



## AGENDA

### FRIDAY, MARCH 14

#### 16:00 – 18:00 **BBC WORLD DEBATE**

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

##### ■ **The West Under Challenge**

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**WELCOME:** Mr. Craig Kennedy, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**DISCUSSANTS:** Amb. Richard Holbrooke, Vice Chairman, Perseus LLC; **The Hon. Konstantin Kosachev**, Chairman of the International Affairs Committee, Russian State Duma; **The Hon. Bernard Kouchner**, Foreign Affairs Minister, France; **The Hon. Radosław Sikorski**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Poland  
**MODERATOR:** Mr. Nik Gowing, Lead Anchor, BBC World

#### 18:00 – 19:00 **COCKTAIL RECEPTION**

#### 19:00 **OPENING SESSION**

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**INTRODUCTION:** Amb. Lodewijk Willems, Director External Affairs, Fortis

**KEYNOTE:** H.E. Guy Verhofstadt, Prime Minister, Belgium

#### 19:45 **OPENING DINNER**

> ON THE RECORD <

**LOCATION:** Crystal Palace

**INTRODUCTION:** Dr. Gunter Thielen, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Bertelsmann Stiftung

**DINNER REMARKS:** The Hon. Dr. Javier Solana, Secretary General of the Council of the EU and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy

**CLOSING REMARKS:** H.E. Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Prime Minister, Denmark

#### 21:30

##### ■ **A Conversation with...**

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

**LOCATION:** Lobby

**DISCUSSANT:** The Hon. Robert B. Zoellick, President, World Bank

**MODERATOR:** Mr. Philip Stephens, Associate Editor and Senior Commentator, *Financial Times*

### SATURDAY, MARCH 15

#### 08:00 – 9:15 **BREAKFAST SESSIONS**

> OFF THE RECORD, CHATHAM HOUSE RULE, NO MEDIA COVERAGE <

##### ■ **The United States Before the Presidential Election**

**LOCATION:** Crystal Palace

**DISCUSSANTS:** Dr. Stan Greenberg, Chairman and CEO, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research; Amb. Richard Holbrooke, Vice Chairman, Perseus LLC; Mr. Neil Newhouse, Partner and Co-Founder, Public Opinion Strategies; Mr. Randall Scheunemann, Owner and President, Orion Strategies  
**MODERATOR:** Mr. Ulysse Gosset, Anchor, France 24

##### ■ **The Future of the Balkans**

**LOCATION:** Lobby

**DISCUSSANTS:** Amb. Wolfgang Ischinger, Permanent Representative to the Court of St. James (U.K.), Germany; and Former EU Representative for Kosovo; **The Hon. Ivaylo Kalfin**, Foreign Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Bulgaria; **Amb. Frank G. Wisner**, Vice Chairman, External Affairs American International Group; and Former U.S. Special Envoy for the Kosovo Status Process  
**MODERATOR:** Baroness Pauline Neville-Jones, Shadow Security Minister and National Security Adviser to the Leader of the Opposition, United Kingdom House of Lords

##### ■ **What Happened to the Revolution? Populist Politics in Postcommunist Europe**

**LOCATION:** Loui III

**DISCUSSANTS:** Mr. Ivan Krastev, Chairman, Centre for Liberal Strategis; **The Hon. Radosław Sikorski**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Poland

**MODERATOR:** Mr. Bernard Guetta, Editorailist, France Inter

#### 09:30 – 11:00 **MAIN SESSION**

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

##### ■ **Toward a Low Carbon Society: Climate Change as a Transatlantic Challenge**

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** H.E. Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Prime Minister, Denmark; Mr. Jim Rogers, CEO, Duke Energy; Dr. James Steinberg, Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas  
**MODERATOR:** Ms. Katrin Mueller-Walde, Journalist, German Television ZDF

#### 11:00 – 11:30 **COFFEE BREAK**

#### 11:30 – 12:45 **MAIN SESSION**

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

##### ■ **Sovereign Wealth Funds: Challenge, Opportunity, or Both?**

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** The Hon. Joaquín Almunia, Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, European Commission; **The Hon. Wouter Bos**, Finance Minister, The Netherlands; **The Hon. Robert Kimmitt**, Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Treasury; **The Hon. Sheikha Lubna al Qasimi**, Foreign Trade Minister, United Arab Emirates  
**MODERATOR:** Mr. Gideon Rachman, Chief Foreign Affairs Columnist, *Financial Times*

