



CARNEGIE
ENDOWMENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Carnegie Junior Fellows Conference
“After November: Thinking Long-Term About Emerging Global Challenges”

Wednesday, June 8, 2016

The upcoming U.S. presidential election has crystallized debates around some key issues—such as the rise of the self-proclaimed Islamic State and domestic income inequality—that have taken center stage after quietly evolving for years. Likewise, the policymakers of tomorrow will inherit the consequences of geopolitical, technological, and societal challenges developing out of the spotlight today. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will convene young professionals for a day of panel discussions and workshops with emerging policy thinkers. These forward-looking dialogues will provide an opportunity for the next generation of leaders to begin to shape the conversation on the policy strategies that future U.S. administrations will need to consider.

General Information

The Carnegie Junior Fellows Conference will take place at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which is located at 1779 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036-2103. The suggested attire for conference attendees is business attire.

All presentations and discussions will follow the Chatham House Rule: information from the discussions may be used as background knowledge, but may not be attributed to the speakers or to this event.

If you have any questions or issues, please contact Saksham Khosla at SKhosla@ceip.org or +1 202 939 2243.



Agenda

8:30 to 9:00 a.m. Registration and Breakfast

9:00 to 9:05 a.m. Opening Remarks by Ambassador Burns

Speaker William J. Burns, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Venue Root (2nd Floor)

9:10 to 9:45 a.m. Working in Foreign Policy: DC and Beyond

A conversation featuring Carnegie scholars with experience in government, academia and think-tanks. Conference participants interested in careers in foreign policy are encouraged to participate in the question and answer session.

Speakers Toby Dalton, Co-Director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Michele Dunne, Director of the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Moderator Lauryn Williams, Project Manager in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Venue Root (2nd Floor)

9:45 to 10:35 a.m. Economic Statecraft Panel

A discussion on the evolution of sanctions regimes against Iran and Cuba and new free-trade agreements like the Trans-Pacific Partnership. What will these changes in economic statecraft mean for the future of American foreign policy?

Speakers Eric Lorber, Senior Associate at the Financial Integrity Network

Probir Mehta, Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Innovation and Intellectual Property

Sara Aviel, Executive Associate Director at the Office of Management and Budget

Moderator Cornelius Adebahr, Associate, Europe Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Venue Root (2nd Floor)



10:40 to 11:30 a.m. Economic Statecraft Breakout Groups

- Venues* Economic Coercion after Iran and Russia, led by Cornelius Adebahr, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace – Root (2nd Floor)
- Geoconomics and Statecraft, led by Sara Aviel, Office of Management and Budget – Choate (1st Floor)
- How Sanctions Work, led by Eric Lorber, Financial Integrity Network – Butler (1st Floor)
- Trade Policy as Foreign Policy, led by Probir Mehta, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative – Shotwell (1st Floor)

11:30 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. Lunch

- Venue* Choate Foyer (1st Floor)

12:15 to 1:00 p.m. Keynote Address by Brian Deese: American Foreign Policy at the Intersection of Climate and Development

- Speaker* Brian Deese, Senior Adviser to President Barack Obama
- Moderator* David Livingston, Associate in the Energy and Climate Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Venue* Root (2nd Floor)

1:10 to 2:00 p.m. Global Population Flows Panel

- A discussion on the new economic and social challenges posed by mass migration into Europe and the United States and an exploration of policy prescriptions for refugee resettlement.*
- Speakers* Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan, Assistant Director, International Program at the Migration Policy Institute
- Daryl Grisgraber, Senior Advocate at Refugees International
- Alex Nowrasteh, Immigration Policy Analyst at the Cato Institute
- Moderator* Krishnadev Calamur, Senior Editor at the *Atlantic*
- Venue* Root (2nd Floor)



2:10 to 3:00 p.m. Global Population Flows Breakout Groups

Venues America's Refugee Resettlement Program: Successes and Failures, led by Daryl Grisgraber, Refugees International – Butler (1st Floor)
Immigration and the U.S. Economy, led by Alex Nowrasteh, Cato Institute – Shotwell (1st Floor)
Multilateral Institutions and Refugee Protection, led by Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan, Migration Policy Institute – Root (2nd Floor)
Shifts in Attitudes and National Values, led by Krishnadev Calamur, the *Atlantic* – Choate (1st Floor)

3:00 to 3:50 p.m. Data Governance Panel

A discussion on how governments, citizens, and corporations can work across national boundaries to regulate the production, sharing, and use of data.

