

COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
RELATIONS**

CARI /
CONSEJO ARGENTINO PARA LAS
RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS
TENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE
“LATIN AMERICA, THE WORLD TODAY, AND THE FUTURE OF
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE”

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



NOVEMBER 5–7, 2017

BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA

Hosted by

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

&

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-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 in members' countries.

About the Argentine Council for International Relations

The Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) is a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit think tank with a long-standing track record as a reference institution in the field of international relations in Argentina. CARI generates concise analysis and up-to-date papers that assess the political, economic, and cultural and social dimensions of international relations, and how they might affect Argentina. The institution provides a forum for dialogue and pluralistic debate on global issues between domestic and international influential figures from the public and private sectors. CARI's institutes, committees, and working groups carry out their activities covering various topics and regions, and consist ad-honorem experts.

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.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

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Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

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Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

EGYPT

Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

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Genron NPO

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Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

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Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

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S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

SOUTH AFRICA

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

TURKEY

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 Tenth Regional Conference

Agenda

Sunday, November 5, 2017

Madero Tango
2150 Alicia Moreau de Justo Avenue
C1107AFP CABA

7:20 p.m. Shuttle Bus Departs for Madero Tango
Meeting Point: Alvear Art Hotel Lobby

8:00 p.m.–10:15 p.m. *Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion*
A Conversation With Pedro Villagra Delgado

Welcoming and Opening Remarks:

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini, *President, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

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

Speaker:

Pedro Villagra Delgado, *Argentina's G20 Sherpa*

Moderator:

Francisco de Santibañez, *Executive Committee Member, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

10:15 p.m.–Midnight *Tango Show*

Monday, November 6, 2017

Alvear Art Hotel
Suipacha 1036
1008AAV CABA
First Floor – Matiz Salon

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

9:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Welcome and Opening Remarks*

Speaker:

Marcos Peña, *Chief of Cabinet, Argentine Government*

9:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session One*

The Future of the Bretton Woods Institutions: Governance Challenges and Opportunities

Guiding Questions: What reforms to the Bretton Woods international financial institutions are needed or have not been adequately implemented, and how can they be advanced? How can emerging and developing economies, including the BRICS and new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, be more fully integrated into the global financial architecture? Are current multilateral mechanisms for macroeconomic policy coordination, including within the G20 and among central bank governors, adequate? Does the international monetary system require new rules to prevent currency manipulation and other efforts by states to impose unfair burdens on foreign partners? If so, what multilateral innovations are desirable and realistic?

Panelists:

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

Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Bessma Momani, *Senior Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Moderator:

Hans-Peter Keitel, *Former President of the Council, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

11:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:15 a.m.–12:45 p.m. *Session Two*

What Can Be Done to Reverse the Fade of Liberal Democracy?

Guiding Questions: Why are liberal democratic principles fading? How will the recent rise of authoritarianism and emerging threats to democracy affect global cooperation? How can regional or international organizations such as the Organization of American States help strengthen and rebuild trust in democratic institutions? What are the main democratic governance challenges brought about by political polarization, and how can they be overcome? Is social and mass media's tendency to increase political polarization a threat to democracy? If so, what can be done to mitigate social media's harmful effects?

Panelists:

Śławomir Dębski, *Director, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

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

Fernando Petrella, *Executive Committee Member, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

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

Moderator:

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

12:45 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Working Lunch*

Common Challenges Think Tanks Face

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)*

2:15 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Coffee Break*

2:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. *Session Three*

Combating Transnational Organized Crime and Corruption

Guiding Questions: What policies should be prioritized to strengthen the global regime against transnational organized crime? How can regional and international institutions increase the capabilities of and collaborative efforts with national governments,

particularly in Latin America, to address the root causes of crime and adopt comprehensive crime prevention strategies? What are lessons learned from previous initiatives combating transnational organized crime and corruption from the Western Hemisphere that might be applicable to other regions—or vice-versa?

Panelists:

Jessica De Alba Ulloa, *Member, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

Mark Fitzpatrick, *Executive Director, IISS-Americas, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)*

Ross Harvey, *Senior Researcher, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

Moderator:

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

4:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m. *Coffee Break*

4:30 p.m.–5:45 p.m. *Public Session*

How Can the World Adapt to Rapid Technological Innovation, and What Role Should the Multilateral System Play?