#### 12:45 – 14:45 **BREAK-OUT LUNCH**

**DISCUSSIONS** (various locations)

> OFF THE RECORD, CHATHAM HOUSE RULE, NO MEDIA COVERAGE <

##### ■ **God's Country: Religion and Foreign Policy**

**DISCUSSANT:** Mr. Walter Russell Mead, Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

**CHAIR:** Dr. Karen Donfried, Executive Vice President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

##### ■ **McMafia: Does the Global Underworld Strangle Young Democracies?**

**DISCUSSANT:** Mr. Misha Glenny, Author and Journalist

**CHAIR:** Dr. Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

##### ■ **Cuba after Castro**

**DISCUSSANTS:** Mr. Steven Clemons, Publisher, *Washington Note* and Director of the American Strategy Program, New America Foundation; Mr. Tod Lindberg, Editor, *Policy Review*; Mr. Andrés Ortega, Columnist, *El País*; **The Hon. Alexandr Vondra**, Deputy Prime Minister for EU Affairs, Czech Republic  
**CHAIR:** Mr. Craig Kennedy, President, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

##### ■ **Is the International Trading System Broken?**

**DISCUSSANTS:** The Hon. Jonathan Evans, Member, European Parliament; **The Hon. Jim Kolbe**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**CHAIR:** Dr. Randall Soderquist, Director of Economic Policy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## ■ Ukraine: Is There Still a Euroatlantic Perspective?

**DISCUSSANTS:** The Hon. Dr. Hryhorii Nemyria, Vice Prime Minister, Ukraine; **The Hon. Kostyantyn Gryshchenko**, Opposition (Shadow) Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine; **Mr. David J. Kramer**, Assistant Deputy Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State  
**CHAIR:** **The Hon. Ana Palacio**, Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Spain

## ■ Should Democracy be Promoted or Demoted?

**DISCUSSANTS:** **Mr. Paul Berman**, Professor and Writer-in-Residence, New York University; **Dr. Robert Kagan**, Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States; and Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; **Mr. Ken Wollack**, President, National Democratic Institute  
**CHAIR:** **Dr. John K. Glenn**, Director of Foreign Policy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## ■ Untapped Potential: Building a Stronger Japan-Transatlantic Relationship

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Shintaro Ito**, Deputy Secretary General, Liberal Democratic Party; and Member, House of Representatives, Japan; **The Hon. Taku Otsuka**, Deputy Director General of the International Bureau, Liberal Democratic Party; and Member, House of Representatives, Japan; **The Hon. Hitoshi Tanaka**, Senior Fellow, Japan Center for International Exchange; **Mr. Tadamichi Yamamoto**, Director General of the Public Diplomacy Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan  
**CHAIR:** **Dr. James Steinberg**, Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas

## ■ Capital Markets Turmoil: The Transatlantic Perspective

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Joaquín Almunia**, Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, European Commission; **The Hon. Robert Kimmitt**, Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Treasury  
**CHAIR:** **Mr. Karel De Gucht**, Vice Chairman to the Managing Board, ABN AMRO  
**MODERATOR:** **Ms. Katinka Barysch**, Deputy Director, Centre for European Reform

## ■ Biofuels: Is There Hope Beyond the Hype?

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Rosa DeLauro**, Member, U.S. House of Representatives; **The Hon. Erika Mann**, Member, European Parliament  
**CHAIR:** **Mr. Tim Searchinger**, Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## ■ Hamas and Hezbollah: Which Direction Should We Take?

**DISCUSSANTS:** **Amb. Oded Eran**, Director of International Affairs, World Jewish Congress Office; **Mr. Steven Erlanger**, Paris Bureau Chief, *The New York Times*; **The Hon. Eckart von Klæden**, Foreign Policy Spokesman, Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/Christian Social Union (CSU) Parliamentary Group; and Member, German Bundestag; **Dr. Paul Salem**, Director, Carnegie Middle East Center  
**CHAIR:** **Dr. Ian Lesser**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## ■ Turkey, the Kurds, and the Middle East

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Suat Kınıklıoğlu**, Member, Turkish Parliament; **The Hon. Olli Rehn**, Commissioner for Enlargement, European Union  
**CHAIR:** **Amb. Marc Grossman**, Vice Chairman, The Cohen Group; and Board Member, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## ■ Does the Path to Europe Extend to the Caucasus?