Speakers Susan Hennessey, Fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution
Jonah Force Hill, Internet Policy Specialist at U.S. Department of Commerce
Emma Llansó, Director of the Free Expression Project at the Center for Democracy and Technology

Moderator Jenna McLaughlin, reporter at the *Intercept*

Venue Root (2nd Floor)

3:55 to 4:45 p.m. Data Governance Breakout Groups

Groups Civil Rights and Free Speech, led by Emma Llansó, Center for Democracy and Technology – Butler (1st Floor)
Data and National Security, led by Susan Hennessey, Brookings Institution – Root (2nd Floor)
Data Flows and Global Trade, led by Jonah Force Hill, U.S. Department of Commerce – Shotwell (1st Floor)
Surveillance and Policing, led by Jenna McLaughlin, the *Intercept* – Choate (1st Floor)

4:45 to 5:00 p.m. Closing Remarks

Venue Root (2nd Floor)

5:00 to 6:00 p.m. Reception

Venue Choate Foyer (1st Floor)



Speaker Biographies

Working in Foreign Policy

Toby Dalton is co-director of the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment. An expert on nonproliferation and nuclear energy, his research focuses on cooperative nuclear security initiatives and the management of nuclear challenges in South Asia and East Asia. From 2002 to 2010, Dalton served in a variety of high-level positions at the U.S. Department of Energy, including acting director for the Office of Nuclear Safeguards and Security and senior policy adviser to the Office of Nonproliferation and International Security on issues relating to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, the nonproliferation regime, and a range of countries, such as Pakistan, India, China, North Korea, and Israel. He also established and led the department's office at the U.S. embassy in Pakistan, managing critical bilateral and multilateral nonproliferation issues and overseeing the implementation of U.S. nonproliferation and counterproliferation initiatives. Dalton previously served as professional staff member to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a Luce Scholar at the Institute for Far Eastern Studies in Seoul, a research associate at the National Bureau of Asian Research, and a project associate for the Carnegie Nuclear Policy Program.

Michele Dunne is the director and a senior associate in Carnegie's Middle East Program, where her research focuses on political and economic change in Arab countries, particularly Egypt, as well as U.S. policy in the Middle East. She was the founding director of the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East at the Atlantic Council from 2011 to 2013 and was a senior associate and editor of the *Arab Reform Bulletin* at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 2006 to 2011. Dunne was a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Department of State from 1986 to 2003, where she served in assignments that included the National Security Council, the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. embassy in Cairo, the U.S. consulate general in Jerusalem, and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. She also served as a visiting professor of Arabic language and Arab studies at Georgetown from 2003 to 2006.

Lauryn Williams is a project manager, and was previously the junior fellow, in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Her research at Carnegie has focused on nuclear dynamics in South Asia and the evolution of the global nuclear order, among other topics. She received her BA in political science with honors in international security studies from Stanford University and will begin a master's program at Princeton University in the fall.



Economic Statecraft

Eric B. Lorber is a Senior Associate at the Financial Integrity Network, where he advises financial clients on issues related to economic sanctions, anti-money laundering, and regulatory compliance. He is also an adjunct fellow at the Center for a New American Security with the Energy, Economics, and Security Program, focusing on issues related to economic sanctions and financial security. Prior to joining FIN, he was an associate in the Washington, D.C. office of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, where he advised clients in the areas of international trade regulation, compliance, and anti-corruption, with particular emphasis and experience assisting clients in complying with the economic sanctions and embargo regulations administered by the U.S. Department of the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC). While in law school, Eric worked in the Office of Chief Counsel at OFAC and in the Office of Terrorist Financing and Financial Crime at the Treasury Department. His commentary on sanctions and related issues has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The National Interest*, *Cato Unbound*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Middle East Policy Journal*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Bloomberg*, and *Reuters*, among others. Mr. Lorber graduated in 2013 from the University of Pennsylvania Law School, where he received the Noyes E. Leech Award for highest achievement in international law and was a member of the Moot Court Board and a Arthur Littleton and H. Clayton Louderback Legal Writing Instructor. He graduated from Columbia University in 2006, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, magna cum laude and with departmental honors, and was awarded the Charles Beard Prize for academic achievement. Mr. Lorber is admitted to practice in Maryland and the District of Columbia and currently maintains a Secret-level security clearance. He is a Term Member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Next Generation National Security Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.