Guiding Questions: How can the social and economic risks of rapid technological advancement be mitigated without negating the benefit of innovations? How can the multilateral system better harmonize national responses to technological disruption? Are inequality reduction and technological innovation compatible in developing countries? What long-term planning or policy reforms should start to occur now—on a national or global stage—to prevent the social disorder and illiberal policy tendencies that can be caused by the harmful effects of automation on employment levels and wages in the future?

Panelists:

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

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

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini, *President, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

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

Moderator:

Romina Gayá, *Director of the Knowledge Economy Observatory at the Undersecretariat for Technological and Productive Services, Ministry of Production, Argentina*

5:45 p.m.–7:00 p.m. *Free Time*

7:00 p.m.

Depart to Circolo Italiano di Buenos Aires. CARI will lead participants on a short (11-block) walking tour to dinner.
Meeting Point: Alvear Art Hotel Lobby

7:30 p.m.–10:30 p.m. *Reception, Dinner, and Discussion* **Circolo Italiano di Buenos Aires**
A Conversation With Gustavo Rodolfo Zlauvinen Libertad 1264
C1012AAZ CABA

Speaker:

Gustavo Rodolfo Zlauvinen, *Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Argentina*

Moderator:

María Celeste Koch, *Director, National Foreign Service Institute, Argentina*

Tuesday, November 7, 2017

Alvear Art Hotel

Suipacha 1036

1008AAV CABA

First Floor – Matiz Salon

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

9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session Four*

**Global Governance Working Papers Discussion: Cyber Governance,
Nuclear Proliferation, and Trade**

Panelists:

Riccardo Alcaro, *Coordinator of Research and Head of the Global Actors Program,
Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

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

Félix Peña, *Vice Chairman, Argentine Council for International Relations
(Argentina)*

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)*

11:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Coffee Break*

11:15 a.m.–12:45 p.m. *Session Five*

Global and Regional Crisis Response: The Case of Venezuela

Guiding Questions: How can regional and international actors—including the United Nations, Organization of American States, the Union of South American Nations, as well as individual countries and groups of countries—help facilitate a diplomatic resolution to the political and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela? What other actions consistent with international law are needed to bring about a peaceful, democratic, and comprehensive resolution to the crisis in Venezuela? What norms should be developed and what steps should external actors take to prevent or manage national crises to protect basic human rights or the collapse of democratic institutions in the region and beyond?

Panelists:

Sergio Abreu, *President, Uruguayan Council for International Relations (Uruguay)*

Haibin Niu, *Senior Fellow, Deputy Director of the Center for American Studies, and
Assistant Director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies, Shanghai
Institutes for International Studies (China)*

Shannon O’Neil, *Nelson and David Rockefeller Senior Fellow for Latin America Studies and Director of the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Program, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Moderator:

Claudia Zilla, *Head of the Americas Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

12:45 p.m.–1:15 p.m. *Closing Remarks and Wrap Up*

Speakers:

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini, *President, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

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

1:15 p.m.–2:45 p.m. *Lunch and Departure of Participants*

Participant Biographies

Sergio Abreu

Sergio Abreu is president of the Uruguayan Council for International Relations. He was previously a senator; minister of industry, energy, and mining; minister of foreign affairs, in which position he chaired the Uruguay Round; and administrative and finance director of the Latin American Integration Association. Abreu is a member of the Inter-American Bar Association, the Argentine Council for International Relations, and the National Academy of Economics. He is a professor in the master of international relations program at the University of Montevideo and the University of the Republic of Uruguay (UDELAR), and the author of several publications. Abreu has a master's degree in public administration from the University of Southern California and a doctorate in law and social sciences from UDELAR. He also studied at the Southwestern Legal Foundation, University of Texas at Dallas, the Center for International and Comparative Law, and The Hague Academy of International Law.

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is coordinator of research and head of the Global Actors program at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) in Rome. He is also a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program. Alcaro previously coordinated Transworld, a multi-year EU-funded project on transatlantic relations and global governance. He was a visiting fellow at the Center for the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution and has contributed to the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly publication on the EU, the *European Policy Analyst*. Alcaro holds a PhD from the University of Tuebingen.

