



**CARNEGIE
EUROPE**

Global Order in Flux: Implications for Europe

Thursday, November 30, 2017, 3:00 to 6:00 p.m.
Carnegie Europe, Rue du Congrès 15, 1000 Brussels

A cocktail reception will follow

Agenda

- 2:30 – 3:00 p.m. Registration
- 3:00 – 3:05 p.m. Opening Remarks
By **Tomáš Valášek**, director, Carnegie Europe
- 3:05 – 3:45 p.m. Keynote Remarks
By **William J. Burns**, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- 3:45 – 4:45 p.m. International Perspectives on Global Disorder
With remarks by **Thomas Carothers**, senior vice president for studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
C. Raja Mohan, director, Carnegie India
Dmitri Trenin, director, Carnegie Moscow Center
Maha Yahya, director, Carnegie Middle East Center
Moderated by **Maria Livanos Cattai**, member of the Global Board, Open Society Foundations
- 4:45 – 5:00 p.m. Coffee Break
- 5:00 – 6:00 p.m. The European Union and Global Disruption
With remarks by **Judy Dempsey**, nonresident senior fellow and editor in chief of Carnegie's *Strategic Europe* blog, Carnegie Europe
Thomas de Waal, senior fellow, Carnegie Europe
Stefan Lehne, visiting scholar, Carnegie Europe
Sinan Ülgen, visiting scholar, Carnegie Europe
Richard Youngs, senior fellow, Carnegie Europe
Moderated by **Tina Fordham**, managing director and chief global political analyst, Citi
- 6:00 p.m. onward Reception
With remarks by **William J. Burns**, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Speaker Biographies

William J. Burns is president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Ambassador Burns retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2014 after a thirty-three-year diplomatic career. He holds the highest rank in the Foreign Service, career ambassador, and is only the second serving career diplomat in history to become deputy secretary of state. Prior to his tenure as deputy secretary, Ambassador Burns served from 2008 to 2011 as under secretary for political affairs. He was ambassador to Russia from 2005 to 2008, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs from 2001 to 2005, and ambassador to Jordan from 1998 to 2001.

Thomas Carothers is senior vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In that capacity, he oversees all of the research programs at Carnegie. He also directs the Democracy and Rule of Law Program and carries out research and writing on democracy-related issues. Carothers is a leading authority on international support for democracy, human rights, governance, the rule of law, and civil society. He has worked on democracy assistance projects for many organizations and carried out extensive field research on aid efforts around the world.

Maria Livanos Cattai is a member of the Global Board of the Open Society Foundations. She served as the secretary general of the International Chamber of Commerce from 1996 to 2005. From 1977 to 1996 she worked at the World Economic Forum in Geneva, where she became managing director, responsible for the annual meeting in Davos.

Judy Dempsey is a nonresident senior fellow at Carnegie Europe and the editor in chief of Carnegie's *Strategic Europe* blog. Prior to joining Carnegie Europe, Dempsey worked for the *International Herald Tribune* as its Germany and Eastern Europe correspondent (2004–2011) and as a columnist (2011–2013). She was the diplomatic correspondent for the *Financial Times* in Brussels from 2001 onward, covering NATO and EU enlargement.

Thomas de Waal is a senior fellow with Carnegie Europe, specializing in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus region. He is the author of numerous publications about the region. His latest book is *Great Catastrophe: Armenians and Turks in the Shadow of Genocide* (Oxford University Press, 2015). He is also the author of the authoritative book on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan Through Peace and War* (NYU Press, second edition 2013), which has been translated into Armenian, Azeri, Russian, and Turkish.

Tina Fordham is managing director and chief global political analyst at Citi, the first to hold this position. She specializes in geopolitical and socioeconomic risks as well as more traditional coverage of elections and policy developments. With Citi since 2003, she advises institutional investors and corporations, typically at the C-suite level, about the implications of macro global political developments.

Stefan Lehne is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe, where he researches the post-Lisbon Treaty development of the European Union's foreign policy with a specific focus on relations between the EU and member states. From 2009–2011, Lehne served as director general for political affairs at the Austrian Ministry for European and International Affairs. From 2002–2008, he served the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union as director for the

Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. Previously, he was head of the Task Force for Western Balkans and Central Europe.

C. Raja Mohan is the director of Carnegie India. A leading analyst of India's foreign policy, Mohan is also an expert on South Asian security, great-power relations in Asia, and arms control. He is the foreign affairs columnist for the *Indian Express*, and a visiting research professor at the Institute of South Asian Studies of the National University of Singapore.

Dmitri Trenin is the director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, where he also chairs the Research Council and the Foreign and Security Policy Program. Before joining Carnegie in 1997, he was senior research fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow (1993–1997) and at the NATO Defense College in Rome (1993). He retired from the Russian Army in 1993.

