

# European Think Tank Summit

Think Tanks in a Time of Crisis and Paralysis: On the Sidelines or Catalysts for Ideas and Action?

> A Regional and International Conference 20 November 2012 United States Embassy in Rome Rome, Italy

Rapporteurs' Summary Report
Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program and International Relations Program
University of Pennsylvania
Sydney Baloue, Cécile Moore







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# Summit Report

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Supporting material prepared for consideration by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program and International Relations Program at the University of Pennsylvania.

## **Preface**

Over the last 25 years the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) has developed and spearheaded a series of global initiatives that have helped bridge the gap between research and policymaking in critical areas such as international peace and security; globalization and governance; international economics; environmental issues; information and society; poverty alleviation; and healthcare and global health. Our ongoing international collaborative efforts are designed to establish regional and international networks of policy institutes and communities that improve policy making while strengthening democratic institutions and civil society around the world.

In 2005 TTCSP launched the "Global Go To Think Tank Index," which identifies and rates leading think tanks around the world. Three years ago TTCSP initiated a cooperative effort with think tanks in G20 countries, resulting in a major conference in Beijing in the fall of 2011 and the G20 Foreign Policy Think Tank Summit in Philadelphia in the spring of 2012.

For decades, scholars have tried to define the role of think tanks in the policymaking process. What remains undisputed is that whether creating, translating, or transforming knowledge, think tanks hold the capacity to influence the policy agenda and prioritize topics, thereby playing an important role in policy design. In addition, think tanks play an important human resource function, providing a reservoir of talent for current and future governments.

While definitions of the exact nature of think tanks vary, two key conclusions permeate the literature on think tanks: first, think tanks play a part—whether large or small—in the policymaking process, be it through agenda-setting, legitimating processes, or policy formulation; and second, the role of think tanks becomes particularly relevant in moments of change or transformation and in the face of increasingly complex policy demands. TTCSP views the ongoing transformation of the national, regional, and international environment as a critical moment that is generating increasingly complex demands for emerging and established world powers alike. The European Think Tank Summit (ETTS) aimed to understand the changing role of think tanks in a group of states with growing relevance at the national, regional, and global levels of government.

This peer-to-peer exchange provided participating think tank representatives with the opportunity to discuss a variety of special, substantive policy challenges and organizational issues through a series of panels, presentations, and roundtable discussions with accompanying Chatham House Rules.

The overall objective of the conference was to create a global forum for peer-to-peer exchange on regional and international issues, best practices for domestic and foreign policy think tanks, and the establishment of enduring linkages among think tanks at the national, regional and global levels. We only hope that such a forum and this accompanying report of the leading think tanks globally will foster thoughtful analysis and discussions on the relevant issues faced by all of these institutions. All quotes, recommendations, and summarized are not accredited to particular individuals.

Dr. James McGann Director Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program International Relations Program University of Pennsylvania

## **European Think Tank Summit**

20 November 2012 Rome, Italy

#### **Summit Coordinator**

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#### **Summit Rapporteurs**

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#### United States Embassy in Rome Support

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#### Wrap Up Session Co-Chairs

Christian Koch, (Gulf Research Center Foundation, Switzerland) Peter Stoute-King, (Global Agenda Councils, World Economic Forum)

All summit photos courtesy of United States Diplomatic Mission to Italy

Published Feb 2013 by the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program and International Relations Program, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA. Electronic copies of this report are available at the Global Go-to Think Tank website www.gotothinktank.com.