Jessica De Alba Ulloa

Jessica De Alba Ulloa is a member of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. She is also a research professor at the Universidad Anahuac Mexico's School of Global Studies, member of the National System of Researchers, O'Gorman fellow at Columbia University Institute of Latin American Studies, and a 2017 scholar in the Study of the U.S. Institutes on U.S. National Security Policymaking program. She was previously an advisor to the Mexican undersecretary of foreign affairs, advisor to the commissioner of the National Immigration Institute, and delegate of the Mexican mission to UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. She has taught at French and Mexican universities and is member of a Paris-Saclay research center. She has edited a book on international relations theory and on Mexican foreign policy, and authored nine book chapters and several journal articles. De Alba Ulloa is also a frequent media commentator on foreign affairs in Mexico and the United States. She holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from Universidad de las Americas and a master's degree in diplomacy and negotiation and a doctorate in political sciences from the University of Paris-Sud.

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*. He has been a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters since 2008. He was editor in chief of the Russian-language quarterly *Evropa* as well as the bimonthly *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.

Mark Fitzpatrick

Mark Fitzpatrick is executive director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Americas office and head of the IISS Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Policy program. He joined IISS after a twenty-six-year career in the U.S. Department of State, including 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 for the Polish ministry of sport and tourism. He has been special secretary of the International Associations of Sports Law since 2008. He is a former member of the Polish UNESCO Committee and the foundation board of the World Anti-Doping Agency. He was previously editor in chief of the *Polish Foreign Affairs Digest* and a member of the board of editors for the *Polish Diplomatic Review* and *Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*. He is author or coauthor of dozens of articles, and his main research interests include EU law, international sports law, and sports and international relations. He has an LLM from the University of Warsaw.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute, with which he has been associated since its establishment in 2003. He 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 Australian and U.S. foreign policy and global issues 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 has appeared on *Radio National Breakfast*, ABC's 7.30, and the *Charlie Rose Show*. Fullilove graduated in arts and law from the Universities of Sydney and New South Wales, with dual university medals. 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 its vice president for strategic development and the director of its Russia/NIS 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 "La France face aux trois grands (Etats-Unis, Chine et Russie)" in *Revue des deux mondes*. He recently coedited *Notre intérêt national: Quelle*

politique étrangère pour la France? for Odile Jacob, with Thierry de Montbrial, and “Foreign Policy Challenges for the Next French President” in *Etudes de l’Ifri*, with Marc Hecker. Gomart holds an EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and a PhD in history from the Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is in his fifteenth year as the 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 director of the State Department’s policy planning staff, where he was a principal advisor to 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.

Ross Harvey

Ross Harvey has worked for the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) since 2013. His work initially focused on labor relations in the mining sector in South Africa and has since expanded to extractive industry governance. He has led SAIIA’s work on the illegal wildlife trade, especially in elephant ivory and rhino horn. His academic research focuses on explaining institutional divergence in post-independence Nigeria and Angola, both states that are equally dependent on oil revenue. Harvey has also written on the fourth industrial revolution and the importance of adopting new technology both to diversify economies and address the constraints to development in developing countries. Harvey has an MPhil in public policy from the University of Cape Town, where he is currently pursuing a PhD in economics.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi is chairman of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). After serving in government for over twenty-five years, Joshi took voluntary retirement from the Indian Administrative Service, and has since 2009, overseen the transformation of ORF into India’s foremost think tank in a range of sectors, from foreign policy and internet governance to 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,” an ORF and Economic Policy Forum collaboration; “Reforming Energy Policy and Pricing,” as part of *Getting India Back on Track: An Action Agenda for Reform*; “The Search for Energy Security,” as part of *Crux of Asia: China, India, and the Emerging Global Order*; and “Beyond the Plateau in U.S.-India Relations,” a Heritage Foundation report. 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 region. He is currently co-chairing GRF’s international task force on the future of the Iran nuclear deal. 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.

Hans-Peter Keitel

Hans-Peter Keitel is an honorary professor at Berlin Technical University and member of the Academy for Technical Sciences. Keitel served as president of the Council of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) from 2007 to 2017. Previously, he worked at Lahmeyer International, Consulting Engineers, Frankfurt/Main, and Hochtief, where he was member of the executive board from 1990 to 1992, and chairman of the executive board from 1992 to 2007. From 1992 to 1999, Keitel was also a member of the executive board at Hochtief's parent company RWE Group. He is on the boards or supervisory boards of numerous companies such as Voith, KGaA, Airbus, ThyssenKrupp, and National-Bank, among others. From 2009 to 2012, he was president of the Federation of German Industries; thereafter, he served as its vice president until 2016. Keitel earned his degrees in civil engineering as well as industrial sciences and economics, and received his doctorate from the Technical University of Munich.