Cornelius Adebahr is an associate in the Europe Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC. His research focuses on European foreign policy in a broad sense, from integrating the Western Balkans into Euro-Atlantic structures to the European Union's role in the negotiations over Iran's nuclear program to the impact of the economic crisis on Europe's global role. Since 2000, Adebahr has been the owner of a political consultancy in Berlin. His clients include major private foundations, such as the Robert Bosch Foundation and the BMW Foundation, as well as academic institutions and nonprofit associations, such as the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin and the European Policy Center in Brussels. In addition, he is an associate fellow at the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations, where he consults on a project supporting think tanks in the Western Balkans that is funded by the German Foreign Office. From 2005 to 2011, Adebahr was a lecturer at the Willy Brandt School of Public Policy at the University of Erfurt, teaching a master's course on European foreign policy. In 2012 and 2013, he taught political science at the University of Tehran in Iran. From 2003 to 2011, he was a member of Team Europe, an experts' network of the European Commission. Adebahr has also been a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies Program of the Volkswagen Foundation, the Compagnia di San Paolo Foundation, and Riksbankens Jubileumsfond as well as of the Postgraduate Program in International Affairs of the Robert Bosch Foundation and the German National Merit Foundation. He is a frequent commentator for major German and international print, radio, and television media outlets, including ZDF, Reuters, and the BBC. He has also testified before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament and provided written evidence to the UK House of Lords.



Probir J. Mehta serves as Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Innovation & Intellectual Property. In this capacity, Mehta is responsible for developing and overseeing U.S. trade policy related to innovation and intellectual property (IP). Prior to his appointment, Mehta was Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative, where he served as the lead Intellectual Property negotiator for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Mehta previously served as Associate General Counsel at USTR, where he provided legal counsel and analysis on intellectual property, standards, labor, and trade preference programs for emerging markets. Mehta also represented the United States in litigation before the World Trade Organization. While at USTR, he was selected to serve as special advisor to the U.S. Intellectual Property Enforcement Coordinator where he helped develop international economic policy related to IP and innovation. Prior to joining USTR, Mehta practiced law in Washington, DC. He also clerked for the Honorable Federico A. Moreno of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, was a Visiting Scholar at the West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences in Kolkata, India, and an Associate Professorial Lecturer in Law at The George Washington University Law School. Probir holds a B.A. from the University of Michigan, a MSc. from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a J.D. from the George Washington University Law School.

Sara Aviel is Executive Associate Director at the Office of Management and Budget, the largest component of the Executive Office of the President. In addition to producing the President's Budget, the OMB helps a wide range of executive departments and agencies across the Federal Government to implement the commitments and priorities of the President. Aviel joined the Office of Management and Budget in 2015 as Chief of Staff. From 2012 until 2015, Aviel served as the Alternate Executive Director for the United States at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), where she worked with the Executive Director and the Board of Directors to make decisions about loan and investment proposals, review the policy issues that guide the general operations of the Bank, and provide broad oversight of, and guidance to, the Bank's senior management. Aviel also served as Director of International Economic Affairs at the National Security Council and the National Economic Council from 2011 until 2012. She has also served as a Senior Advisor to Treasury Secretary Tim Geithner. Prior to joining Treasury, Aviel served on the leadership team of Root Capital, a social investment fund. Aviel previously spent time at Mercy Corps, CARE Afghanistan, and as a lecturer at Yale University. Aviel received a B.A. and M.A. in Political Science from Yale University and a Master's in Business Administration from the Yale School of Management.

Keynote Address

Brian Deese is currently serving as Senior Advisor to the President. His duties include overseeing climate, conservation and energy policy and advising the President on a range of domestic and international policy issues. Previously, Mr. Deese served as Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, where he helped to oversee the development of the President's Budgets and the Administration's efforts to deliver a smarter, more innovative and more accountable government. Prior to OMB, Mr. Deese served as Deputy Director of the National Economic Council. In this role, Mr. Deese was charged with coordinating policy development on several Administration economic priorities including tax policy, financial regulation, housing, clean energy, and manufacturing. In 2009, Mr. Deese was a member of the team that oversaw the rescue and restructuring of the automotive industry. Before he joined the Administration, in January of 2009, Mr. Deese worked as a member of the Economic Policy Working Group for the Obama-Biden transition team and on the Obama Campaign, where he helped craft the 2008 economic campaign platform. Prior to this Mr. Deese served as Economic Policy Director for Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign. Previously, Mr. Deese spent three years at the Center for American Progress where he worked as a Senior Policy Analyst for Economic Policy. His work centered on fiscal policy, international trade, and globalization. Mr. Deese has also worked at the Center for Global Development



where he co-wrote the book, *Delivering on Debt Relief*. Mr. Deese is a graduate of the Yale Law School and Middlebury College.

