

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, May 7, 2017
6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 8, 2017
8:30 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 9, 2017
8:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.*

The 2017 Council of Councils Annual Conference

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

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

Participants are welcome to disclose ideas from CoC meetings, and may attribute that information to the CoC, but may not reveal the identity, country, or the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On- and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute for International Policy

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

CHINA

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

EGYPT

Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

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French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

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Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

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Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

JAPAN

Genron NPO

Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation (RJIF)

MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

RUSSIA

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

SAUDI ARABIA

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

SINGAPORE

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 Sixth Annual Conference

Agenda

Sunday, May 7, 2017

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Cocktail Reception, Opening Dinner, and Discussion*
President Trump's First One Hundred Days

Welcoming and Opening Remarks:

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

Speakers:

Mike Allen, *Cofounder and Executive Editor, Axios*

Amy Walter, *National Editor, The Cook Political Report*

Moderator:

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

Monday, May 8, 2017

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

How Can Governments Rebuild Domestic Support for Global Trade?

Guiding Questions: What can governments do to make international trade and international economic cooperation more domestically palatable while resisting protectionism? What tools do governments need to help their citizens adjust and succeed in the face of economic change and growing global economic competition? What common policies or rules can governments, international institutions, or forums promote and adopt to respond more effectively to populist disillusionment with globalization and free trade?

Panelists:

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

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

Bartosz Wiśniewski, *Head of Research Office, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

Moderator:

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

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Special Session*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

How Can Policy Institutes Maximize Their Impact on Domestic and Global Policy-Making and the Future of the Council of Councils?

Chair:

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

11:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Lunch*

12:15 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Session Two*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

What Should Be the Multilateral Rules of the Road in Cyberspace—and How Can We Get There?

Guiding Questions: How can the multilateral system best encourage responsible uses of cyberspace and deter irresponsible ones? What would constitute the ideal components of a global cybersecurity regime? What can existing global institutions do to prevent, limit, or punish disruptive cyber operations—or need new institutions be created?

Panelists:

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

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

Stephanie MacLellan, *Research Associate, Global Security and Politics Program, Centre for International Governance Innovation* (Canada)

Moderator:

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

1:45 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Coffee Break*

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Three*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

How Should the World Respond When Countries Such as North Korea Develop Nuclear Weapons and Ballistic Missiles?

Guiding Questions: What mixture and sequencing of diplomatic, economic, and military tools hold the greatest promise for freezing (and ideally dismantling) North Korea's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs? How can the nonproliferation regime as a whole—including export controls, interdiction arrangements, and International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards—be strengthened to address today's proliferation threats? What policies have proved most effective at curbing the development and expansion of nuclear weapons and weapons capabilities in the past, and how can they be institutionalized into a more permanent multilateral framework?

Panelists:

Chaesung Chun, *Chair, Center for International Relations Studies, East Asia Institute* (South Korea)

Bobo Lo, *Nonresident Fellow, Lowy Institute for International Policy* (Australia)

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

Leigh Morris Sloane, *Managing Director, IISS-Americas, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)*

Moderator:

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

3:30 p.m.–5:45 p.m. *Free Time*

5:45 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Light Reception*

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

6:00 p.m.–6:50 p.m. *Keynote Discussion*

Globalization and the Future of World Trade

Speaker:

Michael Froman, *Distinguished Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Moderator:

Andrés Rozental, *Founder, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

6:50 p.m.–8:30 p.m. *Cocktail Reception and Dinner*

Tuesday, May 9, 2017

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

8:00 a.m.–8:30 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

8:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Public Session*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch

Panelists:

Chen Dongxiao, *President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

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

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

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

Moderator:

Missy Ryan, *Pentagon Correspondent, The Washington Post*

9:45 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Coffee Break*

First Floor Reception Area

10:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Session Four*

First Floor Conference Room

Is the European Union Worth Saving? If so, What Should Be Done?

Guiding Questions: What institutional reforms, if any, should the European Union (EU) adopt in the wake of the United Kingdom's pending exit? How can EU member states and institutions adapt to new political realities, including surging populism, economic malaise, concerns over terrorism and migration, and public disillusionment with the EU's democratic deficit? Is the future of European integration likely to be a multispeed Europe? If so, what

differentiated and flexible integration initiatives can be enacted without losing minimal solidarity and cohesion among the twenty-seven EU member states?