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik serves as the director for international studies 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.

Marlos Lima

Marlos Lima is executive director of the Latin American Center for Public Policy at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) in Brazil. He is also professor in postgraduate courses at FGV on economics, strategic planning, public policy, prospective scenarios, future studies, and decision-making under uncertainty. Lima has been involved in many projects in private and public initiatives abroad and in Brazil. He is also visiting professor at many universities in Latin America as well as founding member of the Latin American Group for Public Administration and the American Academy of Management. He is an economist at the Brazilian School of Economics, holds a master's degree in public administration from FGV, and a PhD from the University of Rennes, France.

Joseph Chinyong Liow

Joseph Chinyong Liow is dean and professor of comparative and international politics at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. He previously held the inaugural Lee Kuan Yew Chair in South-

east 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, coauthor, 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 United States 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.

José María Lladós

José María Lladós is the executive director of the Argentine Council for International Relations. Previously, he served as the Argentinian secretary of defense production and secretary of planning during the presidencies of Raul Ricardo Alfonsín and Fernando de la Rúa, respectively. He has also been advisor to the defense committee of the National Chamber of Deputies. Lladós was an assistant professor of constitutional law at University of Buenos Aires Law School and has served as legal advisor to the Argentine Chamber of Electronics Industries. He was also a consultant for the National Institute of Industrial Technology and the Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean. Additionally, Lladós was executive secretary of the Brazil-Argentina Business Council and a board member of the Banco Hipotecario and the Sociedad Mixta Siderurgia Argentina. He holds an MA in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and a JD from the University of Buenos Aires Law School.

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. He is also a research professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Bessma Momani

Bessma Momani is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance and Innovation (CIGI) and nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Doha Center. She is also professor of political science at the University of Waterloo and the Balsillie School of International Affairs. Momani has authored and coedited several books and over seventy scholarly, peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters that have examined the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, petrodollars, Middle East, and Arab youth. She has a BA in political science and government from the University of Toronto, an MA in international studies from University of Guelph, and a PhD in political science and government from the University of Western Ontario.

Haibin Niu

Haibin Niu is a senior fellow at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), where he is also deputy director of Center for American Studies and assistant director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies. He is also deputy secretary-general of the Chinese Association for Latin American Studies. His current research work focuses on international development cooperation, emerging powers, and Latin America. He was previously a visiting scholar at the BRICS Policy Center, Stellenbosch University, South African Institute of International Affairs, George Washington University, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the German Institute of Global and Area Studies. Niu received his PhD in international relations from Fudan University.

Shannon K. O'Neil

Shannon K. O'Neil is the Nelson and David Rockefeller senior fellow for Latin America studies and director of the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy program at the Council on Foreign Relations, where she focuses on Latin America, U.S.-Mexico relations, global trade, corruption, democracy, and immigration. O'Neil is the author of *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*, which analyzes the political, economic, and social transformations Mexico has undergone over the last three decades and why these changes matter for the United States. She is a frequent guest on national broadcast news and radio programs and her written commentary has appeared in *Americas Quarterly*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Affairs Latinoamerica*, *Foreign Policy*, *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post*, among others. O'Neil is a member of the board of directors of Rassini Sab de CV and serves on the advisory committee for the Inter-American Foundation. She was a Fulbright scholar; a Justice, Welfare, and Economics fellow at Harvard University; and has taught Latin American politics at Columbia University. O'Neil previously worked in the private sector as an equity analyst at Indosuez Capital and Credit Lyonnais Securities. She holds a BA from Yale University, an MA in international relations from Yale University, and a PhD in government from Harvard 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. 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 of the forthcoming *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.