Sinan Ülgen is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe, where his research focuses on Turkish foreign policy, nuclear policy, cyber policy, and transatlantic relations. He is a founding partner of Istanbul Economics, a Turkish consulting firm that specializes in public and regulatory affairs, and is chairman of the Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM), an independent think tank in Istanbul.

Tomáš Valášek is the director of Carnegie Europe, where his research focuses on security and defense, transatlantic relations, and Europe's Eastern neighborhood. From April 2013 to March 2017 he served as the permanent representative of the Slovak Republic to NATO. Before that, he was president of the Central European Policy Institute in Bratislava (2012–2013), director of foreign policy and defense at the Centre for European Reform in London (2007–2012), and founder and director of the Brussels office of the World Security Institute (2002–2006).

Maha Yahya is the director of the Carnegie Middle East Center, where her work focuses broadly on political violence and identity politics, pluralism, development and social justice after the Arab uprisings, the challenges of citizenship, and the political and socio-economic implications of the migration/refugee crisis. Prior to joining Carnegie, Yahya led work on Participatory Development and Social Justice at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA).

Richard Youngs is a senior fellow in the Democracy and Rule of Law Program, based at Carnegie Europe. He works on EU foreign policy and on issues of international democracy. Youngs is also a professor of international relations at the University of Warwick. Prior to joining Carnegie in July 2013, he was the director of the European think tank FRIDE.

List of Participants

1. Philippe **Agret**, Brussels bureau chief, Agence France-Presse
2. Fernando **Andresen Guimarães**, head of division, Russia, European External Action Service
3. Joanneke **Balfort**, ambassador, representative to the Political and Security Committee, Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the EU
4. Marc **Bentinck**, senior research fellow, RAND Europe
5. Tomasz **Bielecki**, EU and NATO correspondent, *Gazeta Wyborcza*
6. Jessica **Blitt**, counsellor and head of political section, Mission of Canada to the EU
7. Lizza **Bomassi**, deputy director, Carnegie Europe
8. Alan **Bowman**, deputy head of mission, Mission of Canada to the EU
9. Peter **Brabeck-Letmathe**, chairman emeritus, Nestlé S.A.
10. Erik **Brattberg**, director of the Europe Program and fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
11. Richard **Bravo**, editor, *Bloomberg News*
12. Colin **Broderick**, digital communications advisor, ENTSO-E
13. Kerry **Buck**, ambassador, permanent representative, Joint Delegation of Canada to NATO
14. William J. **Burns**, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
15. Fraser **Cameron**, director, EU-Asia Centre
16. Thomas **Carothers**, senior vice president for studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
17. Maria Livanos **Cattai**, member of the Global Board, Open Society Foundations
18. Poul **Christoffersen**, senior adviser on EU policies and institutions, European Policy Centre
19. Jim **Cloos**, deputy director general, General Secretariat of the Council of the EU
20. Alfredo **Conte**, head of division, Strategic Planning, European External Action Service
21. Daniel **Costello**, ambassador, Mission of Canada to the EU
22. Claude **Crottaz**, deputy head, Embassy of Switzerland to the Kingdom of Belgium
23. Luís **de Almeida Sampaio**, ambassador, permanent representative, Portuguese Delegation to NATO
24. Koert **Debeuf**, director, Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy
25. Judy **Dempsey**, nonresident senior fellow, Carnegie Europe; editor in chief, *Strategic Europe*
26. Thomas **de Waal**, senior fellow, Carnegie Europe
27. Lyubomira **Efremova**, external affairs advisor, BP
28. Markus **Ehm**, director of the Brussels office, Hanns Seidel Foundation
29. Michael **Emerson**, associate senior research fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies
30. Robin **Emmott**, diplomatic correspondent, Reuters
31. Steven **Everts**, senior adviser, European External Action Service
32. Tina **Fordham**, managing director and chief global political analyst, Citi
33. Ken **Godfrey**, executive director, European Partnership for Democracy
34. Ana Maria **Gomes**, member, European Parliament
35. Heather **Grabbe**, director, Open Society Europe Policy Institute
36. Damian **Grammaticas**, Europe correspondent, BBC News