David Livingston is an associate in Carnegie's Energy and Climate Program, where his research focuses on innovation, markets, and risk. Prior to joining Carnegie, David gained experience at the World Trade Organization in Geneva and at the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in Vienna. He has consulted for a number of organizations on projects relating to climate change, green growth, and stranded assets. Livingston is also an adjunct lecturer at the University of Southern California, teaching a course on energy markets and policy at the University's Washington, DC center. He was selected as a Future Energy Leader for the 2014-2017 term of the World Energy Council, and currently serves on the Council's Task Force on Rules of Trade & Investment. Livingston is also a nonresident associate of Carnegie Europe in Brussels, and serves as a member of the Unconventional Hydrocarbons Network, an advisory committee to the European Commission. He is a member of the Royal Institute for International Affairs (Chatham House) and the International Association for Energy Economics. In addition, he serves on the advisory board of SXSW Eco and a number of social enterprises.

Global Population Flows

Alex Nowrasteh is the immigration policy analyst at the Cato Institute's Center for Global Liberty and Prosperity. His popular publications have appeared in the Wall Street Journal, USA Today, the Washington Post, the Houston Chronicle, the Los Angeles Times, the New York Post, and elsewhere. His academic publications have appeared in the Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, the Fletcher Security Review, and Public Choice. Alex has appeared on Fox News, Bloomberg, and numerous television and radio stations across the United States. He is the coauthor, with Mark Krikorian of the Center for Immigration Studies, of the booklet *Open Immigration: Yea and Nay* (Encounter Broadides, 2014). He received a BA in economics from George Mason University and a Master of Science in economic history from the London School of Economics.

Krishnadev Calamur is a senior editor at The Atlantic, where he oversees news coverage. He is a former editor and reporter at NPR and the author of *Murder in Mumbai*.

Daryl Grisgraber is a Senior Advocate for the Middle East at Refugees International. Prior to joining RI, Daryl worked at a local NGO in Cairo where she managed projects providing refugees with legal assistance and psychosocial services. She also spent six years at Amnesty International USA where she handled several aspects of the organization's refugee program including legal support to asylum seekers, advocacy on domestic and international refugee policy, and crisis response development. Earlier, Daryl was the executive director of a small research-oriented NGO that provided services to refugees and asylum seekers in detention in the United States. She has a master's degree from the University of Texas at Austin.

Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan is Assistant Director of MPI's International Program, where she is primarily responsible for managing the program's flagship initiative: the Transatlantic Council on Migration. She is also a Nonresident Fellow with the Migration Policy Institute Europe. Since she joined MPI in 2008, Ms. Banulescu-Bogdan has supported MPI's President in advising governments on various aspects of migration management. This has included technical support to countries holding the rotating presidency of the European Union, support to the annual Global Forum on Migration and Development, and private briefings and memos to help European countries think through changes to migration-related legislation. Prior to joining MPI in 2008, she worked at the Brookings Institution, helping to develop public policy seminars for senior government officials in the



Institution's executive education program. Ms. Banulescu-Bogdan obtained her master's with distinction in nationalism studies from Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

Data Governance

Susan Hennessey is Fellow in National Security in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. She is the Managing Editor of the Lawfare blog, which is devoted to sober and serious discussion of “Hard National Security Choices.” She focuses on national security issues surrounding cybersecurity, surveillance, federal terrorism prosecutions, and congressional oversight of the intelligence community. Prior to joining Brookings, Ms. Hennessey was an attorney in the Office of General Counsel of the National Security Agency. At the NSA, she advised operational elements on matters relating to Information Assurance and Cybersecurity and represented the Agency on cybersecurity legislation and related executive actions. Hennessey received her J.D. from Harvard Law School and B.A. in Italian from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Jonah Force Hill is an Internet Policy Specialist at the U.S. Department of Commerce, where he works on variety of global Internet policy issues, including global data flows, privacy, Internet governance, and cybersecurity. He represents the United States in a number of bilateral meetings and multilateral venues such as the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). Prior to joining the government, Jonah worked as a management consultant in San Francisco, California, where he advised corporate and public sector clients on technology policy strategy. He holds an MPP and MTS from Harvard University and a BA from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Emma Llansó is the Director of the Center for Democracy & Technology's (CDT) Free Expression Project, which works to promote law and policy that support users' free expression rights in the United States and around the world. Emma leads CDT's work aimed at ensuring that online expression receives the highest level of protection under the First Amendment and international human rights law. Emma also leads the Project's work to preserve strong intermediary liability protections in the U.S. and to advance these key policies abroad. She works to develop content policy best practices with Internet content platforms, advocating for user-empowerment tools and other alternatives to government regulation of online speech. The Project's work spans many subjects, including online child safety and children's privacy, human trafficking, privacy and online reputation issues, counter-terrorism and “radicalizing” content, and online harassment. Emma earned a B.A. in anthropology from the University of Delaware and a J.D. from Yale Law School.