Panelists:

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

Ettore Greco, *Director, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Robin Niblett, *Director, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

Moderator:

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

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. *Lunch* *Eighth Floor*

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Session Five* *First Floor Conference Room*

**What Are the Realistic Short-Term Goals for Stabilizing the Middle East—
and How Can They Be Advanced?**

Guiding Questions: What short-term goals for stabilizing the Middle East are feasible, viable, and desirable for regional and global powers, given the situation in Libya, Syria, and Yemen? What are priorities and actionable plans for advancing these goals? How can governments and international institutions operationally maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment to provide essential governmental services such as humanitarian relief in Iraq, Libya, Syria, or Yemen? What policies should be adopted vis-à-vis Iran and Russia?

Panelists:

Philip Gordon, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Abdulaziz Sager, *Chairman, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)*

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

Moderator:

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

Participant Biographies

Steven Blockmans

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

Mariana Campero

Mariana Campero is executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. She was previously senior director at Llorente y Cuenca and coordinator for the global strategic communications consultancy partnership AMO Global. Campero was the founder of Toi and Moi and a founding associate of the European franchise Fit-Me in Mexico. She was previously vice president of Zemu Communications LLC in New York, where she consulted international clients in strategic communication. Campero holds a degree in business administration from Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México and a master of arts from Columbia University.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao has been president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS) since July 2013. Chen specializes in the studies of Chinese foreign policy, Sino-U.S. relations, and UN collective security. He has led and supervised numerous task forces and research projects commissioned by China's National Foundation of Social Sciences Studies, ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of finance, and the Taiwan Affairs Office of State Council, among others. Chen is also the chief editor of *Global Review*, published by SIIS. He serves as chair of Shanghai Association of Future Asia, vice chair of the Shanghai Association of American Studies, and adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. He is also a nonresident senior fellow at the China Institute for International Studies' Center for American Studies, senior advisor in the International Business Leaders Advisory Council for the Mayor of Shanghai, and senior advisor of the Foreign Affairs and Taiwan Affairs offices of the Shanghai municipal government. Chen was recognized as the Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. His latest publications include *Global Security Governance and the Reform of UN Security Regime* and *Grand Strategic Landscape: Asia in 2020*.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is chair of the Center for International Relations Studies at East Asia Institute. He is also professor of political science and international relations at Seoul National University and director of the university's Center for International Studies. Chun also serves as a member of the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation and as an advisory committee member for the Republic of Korea's ministries of foreign affairs and of unification. His research interests include international relations, security studies, South Korean foreign policy, and East Asian security relations. His recent publications include *Is Politics Moral? Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism*, *Theory of East Asian International Relations*, and "The Rise of New

Powers and the Responding Strategies of Other Countries.” He received his MA from Seoul National University and a PhD in international relations from Northwestern University.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is professor of international relations and associate dean at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore. He is concurrently the head of the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at RSIS. His research interests cover security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs. His latest books include *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* and *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as the *Pacific Review*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Asian Security*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Contemporary Politics*, and numerous book chapters in edited volumes. Emmers completed his MSc and PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy. He has been associated with the Lowy Institute 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 in Washington, DC; an advisor to Prime Minister Paul Keating; and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Fullilove writes widely on Australian foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy, and global issues in publications including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *National Interest*, *Foreign Affairs*, and other Australian press. He is a sought-after speaker and commentator in Australia and abroad, appearing on programs such as *RN 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 the University of Oxford, 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*. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was an assistant professor at the Sorbonne, a cadet officer in the army, a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, and a Marie Curie fellow at the department of war studies at King's College London. Gomart has also managed many projects with leading international think tanks such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S. Army War College, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, and Moscow State Institute of International Relations. Gomart's current research focuses on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and think tanks. He has recently published “The Return of Geopolitical Risk: Russia, China, and the United States” in *Etudes de l'Ifri*, edited “Le monde selon Trump: Anticiper la nouvelle politique étrangère américaine” in *Etudes de l'Ifri*, and coedited, with Thierry de Montbrial, *Notre intérêt national: Quelle politique étrangère pour la France?* for Odile Jacob. Gomart holds an

EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris (HEC) and a PhD in history from Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Philip Gordon

