



DATE: September 14, 2016

TIME: 9h15 to 18h

VENUE: Fundação FHC (Rua Formosa, 367, 6th floor – Centro – 01049-000 – São Paulo - SP)

F U N D A Ç Ã O

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The German Marshall Fund
of the United States

STRENGTHENING TRANSATLANTIC COOPERATION

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**TURBULENT DEMOCRACIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM:
PERSPECTIVES FROM EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES**

Fundação Fernando Henrique Cardoso and The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) are proud to organize this conference on political turbulence in Europe, the United States, and Latin America, and which may influence the course of their democracies and contribute to a broader transformation of geopolitics. In all three regions, social and economic anxiety is helping fuel a general politics of protest against the status quo. These processes suggest a new period of creative destruction that may usher major changes within societies and on a global systemic level.

Over the course of the day at the offices of Fundação Fernando Henrique Cardoso, panelists and participants will discuss these developments in three separate panels focusing on dynamics in the United States, EU, and Latin America, and their possible consequences on global security and economic interests. A fourth panel will look more broadly at the possible shape of geopolitics to come, with particular emphasis on the role of democracies in the international system.

PANELS

PANEL 1: EUROPE

In Europe, jihadist terrorism and failed states on its periphery, a refugee crisis, the threat of Russian aggression, economic difficulties, growing public anger, and fundamental migration and assimilation challenges are combining to pose the most significant difficulties in decades for the EU and its members. Will these inevitably drive further fragmentation and shifts in social values and organization? Or will EU societies leverage crisis to forge a new consensus that can sustain and strengthen collaboration in key areas, in ways that safeguard security and existing values?

Speakers:

Jorge Castañeda | Christian Leffler | Michael Leigh

Moderator:

Kori Schake

PANEL 2: LATIN AMERICA

Brazil's profound political crisis has undercut the once widely-accepted narratives of its global rise and importance. Revelations of pervasive government corruption underscore both the resilience of the democratic institutions consolidated since the end of the military dictatorship and the huge credibility deficit of the political system. More broadly in Latin America, there is grassroots push against corrupt and ineffective governance, as many economies struggle after years of strong growth. Can reformist trends lay new foundations for equitable growth and social stability, and bring the region on-line as a strong contributor to global public goods? Or will that hope, and with it regional stability, founder in a generation of political turmoil?

Speakers:

José Botafogo Gonçalves | Christian Leffler | Juan Tokatlián

Moderator:

Bernardo Sorj

PANEL 3: UNITED STATES

The U.S. presidential electoral process has revealed widespread antipathy toward the Republican and Democratic establishments—in electoral insurgencies that have buoyed candidates who have questioned or rejected core alliances and policies (e.g. NATO and free trade) that have long been cornerstones of security and prosperity in a largely U.S.-shaped global system. Will America turn decisively inward, mired in political dysfunction that undermines further its prosperity and global influence? Or will the current crisis drive new support for policies that can buttress America’s global competitiveness and influence?

Speakers:

Rubens Barbosa | Mathew Burrows | Kori Schake

Moderator:

Jorge Castañeda

PANEL 4: DEMOCRACIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Today’s regional turbulence seems to fit into a wider but uneven pattern of creative destruction encompassing societies the world over. Technological factors are prominent in emerging processes of geo-political and -economic transformation that raise profound questions about the viability and shape of global governance and institutions in the decades ahead. How might this transformation affect, or reflect, the domestic character of democratic Atlantic states and societies? Are we moving toward an “age of regions” in which liberal democracies are merely one of several very differently organized “blocs?” What is the likelihood we are moving toward scenarios even more challenging than diffused power centers, in which fundamental dynamics of international social and political interaction change significantly? Against this backdrop, what are the most important values and interests that Atlantic democracies share and is it possible to articulate a practical core agenda for protecting them, including institutional rebooting?