37. Giovanni **Grevi**, senior fellow, European Policy Centre
38. Magdalena **Grono**, program director of Europe and Central Asia, International Crisis Group
39. Daniel **Gros**, director, Center for European Policy Studies
40. Henry **Haggard**, political counselor, U.S. Mission to the EU
41. Jacqueline **Hale**, head of advocacy, EU Office, Save the Children
42. Yasmin **Hamed**, speechwriter, Cabinet of commissioner Moedas, European Commission
43. Carl **Hartzell**, senior advisor, Foreign Policy Team, Cabinet of Donald Tusk
44. Stavros **Hatziyiannis**, representative to the Political and Security Committee, Permanent Representation of Cyprus to the EU
45. Ryan **Heath**, senior EU correspondent, *POLITICO Europe*
46. Corinna **Hörst**, deputy director of the Brussels office, German Marshall Fund of the United States
47. Shada **Islam**, head of policy, Friends of Europe
48. Cecilia **Iturralde**, counsellor, Embassy of the Republic of South Africa to the Kingdom of Belgium
49. Radovan **Javorčík**, ambassador, permanent representative, Permanent Delegation of the Slovak Republic to NATO
50. Paul **Johnston**, representative to the Political and Security Committee, UK Representation to the EU
51. Kim **Jørgensen**, ambassador, permanent representative, Permanent Representation of Denmark to the EU
52. Gergana **Karadjova**, representative to the Political and Security Committee, Permanent Representation of Bulgaria to the EU
53. Peter **Kellner**, former president, YouGov
54. Hyoung-zhin **Kim**, ambassador, Embassy of the Republic of Korea to the Kingdom of Belgium
55. Dennis **Kredler**, director of EU affairs, Dow Chemical
56. Eduard **Kukan**, member, European Parliament
57. Kai **Küstner**, Brussels correspondent, ARD/German Radio
58. Stefan **Lehne**, visiting scholar, Carnegie Europe
59. Lotte **Leicht**, EU director, Human Rights Watch
60. Aharon **Leshno-Yaar**, ambassador, Permanent Mission of Israel to the EU and NATO
61. Vytautas **Leškevičius**, ambassador, permanent representative, Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Lithuania to NATO
62. José María **López Navarro**, information officer, NATO
63. Oana **Lungescu**, spokesperson, NATO
64. Christine **Lynch**, communications director, Carnegie Europe
65. Zoltán **Martinusz**, director for enlargement, security, civil protection, foreign affairs council support, General Secretariat of the Council of the EU
66. C. Raja **Mohan**, director, Carnegie India
67. Ivan **Naydenov**, ambassador, permanent representative, Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Bulgaria to NATO
68. Jan **Neutze**, director for cybersecurity policy in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, Microsoft

69. Laurence **Norman**, deputy bureau chief, Brussels, *Wall Street Journal*
70. Luminița **Odobescu**, ambassador, permanent representative, Permanent Representation of Romania to the EU
71. Marc **Otte**, senior associate fellow, Egmont—Royal Institute for International Relations
72. Enrico **Petrocelli**, member, Cabinet of HRVP Federica Mogherini
73. Marc **Pierini**, visiting scholar, Carnegie Europe
74. Giles **Portman**, head of the East Stratcom task force, European External Action Service
75. Dušan **Reljić**, head of the Brussels office, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)
76. Alice **Richard**, task force on the UK, Council of the EU
77. Gregor **Rohlje**, administrator, European Parliament
78. Natalie **Sabanadze**, ambassador of Georgia to Belgium, Luxembourg, and the EU
79. Marietje **Schaake**, member, European Parliament
80. Teri **Schultz**, freelance reporter, *Deutsche Welle* and *NPR*
81. Jamie **Shea**, deputy assistant secretary general for Emerging Security Challenges, NATO
82. Adam **Shub**, chargé d'affaires, U.S. Mission to the EU
83. Hugo **Sobral**, director, deputy managing director for Americas, European External Action Service
84. Peter **Søndergaard**, director of programs, European Endowment for Democracy
85. Thrasyvoulos **Stamatopoulos**, former assistant secretary general for political affairs and security policy, NATO
86. Alexandre **Stutzmann**, director of the directorate for committees, DG EXPO, European Parliament
87. Paweł **Świeboda**, deputy head, European Policy Strategy Center
88. Charles **Tannock**, member, European Parliament
89. Dmitri **Trenin**, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center
90. Christina **Tomlinson**, minister counselor for public affairs, U.S. Mission to the EU
91. Takanori **Uehara**, deputy head, Mission of Japan to the EU
92. Sinan **Ülgen**, visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe
93. Sonja **Vaisanen**, senior account executive, Hume Brophy
94. Tomáš **Valášek**, director, Carnegie Europe
95. Johan **Verbeke**, director, Egmont—Royal Institute for International Relations
96. Graham **Watson**, head, Representation of Gibraltar to the EU
97. Fredrik **Wesslau**, director of the Wider Europe Program, European Council on Foreign Relations
98. Catherine **Woollard**, secretary general, European Council on Refugees and Exiles
99. Maha **Yahya**, director, Carnegie Middle East Center
100. Richard **Youngs**, senior fellow, Democracy and Rule of Law Program, Carnegie Europe