Philip Gordon is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in Washington, DC, and a senior advisor at Albright Stonebridge Group. Prior to joining CFR, Gordon served on the National Security Council as special assistant to the president and White House coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf region from 2013 to 2015. As the most senior White House official focused on the greater Middle East, he worked closely with the president, the secretary of state, and the national security advisor on issues including the Iranian nuclear program, Middle East peace negotiations, the conflicts in Syria and Iraq, U.S. relations with the Gulf states, transitions in North Africa, and bilateral relations with Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon. From 2009 to 2013, Gordon served as assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs and was responsible for fifty countries in Europe and Eurasia as well as for NATO, the European Union, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. He previously served as a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director for European Affairs at the National Security Council under President Bill Clinton. He is the author of numerous books and articles about Europe, the Middle East, and U.S. foreign policy, and writes regularly for publications such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Financial Times*, *Politico*, and the *Washington Post*.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is director of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) and also heads the institute's transatlantic program. Greco was visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from January 2006 to July 2007. He has also taught at the Universities of Parma and Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, he worked as a correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit and was editor of the *International Spectator*. From 1993 to 2000, Greco directed IAI's program on central and eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. He is the author of a number of publications on EU institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and the Balkans. He has been a freelance journalist since 1988.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros has been the director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) since 2000. Among other current activities, he serves as advisor to the European Parliament and is a member of the advisory scientific committee of the European Systemic Risk Board (ESRB) and the Euro 50 Group of eminent economists. He has held positions at the International Monetary Fund and the European Commission, and served as advisor to several governments at the highest levels, including the United Kingdom and the United States. 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, the economics of transition to a market economy, public finance, banking, and financial markets. Gros holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is in his fourteenth 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 a principal advisor to 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 U.S. State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is the author or editor of thirteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book, *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*, was published in 2017. A Rhodes scholar, Haass holds master's and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi is director of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in New Delhi. He served in the Indian Administrative Service for over twenty-five years before taking voluntary retirement. As director of ORF since 2009, Joshi has overseen the transformation of the foundation 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). His earlier academic work includes research commissioned by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on inflation dynamics, debt instruments, and debt markets. Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yoichi Kato

Yoichi Kato is a senior research fellow at the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation (RJIF), an independent think tank. His area of expertise includes the national security strategy of Japan and U.S.-China relations. He is also an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Prior to joining RJIF, Kato was

a national security correspondent at the *Asahi Shimbun* and also the bureau chief of the newspaper's American general bureau in Washington, DC. While at the *Asahi Shimbun*, Kato was a visiting scholar at Peking University's School of International Studies in Beijing. He has also held the position of visiting research fellow at both CSIS and the U.S. National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies in Washington, DC. He taught national security strategy at Gakushuin University in Tokyo. Kato earned his MA from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Christian Koch

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

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO. Under Kudo's leadership, Genron NPO has conducted various research programs, including evaluations of government performance and analyses of party pledges made during general elections. Under the Northeast Asia regional program, Kudo has developed crucial track two dialogues, such as the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, to tackle pressing regional issues. The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders was established in 2016 as a venue for open and free debate among intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries. With a goal to jointly identify common issues and present potential solutions, the forum is a collaborative effort to bolster democracy and address challenges faced by the democratic system. In 2017, Kudo launched the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform that invites ten international think tanks to exchange views on global issues and propose recommendations to strengthen the liberal order and democracy. Prior to Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University.

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik serves as the director for international development at the Institute of Contemporary Development. He is also a member of the academic council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy. He previously served as the director of the department for relations with the European Union, deputy director of the foreign policy department of the Russian President, deputy director of the department for information policy of the Russian President, as the director of the Arms

Control Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies, and as a project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr. was president of Carleton College in Minnesota (1987–2002), and previously was Herbert H. Lehman professor of economics at Williams College, where he was twice provost (1968–71, 1973–77). A specialist in economic development, Lewis has lived in Pakistan (1963–65), Kenya (1971–73), and Botswana (1977–78, 1980–82), and served as a consultant to their governments and research institutions. In 1983, he received the Presidential Order of Meritorious Service from the Botswana government. He has written several books, including *The Economics of Apartheid* (1990), published by the Council on Foreign Relations, of which he has been a member since 1985. He edited former Botswana President Q.K.J. Masire's memoirs, *Very Brave or Very Foolish? Memoirs of an African Democrat*. Lewis also has served on a number of corporate, educational, and other nonprofit boards, including the Robina Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1988–2014), where he was vice chairman. He holds a BA from Williams College and a PhD from Stanford University.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He is a leading authority on the American foreign policy-making process and the domestic politics of American foreign policy. Lindsay has been a member of the faculty at the University of Iowa and at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, where he was the Tom Slick chair for international affairs and inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law. He has also served as deputy director and senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution, and was director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council during the Bill Clinton administration. He has written widely on various aspects of American foreign policy, American government, and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. His blog, *The Water's Edge*, can be found at <http://blogs.cfr.org/lindsay>.