Speakers:

Mathew Burrows | Bernardo Sorj | Juan Tokatlián

Moderator:

Michael Leigh

AGENDA

9h15 - 9h45	<i>Registration and welcome coffee</i>
9h45 - 10h	<i>Opening</i>
10h - 11h30	Panel 1: Europe
11h30 - 12h	<i>Coffee break</i>
12h - 13h30	Panel 2: Latin America
13h30 - 14h30	<i>Lunch</i>
14h30 - 16h	Panel 3: United States
16h - 16h30	<i>Coffee break</i>
16h30 - 18h	Panel 4: Democracies and the International System

SPEAKERS



BERNARDO SORJ

Sociologist, director of the Edelstein Center for Social Research, co-director of the Plataforma Democrática and Sociology Professor of the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). He is author of 28 books and more than 100 articles. He has held several chairs and was a visiting professor at many universities and research centers in Europe and the United States. He co-directs the Project Plataforma Democrática and is co-editor of the book series “O Estado da

Democracia na América Latina”.



CHRISTIAN LEFFLER

Deputy Secretary General for Economic and Global Issues, European External Action Service. Born in Göteborg in 1955, Mr Leffler obtained a Bachelor's degree in politics and international relations from the LSE. After doctoral studies at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva he joined the Swedish Foreign Service in 1980. Postings to Cairo and Paris were followed by the Political Affairs Department of the Ministry in Stockholm.

After participating in the accession negotiations and in establishing the new working structures of the Representation in the first year of active Swedish EU membership, he became the first Swedish “Antici,” responsible under the Permanent Representative for policy coordination in the work in the Council of Ministers.

He joined the European Commission in 1996, where he took up the post of Commission “Antici” and Head of the unit in the Secretariat General responsible for the coordination of relations with the Council of Ministers. In 1999, he became the Deputy Head of the Private Office of the Right Honourable Chris Patten, European Commissioner for External Relations. From 2002 until 2007, he was Director in charge of the Middle East and South Mediterranean in the European Commission’s Directorate General for External Relations. He then spent three years as Head of Cabinet of Mrs Margot Wallström, Commission Vice President for Institutional Relations and Communication. During 2010 Mr Leffler was Deputy Director General of the DG for Development and relations with African, Caribbean and Pacific States, as well as a senior adviser to EU High Representative for CFSP and European Commission Vice-President Catherine Ashton, assisting her in the preparation for the establishment of the new European External Action Service.

From the beginning of 2011 to 2015 he was Managing Director for Americas with the European External Action Service. Mr Leffler took up his current position on 16 September 2015.



JORGE G. CASTAÑEDA

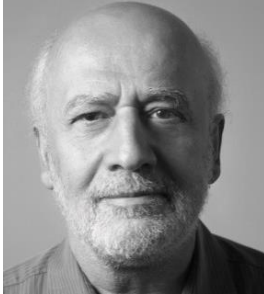
Co-president of the Franco-Mexican Strategic Council (CSFM), counselor to the *Human Rights Watch*, the *American Academy of Arts and Science* and to the *American Philosophical Society*. He holds a chair at the New York University and writes for the newspapers *Milenio* and *El País*, for the magazine *TIME*, and is a collaborator of the *Univisión* and *Foro TV*. He was Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, a presidential candidate and professor at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.



JOSÉ BOTAFOGO GONÇALVES

Ambassador and Emeritus Vice President of the Brazilian Center for International Relations (CEBRI). Bachelor of Social Sciences and Legal Sciences (PUC-RJ). Attended to the Course on Economic Development Problems (CEPAL, 1960).

Over the past 45 years, he held several positions in the diplomatic area, notably related to economic and trade matters. In 1977 he was appointed Head of Trade Policy Division. In 1979, he was Secretary of Economic Cooperation and International Technical Secretariat of the Presidency of Planning of the Republic. Between 1985 and 1987 he was Vice President of External Relations of the World Bank in Washington. He served as General Consul of Brazil in Milan between 1991 and 1995. From 1995 to 1998, he was General Sub secretary of Integration Affairs, Economic and Foreign Trade. From March to December 1998, he was sworn in as Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism of Brazil. In 2000 he was chosen by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso as Ambassador for Special Affairs of Mercosul and was Ambassador of Brazil in Argentina from 2002 to 2004.