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## **European Think Tank Summit Participants**

Organization	Country	Participant Name	Participant Title
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Brookings Institution	USA	Cofman Wittes, Tamara	Senior Fellow, Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy
Bruegel	Belgium	Dann, Matt	Secretary General
Carnegie Europe	Belgium	Bomassi, Lizza	Deputy Director
Carnegie Moscow Center	Russia	Bubnova, Natalia	Deputy Director
CASE - Center for Social and Economic Research	Poland	Sobolewski, Maciej	Vice President
Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)	Belgium	Incerti, Marco	Head of Communications & Research Fellow
Centro Studi Internazionali (Centre for International Studies, Ce.S.I.)	Italy	Iacovino, Gabriele	Coordinator and Senior Analyst in charge of Projects
Centro Studi Internazionali (Centre for International Studies, Ce.S.I.)	Italy	La Bella, Luca	Senior Analyst for the Asia Desk
Chatham House	UK	Whitman, Richard	Associate Fellow, Europe Programme
Danish Institute for International Studies	Denmark	Tassinari, Fabrizio	Senior Researcher and Head of Research Unit
Demoskopea	Italy	Angelini, Fabrizio	Amministratore Delegato (CEO)
Ecologic Institute	Germany	Kraemer, R. Andreas	Director and CEO
Ecologic Institute	Germany	Meyer-Ohlendorf, Nils	Head, Global Policies
Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR)	United Arab Emirates	Al-Ansari, Mohamed	Media Specialist
Eupolis Lombardia	Italy	Colombo, Alessandro	Director
European Council on Foreign Relations	UK	Francescon, Silvia	Head of Rome Office
Fondazione Italianieuropei	Italy	Péruzy, Andrea	Secretary General
Fondazione Rosselli	Italy	Traclò, Francesca	Director
German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)	Germany	Ruchser, Matthias	Head of Communications
German Marshall Fund of the United States	Belgium	Lesser, Ian O.	Executive Director, Transatlantic Center
Gulf Research Center Foundation	Saudi Arabia and Switzerland	Koch, Christian	Director
Institut Français des relations internationales (IFRI)	France	Gomart, Thomas	Vice President for Strategic Development, Director of Russia/NIS Center

Institute for International	France	Migault, Philippe	Research Fellow
and Strategic Relations			
Institute of International and European Affairs	Ireland	Donoghue, Jill	Director of Research
Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)	Russia	Kuznetsov, Alexey	Head of the IMEMO European Studies Center, Professor of Economics
IPALMO	Italy	De Michelis, Gianni	President
Istituto Affari Internazionali	Italy	Tocci, Nathalie	Deputy Director
Istituto Bruno Leoni	Italy	Mingardi, Alberto	Direttore generale
Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)	Italy	Magri, Paolo	Executive Vice President and Director
Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)	Italy	Villafranca, Antonio	Head & Senior Research Fellow, European Programme
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Italiadecide	Italy	Rizzoni, Giovanni	Deputy Scientific Director
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Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung	Germany	Lange, Nico	Deputy Director for Political Consulting
Lo Spazio della Politica	Italy	Aresu, Alessandro	Co-founder and Director
Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'	Netherlands	Melissen, Jan	Director of Research
Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)	Norway	Haavardsson, Ingeborg K.	Special Advisor External Relations
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SETA Foundation at Ankara	Turkey	Cebeci, Erol	Executive Director
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University of Pennsylvania Law School	USA	Burke-White, William	Deputy Dean and Professor of Law
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Special United States Embassy in Rome Support

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## Thank You to All European Think Tank Summit Attendees



































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## European Think Tank Summit Agenda

#### Welcome and Overview of the Summit

#### Plenary Session and Roundtable Discussion

Public policy analysis generally views think tanks as a source of ideas and shapers of public policy. The current economic crisis and political paralysis provide a unique opportunity for think tanks to be catalysts for ideas and action—but are they? Have think tanks become a part of the problem, rather than sources of innovative policy solutions? Have decreased general operating support, the rise of specialized think tanks and project-specific funding, and a narrowing set of policy options led think tanks to support the status quo rather than challenge conventional wisdom by providing alternative policy proposals? According to a Greek proverb, "policy paralysis" is caused by analysis, hence the phrase "paralysis by analysis." What factors make think tanks conservative or innovative in the development of their ideas? What role can and should think tanks play in breaking the political paralysis and policy gridlock in the United States and in Europe? What strategies might they employ to help policymakers and the public end the gridlock and paralysis?