Bobo Lo

Bobo Lo is an independent analyst and nonresident fellow at the Lowy Institute. He was previously director of the China and Russia programs at the Center for European Reform, head of the Russia and Eurasia program at Chatham House, and deputy head of mission at the Embassy of Australia in Moscow. He is an associate research fellow with the Russia/NIS Center at the French Institute of International Relations. Lo writes extensively on Russian foreign policy, and his most recent book, *A Wary Embrace: What the China-Russia Relationship Means for the World*, was published in April 2017. Lo's *Russia and the New World Disorder* was short-listed for the 2016 Pushkin House Prize and described by the *Economist* as "the best attempt yet to explain Russia's unhappy relationship with the rest of the world." Lo has an MA from Oxford and a PhD from the University of Melbourne.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Fyodor Lukyanov has been chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP) since December 2012. SVOP is the oldest Russian nongovernmental organization providing expertise in the field of security and foreign affairs. He is founding editor of *Russia in Global Affairs*, a journal published with the participation of *Foreign Affairs* since 2002. Under his leadership, the journal has become one of the most authoritative sources of independent information on Russian foreign policy and international relations. Lukyanov is also research director of the international 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. He has an extensive background in Russian media since 1990 and is one of the most quoted commentators on Russian foreign policy worldwide. Lukyanov graduated from Moscow State University with a degree in German language and literature.

Stephanie MacLellan

Stephanie MacLellan is a research associate in the Global Security and Politics program of the Center for Internet Governance Innovation, specializing in internet governance and cybersecurity. She spent more than a decade working as an editor and reporter for newspapers such as the *Toronto Star*, *Hamilton Spectator*, and *Slovak Spectator*. MacLellan holds a bachelor's degree in journalism from Carleton University and a master's degree in global affairs from the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He previously served on CIGI's international board of governors from 2009 to 2014 and was vice president of programs at Canada's International Development Research Center. His fields of expertise are monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, aid effectiveness, and development economics. He has published extensively on these issues in professional and nontechnical journals, and produced two books: *Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries* and *Financial Reform in Developing Countries*, which he coedited with Jose Fanelli. Medhora was coeditor of *Canada-Africa Relations: Looking Back, Looking Ahead* and *Crisis and Reform: Canada and the International Financial System*, volumes in the influential Canada Among Nations book series. He also coedited *International Development: Ideas, Experience, and Prospects*. Medhora serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, Partnership for African Social and Governance Research, and Balsillie School of International Affairs, and on the advisory boards of the University of Toronto's McLuhan Center and the World Trade Organization Chairs Program. Medhora received his doctorate in economics from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for several years.

Robin Niblett

Robin Niblett became the director of Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, in 2007. From 2001 to 2006, he was the executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Niblett is an expert on UK foreign policy, European political and economic security, and transatlantic relations. He is a nonexecutive director of Fidelity European Values Investment Trust, special advisor to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee (since 2015), and member of the World Economic Forum Global Future Council on International Security (since 2016).

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Stewart M. Patrick

Stewart M. Patrick is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). From 2005 to April 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. Department of State's policy planning staff, with lead staff responsibility for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, Patrick was a research associate at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. Patrick is the author of numerous articles and chapters on the subjects of multilateral cooperation, state-building, and U.S. foreign policy. He has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including his most recent book, *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. Additionally, Patrick writes the *Internationalist* blog for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received two MA degrees and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

Volker Perthes

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

Fernando Petrella

Fernando Petrella is a member of the Argentine Council on Foreign Relations' executive committee and an international relations analyst for major Argentine media outlets. He is also 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 Argentina