JUAN GABRIEL TOKATLIAN

Sociologist, he holds a M.A (1981) and a Ph.D. (1990) in International Relations from *The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies*, Washington. Tokatlian is a professor of International Relations at the *Universidad Di Tella (UTDT)*, Buenos Aires. He was Director of the Department of Political Science and International Studies at UTDT (2012 a 2016), Professor at the *Universidad de San Andrés*, Argentina (1999-2008) and at the *Universidad Nacional de Colombia*, Bogotá (1995-1998). He has published several books, essays and articles on the foreign policies of Argentina and Colombia, on US-American relations, on contemporary global politics, and on drug trafficking, organized crime and violence in the Americas.



KORI SCHAKE

Dr. Kori Schake is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. During the 2008 presidential election, she was senior policy adviser to the McCain-Palin campaign, responsible for policy development and outreach in the areas of foreign and defense policy. From 2007 to 2008 she was the deputy director for policy planning in the state department. In addition to staff management, she worked on resourcing and organizational effectiveness issues, including a study of what it would take to “transform” the state department so as to enable integrated political, economic, and military strategies. During President Bush's first term, she was the director for Defense Strategy and Requirements on the National Security Council. She was responsible for interagency coordination for long-term defense planning and coalition maintenance issues. Projects Schake contributed to include conceptualizing and budgeting for continued transformation of defense practices; the most significant realignment of US military forces and bases around the world since 1950; creating NATO's Allied Command Transformation and the NATO Response Force; and recruiting and retaining coalition partners for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. She has held the Distinguished Chair of International Security Studies at West Point, and also served in the faculties of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs, and the National Defense University. She is on the boards of the journal *Orbis* and the Centre for European Reform and blogs for Foreign Policy's Shadow Government.



MATHEW J. BURROWS

Dr. Mathew J. Burrows serves as the director of the Atlantic Council's Strategic Foresight Initiative in the Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security. He was appointed counselor to the National Intelligence Council (NIC) in 2007 and director of the Analysis and Production Staff (APS) in 2010. As director of APS, Burrows was responsible for managing a staff of senior analysts and production technicians who guide and shepherd all NIC products from inception to dissemination. He was the principal drafter for the NIC publication *Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds*, which received widespread recognition and praise in the international media and among academics and think tanks.

In 2005, he was asked to set up and direct the NIC's new Long Range Analysis Unit, which is now known as the Strategic Futures Group.

Burrows joined the CIA in 1986, where he served as analyst for the Directorate of Intelligence (DI), covering Western Europe, including the development of European institutions such as the European Union. From 1998 to 1999 he was the first holder of the intelligence community fellowship and served at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Other previous positions included assignments as special assistant to the US UN Ambassador Richard Holbrooke (1999-2001) and Deputy National Security Advisor to US Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill (2001-02). He is a member of the DI's Senior Analyst Service. Burrows graduated from Wesleyan University in 1976 and received a PhD in European history from Cambridge University, England in 1983.



MICHAEL LEIGH

Sir Michael Leigh is a senior fellow, consultant and senior advisor to GMF. He focuses on European Neighborhood Policy, Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East as well as the future of the EU. He runs a program at GMF on the implications of the gas discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean. In 2006, Leigh became director-general for enlargement with the European Commission after serving for three years as external relations deputy director-general with responsibility for European Neighborhood Policy, relations with Eastern Europe, Southern Caucasus, Central Asia, Middle East, and the Mediterranean countries. He began his current role after more than 30 years in EU institutions, including as a cabinet member for various commissioners and as director in the Task Force for the EU Accession Negotiations.

He began his career as assistant professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University and lecturer in international relations at the University of Sussex. He holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy, politics, and economics from Oxford University and a Ph.D. in political science from MIT.