#### **Breakout Sessions (Three Concurrent Sessions)**

#### I. Think Tanks and the Future of Europe, the Euro, and the European Union

It was not too long ago that we spoke with confidence of a "Europe Whole and Free," but now the deep divisions and traditional fault lines in the region have come back with a vengeance: old versus new; rich versus poor; North versus South. What can think tanks do to help bridge these age-old divisions that have begun to reemerge in Europe? What regional and national policies and institutional mechanisms might be developed to help mount an effective response to the many challenges facing Europe? What role can and should think tanks play in promoting a pan-European response to policy problems? How can they collaborate to create a pan-European infrastructure of think tanks that would be able to bridge the divide and develop coherent and comprehensive policy proposals, in order to address the challenges that threaten the potential for peace and prosperity in the region and the future of the transatlantic partnership? The conference took place two weeks after the U.S. presidential election, and a few days after new leaders were selected at the 18th Party Congress in China. Will the reelection of President Obama lead to greater policy convergence or divergence between the United States and the European Union, with respect to: (1) the United States and the European Union bilaterally; and (2) the United States and the European Union and NATO in a wider international setting and in the face of global challenges? How does the much-discussed decline of the U.S. and the West and the rise of China and the Rest impact transatlantic relations? "As leading think tanks we must ask ourselves what must our organizations do to not only encourage policy alignment, but also steer it in a constructive direction?" One of the questions is the role of "transnational" and "foreign" think tanks in various countries and their role in cross-fertilizing policy debates in various countries. Drawing on the experiences and approaches of the diverse countries and think tanks represented at the Summit, what solutions or options can make foreign and domestic policy action more effective in times of crisis?

#### II. Global Economic Crisis and Political Paralysis

The dynamic growth and competitive challenge posed by emerging economies in the Global South require countries in the North to trim their budgets and government programs to bring them in line with current global economic competition, changing demographics, mounting sovereign debt, and little or no economic growth. The inability of Economically Developed Countries (EDCs) to compete with low -wages and low benefit cost in developing countries and emerging economies will make it difficult for countries in the North to emerge from the economic crisis in the short term. The prospects for meaningful economic growth in the long term appear to be dim unless significant structural adjustments occur, new technologies are employed, and productivity gains are realized. Making budget cuts and strategic investments (e.g., in science and technology, infrastructure, strategic resources, and education), which will enable countries in the North to remain competitive in the global economy, will require deep cuts in military spending and entitlement programs. Rather than developing a plan to deal with these long-term structural problems, politicians in the United States, Europe, and Japan have become mired in partisan politics and policy gridlock. The underlying question that comes out of the global financial crisis and

its long-run effects, at least in the United States and Europe, is: "The State (and the European Union): Hero or Villain?" What do other regions have to say about this? What role can think tanks play in managing very fundamental structural and philosophical tensions that pose long-term challenges to national, regional, and international governance?

#### III. Energy, Resources, and Climate Change: Conflict or Cooperation?

We now have a clear understanding and appreciation of the costs and consequences of our failure to address the interrelated issues of energy, resources, and climate change, and yet policy paralysis persists. Add to this the national and international security dimensions of U.S. and European dependencies on foreign oil and gas, as well as the increasing demand for these resources among emerging powers, and the dangers increase exponentially. Some analysts suggest that it would take a slight redirection of only one to two percent of investment and economic activity in the industrialized countries to change over to climate-saving, safe, and sustainable renewable energy within twenty years. Nevertheless, not much happens, and the risk of losing the planet as we know it increases. What explains this paralysis? What are the similarities and differences between the United States and Europe, and between the European Union and (some of) its member states? How can think tanks help overcome the obstacles? What are the international implications, with reference to changing financial flows once fossil fuels are on the way out and to new alliances built around renewable energy? Can energy independence and enhanced security be achieved without utilizing energy sources that have higher negative impact on the environment? Will the ongoing consumption of vital resources inevitably lead to conflict in a number of regions in the world? What can be done to address the increasing competition and the potential serious conflict over basic necessitates like food and water?

