fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and a visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs. He holds a doctorate in international law from the University of Pisa and a postdoctoral specialization in international relations from the Italian Society for International Organizations (SIOI) in Rome.

Françoise Nicolas

Françoise Nicolas is a senior researcher and director of the Center for Asian Studies at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). She teaches at Sciences Po's Europe-Asia program and Sciences Po's Institute of Political Studies of Lyon. She is also a consultant to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Directorate for Financial and Enterprise Affairs, where she focuses on Southeast Asian nonmember economies. Her research focuses on development strategies and regional economic integration in East Asia, foreign direct investment and growth, and emerging economies and globalization. She was previously a visiting fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore and at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy in Seoul, South Korea. Her latest publications include "Catching Up or Staying Ahead: Japanese Investment in the Mekong Region and the China Factor" and *The European Union in Crisis: What Challenges Lie Ahead and Why It Matters for Korea*, coauthored with Kim Heungchong. She holds an MA in political science and a PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and has studied at the University of Sussex.

Alex Oliver

Alex Oliver is director of research at the Lowy Institute. Previously, she directed the institute's program on diplomacy and public opinion, including the annual Lowy Institute Poll. Oliver's research interests include diplomacy, diplomatic infrastructure, and public opinion on foreign policy. She has authored or coauthored several major studies on Australia's diplomacy for the Lowy Institute, written for Australian and international press, including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, and given evidence at parliamentary inquiries. Oliver holds a bachelor of law degree from the University of New South Wales; a bachelor of science degree from the University of Adelaide; and an associate in music, Australia in pianoforte from the Australian Music Examinations Board.

Céline Pajon

Céline Pajon is head of Japan research for the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri) Center for Asian Studies, where she has been a research fellow since 2008. She analyzes Japan's foreign and defense policy and the geostrategic dynamics of the Indo-Pacific. Pajon is also an international research fellow at the Canon Institute for Global Studies in Tokyo. In 2016, she was a visiting fellow with the Japan Institute for International Affairs. Her most recent publication is "France and Japan: The Indo-Pacific as a Springboard for a Strategic Partnership."

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Michel Pesqueur

Michel Pesqueur is a research fellow in the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri) Defence Research Laboratory. He is an active officer in the French Army, was previously chief of branch at the Joint Support Coordination Centre, and has been deployed several times to Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, and the Ivory Coast. Detached by the Ministry of Armies to Ifri, he brings operational experience to studies of contemporary military commitments and the adaptation of the French defence. He graduated from the Saint-Cyr Military Academy and holds a PhD in history from the University of Metz.

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Nicoletta Pirozzi is head of the European Union (EU), politics, and institutions program and institutional relations manager at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). Pirozzi focuses on governance, policy, and institutional developments in the EU's common security and defence policy and common foreign and security policy; civilian crisis management; and EU relations with the United Nations and the African Union. She is an adjunct professor at Roma Tre University's Department of Political Science and an associate analyst at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). In 2012, she served as a seconded national expert at the European External Action Service. Previously, she was a research fellow in the European foreign and security policy studies program and visiting fellow at EUISS. From 2005 to 2006, she was the project officer for the responding to conflict program at the International Security Information Service Europe. She also collaborated with the Italian permanent representation to the EU and the European Parliament in Brussels. She received a degree in political science at the University of Pisa and at the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, an MSc in European political and administrative studies from the College of Europe, and a PhD in institutions and politics from the Catholic University in Milan.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. He is president of his consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate

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Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is the founder and chairman of the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, with a well-established worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe. He is an expert on Gulf politics and strategic issues. He previously chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh. In addition to writing and editing numerous publications, Sager frequently contributes as a commentator on major international media channels such as Al Arabiya, BBC, and France 24. Sager holds a BA from the faculty of economics and administration of King Abdulaziz University, an MA in international relations from the University of Kent, and a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University.

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Samir Saran is president of Observer Research Foundation, one of Asia's most influential think tanks. He curates the *Raisina Dialogue*, India's flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on technology, security, and society, is a commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, and is a member of the World Economic Forum's South Asia advisory board and the Global Future Council on Cybersecurity. He is also director of the Sardar Patel University of Police, Security, and Criminal Justice's Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, and writes frequently on India's foreign policy and issues of global governance, climate change, energy policy, global development architecture, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, and internet governance. The author of four books and numerous academic papers, Saran is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. He holds a BTech in electrical and electronics engineering from Manipal Institute of Technology, an MSc in media studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD from Anglia Ruskin University's Global Sustainability Institute.