Félix Peña

Félix Peña is vice chairman of the Argentine Council for International Relations. He is also director of the Institute of International Trade at the ICBC Foundation and of the master's program in international trade relations at the National University of Tres de Febrero. Peña is a specialist in international economic relations

and negotiations, economic integration, and foreign trade policy. He was previously undersecretary of foreign trade in the Argentine ministry of economy in charge of Mercosur affairs; undersecretary of economic integration in Argentina's foreign ministry, also in charge of Mercosur affairs, and undersecretary for international economic relations; deputy manager for integration at the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB); and director of the Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean, a unit of the integration and trade sector of IADB. He has also been consultant for several international organizations and is executive director of the Argentina-Europe Business Club. He has a law degree from the National University of the Littoral, doctorate in law from the University of Madrid, and master's degree in European law from the Catholic University of Leuven, where he also studied economics.

Fernando Petrella

Fernando Petrella is a member of the Argentine Council for Foreign Relations' executive committee and an international relations analyst for major Argentine media outlets. He is also a professor at the Argentine Diplomatic Academy and visiting professor at the University of Cordoba. Recently, he was appointed to the Argentine Chamber of Deputies' Observatory on the Malvinas/Falkland Islands. He joined the Argentine foreign service in 1965 and served as ambassador to the United Nations in 1997, deputy foreign minister from 1991 to 1996, and undersecretary for foreign relations from 1989 to 1991 and from 2001 to 2003. He has also been posted at the Organization of American States (1985–1989), Food and Agriculture Organization from (1981–1982), and the United Nations (1970–1978). Petrella has a law degree from the University of Buenos Aires and a master's degree in international public policies from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini is president of the Argentine Council for International Relations, is a member of the advisory council and grand jury at Konex Foundation, and runs the foreign affairs chapter of the Political Action Network Foundation. Rodríguez Giavarini also chairs the executive board of his consulting group specializing in national, regional, and international political economy, is vice president of the National Academy of Education in Argentina, and is a member of the board of directors at the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He was previously the Argentine minister of foreign affairs and international trade and a member of the Congress. He also served, at the beginning of the current democratic period, as undersecretary of the treasury and secretary of defense. Rodríguez Giavarini has participated as a main speaker in several seminars and conferences in Argentina and abroad. He has published numerous essays and articles in national and international newspapers and magazines. He is a professor honoris causa at Soka University, Japan, and has been decorated by sixteen countries. Rodríguez Giavarini received his degree in economics from the University of Buenos Aires, where he later returned as professor of macroeconomics.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is vice 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 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 Security. 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 on India's 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.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher heads the Center for Applied Negotiations at the Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies. He is a former Israeli chief and co-chief peace negotiator at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks, and served as former Prime Minister Ehud Barak's chief of staff and policy coordinator. Formerly, under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Sher was a delegate to the 1994–1995 Interim Agreement negotiations with the Palestinians. He co-chairs the nonpartisan organization Blue White Future and chairs Sapir Academic College, Israel's largest public college. In 2016, Sher served as a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School. He previously lectured for ten years as a guest scholar at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School and authored *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001: Within Reach* and coedited *Negotiating in Times of Conflict* and *Spoilers and Coping with Spoilers in Israeli Peacemaking*. His book *The Battle for Home* was published in 2016. He was nominated by Expert Guides as one of the leading Israeli arbitrators.

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 *El Pais* and *Americas Quarterly*. His research focuses on the foreign policy of Brazil, India, and China, 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.

Guillermo Valles Galmés

Guillermo Valles Galmés is a founding member of the Uruguayan Council for International Relations and an arbitrator in the dispute settlement mechanism at the World Trade Organization. He is a career diplomat from Uruguay with over forty years of experience. He has served in different posts in Japan and Argentina. He was Uruguayan ambassador to the European Union, Belgium, Luxembourg, United Nations, WTO. He was the first Uruguayan ambassador to China. He was deputy foreign minister and served as

acting foreign minister for extended periods between 2000 and 2004. He was the lead negotiator for several regional trade agreements, including Mercosur. For six consecutive years, he was elected as chair of the Negotiation Group on Rules at the WTO. Between 2011 and 2017, he served as director of the International Trade in Goods, Services, and Commodities Division at the UN Conference on Trade and Development. Valles Galmés earned his doctorate in diplomacy from the Universidad de la República's School of Law in Uruguay; has received decorations from Brazil, Chile, Italy, and Paraguay; and has been awarded by the Russian Federation and the World Wildlife Fund.