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Adalberto Rodriguez Giavarini is president and executive committee member of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He is also on the academic board of the National Defense College, a member of the National Academy of Education in Argentina, a professor in the Post Degree Institute at the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina, and a senior consultant at the Inter-American Development Bank. He chairs his own firm focused on national, regional, and international policy, economic issues, and trade facilitation. In 2003, Rodriguez Giavarini was appointed chairman of the Royal Carolina Foundation's Argentine chapter by the king of Spain. Rodriguez Giavarini has served as Argentina's foreign minister, secretary of the treasury of Buenos Aires, National Congress representative, chairman of the National Budget Committee, and on the Ministry of Defense Secretaries of Planning and of the Treasury. He has lectured in several seminars and conferences in Argentina and abroad. Rodriguez Giavarini acted as coordinator of the graduate studies in economics at the Salvador University and also taught at the Belgrano University. He has published numerous essays and articles in Argentine and international newspapers and reviews. Rodriguez Giavarini received his degree in economics from the University of Buenos Aires, to which he later returned as professor of macroeconomics.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental was the founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and is currently a member ex officio of its governing body. He is a senior policy advisor at Chatham House, member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies' Council, and sits on the operating board of the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He served as deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83), and ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–1997), as well as in various responsibilities within the Mexican foreign affairs secretariat and abroad. Since 1994, he has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He is an independent board member of Ocean Wilson Holdings and Wilson Sons (Brazil) and HSBC Bank in Mexico. He holds advisory positions with Toyota, Brookfield Asset Management, Ingredion, Almex, and AT&T. He is president of his own consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He is also the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. Rozental obtained his professional degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas in Mexico, and his MA in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Luis Rubio

Luis Rubio is chairman of the Center of Research for Development (CIDAC) and the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Before joining CIDAC, Rubio was planning director of Citibank in Mexico and served as an advisor to Mexico's secretary of the treasury. He serves on the boards of two hedge funds,

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Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is chairman and founder of the Gulf Research Center. He is also president of Sager Group Holding in Saudi Arabia. Sager has a special research interest in Gulf strategic issues and is a regular contributor to and commentator for international and regional media. In November 2003, Sager was appointed as a member of the Makkah Province Council. He also serves as a member of the advisory boards of the Arab Thought Foundation, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Geneva Center for Security Policy, German Orient Foundation, Saudi Arabian Ministry of Higher Education, and the fourth Arab Human Development Report for the UN Development Program. He serves as a member of the faculty in economics and administration at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. In December 2015, Sager hosted the conference of Syrian revolutionary and opposition forces in Riyadh, which resulted in the issuance of a final joint communique. He is the author of numerous publications, including "Political Reform Measures from a Domestic GCC Perspective" in *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf*; "Political Opposition in Saudi Arabia" in *Saudi Arabia in the Balance: Political Economy, Society, Foreign Affairs*; "Energy Shapes New Gulf Security Architecture" in the *Journal of Middle Eastern Geopolitics*; and "Why for All Its Problems, the EU Is Still a Model for the Arab World" in *Europe's World*. He was also the chief editor of the *Gulf Yearbook*. Sager holds an MA in international relations from the University of Kent and a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University.

Samir Saran

Samir Saran is vice president of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi, where he heads ORF's outreach and business development activities. He curates the Raisina Dialogue, India's annual flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, and chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on cybersecurity and internet governance. Saran is a frequent commentator on issues of global governance, including climate change and energy policy, global development architecture, cybersecurity and internet governance, and India's foreign policy. He is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. 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*; "Navigating the Digital Trilemma" in the latest *CyFy Digital Debates*, of which he is the editor; "New Room to Manoeuvre: An Indian Approach to Climate Change," a Global Policy and ORF Series; "Attitudes to Water in South Asia," an ORF-Chatham House report; and "A Long Term Vision for BRICS," a comprehensive vision document submitted to the BRICS

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Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), an independent foreign policy think tank based in Johannesburg. She is a member of the international advisory board of the *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, the *Chinese Quarterly of Strategic Studies* of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, and the journal of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. She is also the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. Sidiropoulos serves on the World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Agenda Council on the Future of Regional Organizations and the WEF Think Tank Leaders Forum. Her most recent works include coedited volumes on *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns* and *Institutional Architecture and Development: Responses from Emerging Powers*. She holds an MA in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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