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Vartan Oskanian**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Armenia; **Mr. Edgars Rinkēvičs**, State Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Latvia; **The Hon. Temuri Yakobashvili**, State Minister for Reintegration, Georgia  
**CHAIR:** **Mr. Peter Van Praagh**, Senior Director for Wider Europe, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## 16:00 – 16:30 ADDRESS

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**INTRODUCTION:** **Mr. Marc Leland**, Board Co-Chair, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**KEYNOTE:** **The Hon. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**, Secretary General, NATO

## 16:30 – 18:00 MAIN SESSION

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

### ■ Rethinking the Enlargement Paradigm

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Carl Bildt**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Sweden; **The Hon. Mircea Dan Geoană**, President of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Romanian Senate; **Amb. Marc Grossman**, Vice Chairman, The Cohen Group; and Board Member, The German Marshall Fund of the United States; **The Hon. Maris Riekstins**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Latvia  
**MODERATOR:** **Dr. Ronald Asmus**, Executive Director of the Brussels Office, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

## 18:00 – 18:30 COFFEE BREAK

**A Taste of Latvia**

## 18:30 – 19:45 MAIN SESSION

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

### ■ Who Will Write the Rules of the Global Economy in the 21st Century?

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Paul S. Atkins**, Commissioner, U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission; **Mr. James Quigley**, CEO, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu; **The Hon. Ana Palacio**, Former Foreign Affairs Minister, Spain; **Dr. André Sapir**, Resident Scholar, Bruegel; **The Hon. Günter Verheugen**, Vice President and Commissioner for Enterprise and Industry, European Commission  
**MODERATOR:** **Dr. Daniel W. Drezner**, Associate Professor, Tufts University

## 19:45 NETWORKING DINNER

## 21:30 NIGHT OWL SESSIONS

> OFF THE RECORD, CHATHAM HOUSE RULE, NO MEDIA COVERAGE <

### ■ Russia Under a New Leadership: What's in it for the West?

**LOCATION:** Lobby

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Sergey Kislyak**, Deputy Foreign Minister, Russia; **The Hon. Eckart von Klæden**, Foreign Policy Spokesman, Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/Christian Social Union (CSU) Parliamentary Group; and Member, German Bundestag; **The Hon. Boris Efimovich Nemtsov**, Co-Founder, Union of Right Forces; and Former Deputy Prime Minister, Russia; **The Hon. Alexandr Vondra**, Deputy Prime Minister for EU Affairs, Czech Republic  
**MODERATOR:** **Mr. Roger Cohen**, Editor-at-Large, *The International Herald Tribune*

### ■ For God and Country: The Muslim Experience in the Post-9/11 West

**LOCATION:** Loui III

**DISCUSSANTS:** **Dr. Kambiz GhaneaBassiri**, Assistant Professor, Reed College; **The Hon. Naser Khader**, Member, Danish Parliament; **The Hon. Omid Nouripour**, Member, German Bundestag; **Mr. Safaa Zarzour**, President, Zazour Law Offices, LLC  
**MODERATOR:** **Mr. Christopher Caldwell**, Senior Editor, *The Weekly Standard*

### ■ The Politics of China Policy

**LOCATION:** Empire

**DISCUSSANTS:** **Mr. Wang Jisi**, Dean, School of International Studies, Peking University; **Dr. Volker Stanzel**, Political Director for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany; **Dr. James Steinberg**, Dean, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas  
**MODERATOR:** **Dr. James Mann**, Author-in-Residence, Johns Hopkins University

## SUNDAY, MARCH 16

## 09:15 – 10:45 MAIN SESSION

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

### ■ Afghanistan: What is Success and How Do We Get There?

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Haneef Atmar**, Education Minister, Afghanistan; **Lt. Gen. Karl Eikenberry**, Deputy Chairman, NATO Military Committee; **The Hon. Dr. Karl-Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg**, Member, German Bundestag; **The Hon. Peter MacKay**, Defence Minister, Canada  
**MODERATOR:** **Mr. Steven Erlanger**, Paris Bureau Chief, *The New York Times*

## 10:45 – 11:15 COFFEE BREAK

## 11:15 – 12:15 MAIN SESSION

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

### ■ Challenges in the Wider Middle East A Conversation with...

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**DISCUSSANTS:** **The Hon. Dr. Javier Solana**, Secretary General of the Council of the EU and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy  
**MODERATOR:** **Mr. David Ignatius**, Associate Editor and Columnist, *The Washington Post*

## 12:15 – 13:15 CLOSING SESSION

> ON THE RECORD, WITH MEDIA COVERAGE <

**LOCATION:** Ballroom

**ADDRESS:** **The Hon. Karel De Gucht**, Foreign Affairs Minister, Belgium  
**KEYNOTE:** **The Hon. Michael Chertoff**, Secretary, U.S. Department of Homeland Security

## 13:15 – 15:00 CLOSING LUNCH