# Roundtable Discussion: Should Think Tanks Serve As Catalysts for Innovation, Ideas, and Action in Good Times and Bad?

The ongoing global economic crisis, power shifts among established and emerging powers, structural adjustment in OECD countries and the emerging economic powers, increasing poverty, climate change, and access to critical resources all pose major challenges for countries around the world. Policymakers are confronted with an array of policy issues that are characterized by uncertainty and multiple constraints, causes, and actors that span legal, political, and national boundaries. Think tanks have the potential to help policymakers and the public meet these challenges because of their unique role in the policymaking process and their capacity to engage in interdisciplinary, policy oriented research. Given that think tanks are uniquely positioned to address these issues, why aren't they playing a more prominent role in policy debates in Europe? What role can and should think tanks play in providing analysis and advice on emerging and enduring policy issues and advancing new approaches and policy options for addressing these issues? What steps should think tanks take to improve their profile, performance, and impact on the critical policy challenges facing the policymakers and countries they serve? How effective have think tanks been in engaging with other policy-oriented groups at the regional and global levels of government?

#### Wrap Up Session: Recommendations and Next Steps

The objective of this session is to develop concrete recommendations and a plan of action flowing from the Summit. Specifically, the forty think tanks present will be asked to develop a set of recommendations for think tanks, journalists, and donors that would strengthen the capacity of national and regional governments to address the policy challenges they face. These recommendations might come in the form of public and private funding initiatives to support innovative, evidence-based policy research; dissemination of best practices and innovative policy proposals; or joint ventures between think tanks and the old and new media that would focus on the difficult policy choices OECD countries will face in the next decade. Recommendations might also include research and public engagement programs designed to help think tanks examine the "third rail" issues that require analysis and action, but are issues that policy-makers are reluctant to consider because of high political costs. In addition, we might suggest strategies or initiatives to address the regional and global policy issues discussed at the Summit. Finally, we might suggest some ideas for improving the profile, performance, and impact of think tanks, individually and collectively.

#### 1. Introduction and Overview

News coverage of the Euro crisis in 2012 was inescapable. Pundits and experts debated whether the European project founded a little over a half-century ago could withstand the changing global dynamics and rising internal political pressures of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. While some experts see current policy gridlock in Brussels as a natural step towards greater European integration, others have suggested a larger need for civil society actors like think tanks to

play a greater role in formulating a constructive response to the emerging and

enduring policy issues we face.

After a year of austerity packages, EU budget debates, and other fallout from the crisis, the European Think Tank Summit (ETTS) convened at the United States Embassy in Rome on November 20, 2012 to discuss what role European think tanks and their stakeholders can play in navigating the member states of the European Union through the financial and institutional crisis. The summit examined the role of think tanks in policymaking and addressed the state of think tanks in Europe: institutional and infrastructural questions, funding and independence problems, as well as the changing nature of the policy research field. This report contains a summary of the proceedings of the European Think Tank Summit and highlights the main points of discussion from the Summit event.



Dr. James G. McGann, Director of the Think Tank and Civil Societies Program, welcomes summit participants.

### Four Major Summit Goals

At the beginning of the Summit several speakers identified four major goals to facilitate discussion between think tank participants. They are listed as follows:

- Explore some of the major policy issues facing European policymakers and the role think tanks can play in addressing the political paralysis and policy gridlock in Europe and the US
- ❖ Discuss the value of strategic partnerships and networks for think tanks
- Develop a constructive narrative to demonstrate the important role think tanks play in the policy formulation process
- ❖ View think tanks as a community and heighten the profile and impact of think tanks at a policy level

## 2. Institutional Challenges and the Future of Think Tanks

Institutional challenges to the European community's think tanks are entangled in a web of complexity. One summit attendee eloquently stated that think tanks are at a unique fulcrum of research in that they "think like academics, write like journalists, and act like diplomats." The particular role thank tanks play in civil society has many advantages, but it can also stretch them beyond their current capacity. For example, the occasion of crises or large system changes may prove fatal to think tanks, and their ability to adapt to change poses a fundamental institutional challenge to their subsistence.