Claudia Zilla

Claudia Zilla is head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. Since 2005, she has been the researcher responsible for Latin America at SWP. Between 2014 and 2015, she was a Fritz Thyssen fellow at Harvard University's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. She previously worked at the University of Heidelberg in Germany and Chile, and was also lecturer at the Free University of Berlin. Her research focuses on Latin American politics and relations between Latin America, Europe, and Germany. She studied political science, sociology, and psychology at the University of Heidelberg, where she also obtained her PhD degree.

Speaker Biographies

Francisco de Santibanes

Francisco de Santibanes 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. From 2007 to 2011, he was a director of Avex. De Santibanes has been published in numerous journals on international relations and Argentine foreign policy, including *Armed Forces and Society* and *Comparative Strategy*. His book *Argentina and the World: Steps for Successful Integration* was published in 2016. He holds a BA in business economics from Di Tella University, 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.

Romina Gayá

Romina Gayá is the director of the Knowledge Economy Observatory at the Undersecretariat for Technological and Productive Services in the Argentine Ministry of Production. She is also an independent consultant for international organizations, universities, research centers, governments, and the private sector. She was previously a consultant at the Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean, a unit of the integration and trade sector of the Inter-American Development Bank. Gayá has lectured in several seminars and conferences in Argentina and is also the author of different publications and research projects on trade and technology issues. She is currently a professor at the University of Buenos Aires, Salvador University, Argentine Pontifical Catholic University, and Quilmes National University. Gayá received her degree in economics from the Salvador University. She earned an MA in international economic affairs from Universitat de Barcelona and an MA in international relations and negotiations from San Andres University in Argentina.

Gustavo Rodolfo Zlauvinen

Gustavo Rodolfo Zlauvinen is Argentina's undersecretary of foreign affairs. As a career diplomat, he previously served at the Permanent Mission of the Argentine Republic to international organizations in Vienna and was the permanent representative of the International Atomic Energy Agency's director general to the United Nations. He was also director and executive secretary of the National Authority for the Convention against Chemical Weapons and director of international organizations at the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He earned a bachelor's degree in international relations from the University of Rosario, Argentina.

Pedro Villagra Delgado

Pedro Villagra Delgado is Argentina's sherpa for the Group of Twenty (G20). He has participated in and headed numerous Argentine delegations to international negotiations and conferences, as well as been an expert for the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna on nuclear matters, safeguards, and nonproliferation. He is also a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations' executive committee. From 2016 to 2017, Villagra Delgado served as chief of cabinet of the foreign minister and later deputy foreign minister. He served as nonresident ambassador of Argentina to Papua New Guinea from 2014 to 2016 and to the Fiji Islands from 2007 to 2016. He was also the Argentine ambassador to Australia from 2005 to 2016. Villagra Delgado was a professor of public international law from 1978 to 2005 and lecturer on international relations from 2004 to 2005 at the University of Buenos Aires. He has lectured at other universities in Argentina and abroad, as well as written on matters relating to international security, nonproliferation, disarmament, democracy, and human rights. Villagra Delgado graduated with honors from the National University of Tucuman's law school and received his master's degree in public international law from King's College.

Observer Biographies

Agustina Jabornisky

Agustina Jabornisky is an academic assistant at the Argentine Council for International Relations' Academic Secretariat. Jabornisky is also an assistant professor in political theory at Di Tella University. She has a bachelor's degree in international relations from the Torcuato Di Tella 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 (D-IL) as legislative aide and Senator Paul G. Kirk Jr. (D-MA) 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.

Noelia Oliveri

Noelia Oliveri is an academic affairs assistant at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). She previously worked for the Argentine liaison team of the Inter-American Foundation. She has a bachelor's degree in political science from Buenos Aires University.

Sandra Rachetti

Sandra Rachetti Butler works at the technical secretariat of the Uruguayan Council for International Relations. She has previously been the head of the administration department of the Latin American Integration Association and an expert at the Uruguayan Association of Experts in Questioned Documents. Rachetti earned a bachelor's degree in business management from the University of the Republic, Uruguay, and later completed several courses in Latin American universities.

Andres Schelp

Andres Schelp is an academic assistant at the Argentine Council for International Relations' academic secretariat. He has a bachelor's degree on political science from the University of Buenos Aires and is pursuing a master's degree in international politics and economics from San Andres University.