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Leigh Morris Sloane is managing director of the Washington, DC, office of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, IISS-Americas. In this role, she manages IISS operations and works closely with her IISS colleagues around the world to ensure that constituents based in the Americas connect with the institute's world-leading research and convening power. Sloane has over twenty years of experience working in the international affairs arena at the nexus of research, higher education, and policymaking. Prior to joining IISS, she served as chief of staff at the Brookings Institution, where she managed the executive secretariat and activities of the president, Strobe Talbott. Additionally, she has lived and worked in Bulgaria, Hungary, and the United Kingdom. Sloane holds a bachelor's degree from Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service and a master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

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Johannes Thimm is deputy head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He works on issues of U.S. foreign policy and its domestic determinants, as well as transatlantic relations. In his current role at SWP, he is a frequent contributor to German and international media. He recently published the book *The United States and Multilateral Treaties: A Policy Puzzle*, an analysis of the U.S. reluctance to join many international agreements. Before joining SWP, Thimm briefly worked at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna. Thimm studied political science and international relations at the University of Washington, and Yale University, and received his PhD from Freie Universitat Berlin.

Hayanari Uchino

Hayanari Uchino is a visiting fellow at Genron NPO, in Tokyo. 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 (ADBI) as a senior analyst of global capital markets when ADBI was just established and coping with the international economic and policy issues related to the Asian currency and financial crisis in 1998.

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Amos Yadlin

Amos Yadlin has been the director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies, Israel's leading strategic think tank, since November 2011. Yadlin was designated minister of defense of the Zionist Union Party in the March 2015 elections. He served for over forty years in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with nine years as a member of the IDF general staff. From 2006 to 2010, he served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence and from 2004 to 2006, as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, Yadlin earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases and served as head of the Israeli Air Force's planning department. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz, which destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an MPA from Harvard University.

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Zhang Haibing is director of the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. Zhang specializes in the study of global economic governance, especially regarding international development cooperation, the Group of Twenty, and BRICS-related issues. Her main publications include *Research On European Regional Integration*, *Development Oriented Aid: The Model of China's Aid Towards Africa*, and more than fifty academic papers.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Mike Allen

Mike Allen is a cofounder and executive editor of Axios, a new media company he launched in January 2017 with Jim VandeHei and Roy Schwartz. Axios uses “elegant efficiency” and “smart brevity” to deliver top insights and reporting on business, technology, media trends, and politics to smart, engaged readers. Allen was a cofounder of *Politico*, where he started Playbook, the agenda-driving newsletter that led the *New York Times Magazine* to dub him “the man the White House wakes up to.” Allen was named to *Vanity Fair*’s “New Establishment” and is an alumnus of *Time*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and *Fredericksburg (VA) Free Lance-Star*. He grew up in Orange County, California, and graduated from Washington and Lee University.

Michael Froman

Michael Froman is a distinguished fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He served in President Barack Obama’s cabinet as U.S. trade representative (2013–2017), where he played a critical role in negotiating the Trans-Pacific Partnership. He was previously assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs. Prior to joining the Obama Administration, Froman served in a number of roles at Citigroup, including as chief executive officer of its international insurance business, chief operating officer of its alternative investments business, and head of its infrastructure investment business. He has also served during the Clinton Administration in various roles at the U.S. Department of Treasury and the White House. Froman holds a bachelor’s degree from Princeton University, a doctorate from Oxford University, and a law degree from Harvard Law School.

Missy Ryan

Missy Ryan writes about the U.S. Department of Defense (the Pentagon), military issues, and national security for the *Washington Post*. Previously, she worked with Reuters, reporting on U.S. national security and foreign policy issues. She has reported from Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Lebanon, Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Chile. She served as a White House fellow in 2012–2013, working on the U.S. Department of State’s policy planning staff and at the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

Amy Walter

Amy Walter is the national editor of the *Cook Political Report*, where she provides analysis of the issues, trends, and events that shape the political environment. Her weekly column appears at CookPolitical.com. She provides political analysis every Monday evening for the *PBS NewsHour*. She is the former political director of ABC News and was named one of “50 Top Journalists” in Washington, DC, by *Washingtonian* magazine in 2009. She is a member of the board of trustees of Colby College, from where she graduated summa cum laude.

Observer Biographies

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Wang Yuzhu is a research fellow in the Institute for World Economy Studies of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Currently, he focuses on development finance, global finance, Chinese economic reform, and the Belt and Road initiatives. Wang earned his bachelor's degree from Jiangnan University, his master's degree from the University of Hamburg, and his PhD from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. He also studied international relations at the East China Normal University.

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