RUBENS BARBOSA

Ambassador Rubens Barbosa has many years of international economic, trade and commercial experience. Most recently, he was Ambassador to the Court of Saint James, in London, from January 1994 to June 1999 and Brazilian Ambassador to the United States of America, in Washington DC, from June 1999 to March 2004. Ambassador Barbosa has held a variety of senior positions in the Brazilian Government's Ministry of Foreign Relations, including as Secretary for International Affairs at the Ministry of Finance; Brazilian Permanent Representative to the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI); Under Secretary-General for Regional Integration, Trade and Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Relations; and as Coordinator of the Brazilian Section of Mercosur, the Southern Cone Common Market. A highly experienced diplomat, especially in economic, trade and commercial affairs, he actively participated in decision-making processes in these areas, headed hundreds of negotiation missions and was the Chairman of the Association of Coffee-Producing Countries for five years.

Ambassador Barbosa regularly writes articles and essays for the press and specialized magazines and is also the author of four books: "Integração Econômica da América Latina: da retórica à realidade" (Economic Integration of Latin America: from rhetoric to the reality), "Panorama Visto de Londres" (A Broad View from London), which deals with foreign and economic policies, "The Mercosur Codes", published by the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, and his most recent book "Mercosul Quinze Anos" (Mercosur Fifteen Years), which evaluates the organization fifteen years after its creation, . He was also editor and organizer of "O Brasil dos Brazilianistas" (The Brazil of the Brazilianists) Mercosur and the Regional Integration, and The Dissent in Washington (2012). Ambassador Barbosa has a Master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science (1971). The Ambassador currently works as a business consultant and occupies, among others, the positions of President of the Upper Council of Foreign Trade from FIESP (Federation of Industries of the State of Sao Paulo) and member of the business council of The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP).

He is also member of many other councils, such as the Sao Paulo State Symphony Orchestra (OSESF) and the CSU CardSystem S.A Company. Member of the Group of Analysis of the International Conjuncture of the University of São Paulo, President Emeritus of CEBEU – Brazil – US Business Council and Publisher of the Journal Interesse Nacional.



SÉRGIO FAUSTO

Political scientist, Executive Superintendent of Fundação Fernando Henrique Cardoso. He co-directs the Project Plataforma Democrática and is co-editor of the book series “O Estado da Democracia na América Latina”. Fausto is a frequent contributor to *O Estado de S.Paulo* and to *Infolatam - Información y Análisis sobre América Latina*. He is also an expert contributor of the Latin American Program of the James Baker Institute of the Rice University. He served as advisor to the Ministry of Planning and Budget, of Development and External Trade and of Finance between 1995 and 2002. In 2012, he was awarded with the Gus Hart Fellowship, a prize annually given by the Chicago Council of Global Affairs to academics and policy-makers for their contribution to democracy and development in Latin America.



TIM RIDOUT

Tim Ridout is a fellow at GMF, where he focuses on political and economic issues in Brazil, in addition to global security challenges such as cybersecurity. Prior to joining GMF, he worked at Institutional Shareholder Services as a corporate governance analyst, primarily studying Brazilian companies. Before that, he was a program manager with the Brazil-U.S. Business Council at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Ridout regularly contributes to the *Huffington Post* and his writing has also appeared in the *Boston Herald*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Hartford Courant*, and *Providence Journal*. He received his master’s degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 2011, with concentrations in international security studies and U.S. foreign policy.

A version of his master’s thesis on peacebuilding in Somaliland was published in the *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*. While at Fletcher, Ridout was managing editor of *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, and he currently sits on the advisory board.



WILLIAM MCILHENNY

William McIlhenny is a senior Wider Atlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. He was a Member of the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Council, where he focused on strategic dimensions of U.S. policy in the Western Hemisphere. He also served as Senior Policy Advisor and Director of the Western Hemisphere Bureau's Office of Policy, Planning and Coordination.

At the White House he was Director for North American affairs on the National Security Council staff. A career U.S. diplomat, he held a number of positions at U.S. missions in Latin America and Europe and had other Washington-based assignments focused on UN Security Council issues and Congressional relations.