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Patrycja Sasnal is head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, where she is also a senior fellow for the Middle East. She is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations' council, the European working group on Egypt, and the Polish Ombudsman office's expert commission on migration. She was previously an associate researcher at the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, and a Fulbright Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. She specializes in Middle Eastern studies, migration, and political philosophy. Her latest book is *Arendt, Fanon and Political Violence in Islam*. Sasnal holds a PhD in political science.

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Philips Jusario Vermonte is executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia, where he is also principal investigator of CSIS public opinion surveys. Vermonte's research interests include comparative politics, voting behavior, electoral politics, and political parties in Indonesia. His recent publications include "The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament;" "What Happened in the Early Years of Democracy: Indonesia's Experience," coauthored with Rizal Shiddiq in the *Middle East Development Journal*; and "Indonesia's 2014 Elections: Practical Innovations and Optimistic Outcome," in the *Journal of Asian Politics and Policy*. He earned his PhD in political science at Northern Illinois University on a Fulbright Scholarship.

Igor Yurgens

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

Zha Xiaogang

Zha Xiaogang is coordinator of the West Asia and Africa Center and deputy director of research management at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). From 2016 to 2018, he served as a policy analyst in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, mainly responsible for the analytic efforts on great power relations, global political economics, and China-Africa practical cooperation. He has been working with SIIS since 2006, contributing to numerous policy projects on U.S.-China relations, U.S.-China strategic economic dialogue, reform of international financial institutions, and the Group of Twenty. Zha received his PhD in international political economy from Fudan University.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Martin Briens

Martin Briens has been chief of staff to the French Minister of Armed Forces since May 2017. His previous positions include director of strategy at the General Directorate for External Security, deputy chief of staff to the French minister of foreign affairs, deputy permanent representative of France to the United Nations, director of the nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament division at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, deputy director of the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, second counselor for political-military affairs at the French Embassy in Washington, DC, first secretary at the French Embassy in Beijing, and desk officer for the nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament division at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He graduated from Sciences Po and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration.

Camille Grand

Camille Grand is assistant secretary general for defense investment at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since 2016. He was previously director of the Fondation pour la recherche stratégique, the leading French think tank on defense and security from 2008 to 2016. In this capacity, he has also contributed to several senior expert panels for NATO, the European Union, United Nations, and the French government. He has also held senior positions in the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense. He previously taught at the Sciences Po Paris School of International Affairs, the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, and the French Army Academy. He has published several books and monographies as well as numerous articles in European and American journals on contemporary strategic issues, focused on European Security and nuclear policy.

Sophie Pedder

Sophie Pedder has been the Paris bureau chief of *The Economist* since 2003, writing about French politics and economics. She joined *The Economist* in 1990 and has covered British home affairs, European politics, the global media industry, and the end of apartheid in South Africa when Johannesburg correspondent in the mid-1990s. As well as writing for *The Economist*, she has had articles published in *Prospect*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Le Monde*, *Paris-Match*, and *Le Figaro*, among others, and won the David Watt journalism prize in 2006. She appears regularly to comment on French politics on CNN, the BBC and other media. She is the author of "Revolution Française: Emmanuel Macron and the quest to reinvent a nation" and "Le déni français: les derniers enfants gâtés de l'Europe." She graduated from Oxford University and the University of Chicago.

Rémy Rioux

Rémy Rioux is chief executive officer of the French Development Agency, a senior advisor at the European Court of Auditors, and chairman of the International Development Finance Club, a leading group of twenty-four national and regional development banks from all over the world. He has held several high-level positions in a career devoted to international financial institutions, development, climate, and the African continent. In 2014, he was appointed deputy general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, where he was in charge of economic diplomacy policy and coordinated the finance agenda for the French presidency of the twenty-first Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, through the final negotiation of the Paris Agreement. From 2012 to 2014, he was director of the office of the minister of the economy, finance, and foreign trade under Pierre Moscovici. While there, he contributed to restoring the competitiveness of the French economy and consolidating public accounts.

Observer Biographies

Lea Metke

Lea Metke is project officer to the director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), where she focuses on Ifri's public and private partnerships and think tank network. She is responsible for Ifri's partnership with the Policy Center for the New South. The partnership's research covers many regional and cross-sectional themes and is based on two pillars: the organization of conferences and the publication of policy-oriented papers. She joined Ifri in 2014 as a project manager for the Study Committee on French-German Relations. From 2015 to 2017, Metke taught "Franco-German Relations: Between Reconciliation, Partnership and Crisis" at Sciences Po. Metke earned a bachelor's degree in European studies and applied foreign languages and a master's degree in European Studies from Sorbonne University.

Terrence Mullan

Terrence Mullan is assistant director of 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 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 a legislative aide and Senator Paul G. Kirk Jr. as a legislative correspondent. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frederic Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. Mullan earned a BBA in international business and economics from George Washington University and an MA in international commerce and policy from George Mason University.