Jenna McLaughlin is a reporter and blogger for the *Intercept* covering surveillance and national security. She previously covered national security and foreign policy at Mother Jones magazine as an editorial fellow. There, she recently published a deep-dive investigation into the self-proclaimed “freedom fighter” Matthew VanDyke and his mission, entrenched in problems, to train the Assyrian Christians of Iraq to fight ISIS. She routinely covered the Pentagon's sexual assault problem, putting pressure on Lackland Air Force base and others to address issues with reporting and preventing assaults. Her coverage of the Islamic State, ISIS, has been cited by recent novels and other stories on the subject, and her coverage of Twitter and its relationship to privacy and counterterrorism has been referenced in congressional testimony. She has also published multiple freelance articles with the *National Journal*, and previously worked for *Baltimore City Paper* and *DC Magazine*.



Recommended Readings for Breakout Sessions

Economic Statecraft

1. Economic Coercion After Iran

- [Peter Harrell, *Lessons from Russia and the Future of Sanctions*, Center for a New American Security, 2015.](#)
- [Elizabeth Rosenberg, *Understanding the Role of Sanctions Under the Iran Deal*, Testimony before the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, May 24, 2016.](#)

2. Geoeconomics and Statecraft

- [Hillary Clinton, *Delivering on the Promise of Economic Statecraft*, Speech at the Singapore Management University, 2012.](#)

3. How Sanctions Work

- [Office of the Secretary of the Treasury Jack Lew, *Remarks of Secretary Lew on the Evolution of Sanctions and Lessons for the Future at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2016.](#)
- [Peter D. Feaver and Eric B. Lorber, *The Sanctions Myth*, The National Interest, June 15, 2015.](#)

4. Trade Policy as Foreign Policy

- [Michael Froman, *The Geopolitical Stakes of America's Trade Policy*, Foreign Policy, February 17, 2015.](#)
- [Ashley J. Tellis, *The Geopolitics of the TTIP and the TPP*, Adelphi Papers, 2014.](#)

Global Population Flows

1. Immigration and the U.S. Economy

- [Michael A. Clemens, *Economics and Emigration: Trillion-Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk?*, Journal of Economic Perspectives, 2011.](#)



- [Peter T. Leeson, and Zachary Gochenour, *The Economic Effects of International Labor Mobility*, The Economics of Immigration, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.](#)
- [Alex Nowrasteh, *The Fiscal Impact of Immigration*, Cato Institute, 2014.](#)

2. Shifts in Attitudes and National Values

- [Randy Capps, Kathleen Newland, Susan Fratzke, Susanna Groves, Michael Fix, Margie McHugh, and Gregory Auclair, *The Integration Outcomes of U.S. Refugees: Successes and Challenges*, Migration Policy Institute, 2015.](#)
- [Tracy Brown Hamilton, *Losing Identity During the Refugee Crisis*, The Atlantic, May 16, 2016.](#)
- [Tariq Modood, *Merkel is wrong – demanding Syrians assimilate could backfire*, The Guardian, December 15, 2015.](#)

3. America's refugee resettlement program: Successes and Failures

- ['Internally displaced persons', Forced Migration Online.](#)
- [Daphne Davies, *Seeking solutions to Europe's refugee crisis*, Devex, March 2016.](#)

4. Multilateral Institutions and Refugee Protection

- [Demetrios G. Papademetrious, *Beyond Asylum: Rethinking Protection Policies to Meet Sharply Escalating Needs*, Migration Policy Institute, 2015.](#)
- [Kathleen Newland, *Rethinking Global Protection: New Channels, New Tools*, Migration Policy Institute, 2015.](#)

Data Governance

Given the complexity of issues at hand, it would take more than a few readings to cover all relevant topics. All speakers have agreed to explain important concepts as they arise. Attendees are welcome to read pieces by published by the panelists to gain a better understanding of their subject expertise.