The extent of institutional challenges discussed during the summit can be categorized by the following areas of interest: research competition and a resulting crisis of value; fundraising and agenda setting; and the role of social media for European think tanks in the future.

## 3. Competition in a Marketplace of Ideas and Establishing a Value Narrative

Law firms, consulting firms, media anchors, and other groups fill a similar role to think tanks in policy and data information dissemination and analysis. As a consequence, think tanks appear to be in a "crisis of value." This crisis stems from the absence of a solid narrative explaining what inherent value they possess in the sea of policy research competition.

Summit participants debated and discussed this paradigm more succinctly, asking, "What value do think tanks add to the policy research field?" One response was that think tanks are different from consultancy in other sectors because they focus more on the process of policy, and such a focus holds inherent value. When compared to universities, think tank publications are generally not academic, but they still provide substantial output. Furthermore, their position within civil society also gives them an added advantage. A majority of think tanks are very close to government and deal with governmental stakeholders. Although they hold this advantage, they have the ability to maintain enough distance and remain independent from the state, leaving them without a political agenda.

Although rising competition was viewed as a looming "threat" to think tanks, participants concluded that it was ultimately within their best interest to have some competition because it allowed for a more open debate and policy innovation. There was a call for think tanks to be more self-critical and agreement that some of the criticisms that had been lodged are warranted. The group concluded that they should be addressed.

## 4. Agenda-Setting, Thinking Long-Term, and Funding

Although funding is the biggest concern of European think tanks, three major, related challenges emerged from summit talks and shaped a large portion of discussion. The first was the complicated divide between the quantity and the quality of projects. The second was the capacity for think tanks to build long-term strategies. The last was how think tanks can reach financial and research independence.

Many Summit participants lamented their inability to set research priorities and agendas on key policy questions because of donor constraints. One attendee noted that think tanks appear to suffer from "short-termism," meaning that many think tanks either are forced to have short-term funding strategies, which in turn affects the quality of their work because they are not able to engage in or create longer-term projects. A dependency on policy analysis, which sometimes acts in sprints, contributes to this "short-termness." The short-term nature of projects was mainly a reference to EU-funded projects, which sometimes have a shorter time horizon than other contracts. This lack of longevity in European-oriented projects gives less time for European think tanks to promote new ideas. Instead, they are under immense pressure to churn out quality research in shorter amounts of time with little left for non-project specific overhead funding or resources for different projects.

#### With Better Funding Schemes in Place, Could Think Tanks Have Predicted Major Events?

Although think tank agenda setting is stifled by shorter-term contracts, donor funds also impose limits on research because they are usually issue-specific and are not particularly malleable. Many summit attendees reported that during the 2012 Euro crisis, they were inundated with calls from the EU and other donors for crisis-related research, which prevented them from focusing on other project areas. Think tanks were stuck with the "program du jour" and a short-sighted research outlook, which disadvantaged the long-term goal-setting they could have accomplished during the crisis.

Think tank attendees reflected on two of the most recent major political events – the Arab Spring and the unfolding of the Euro Crisis – and asked the following questions: Did think tanks as a community fail to see these coming? Do think tankers need to think outside the box? Do think tanks need to be bold to ensure their voices are heard? Responses were varied on the topic, with one ETTS participant noting that there were some think tanks who spoke up, but were not heard. Others mentioned the inherent research bias built into EU funding, explaining how EU member states did not provide research funding on Greece even though research communities knew Greece was

not solvent long before the 2008-2009 Euro crisis hit. Member states were able to once again shape policy conversation, which left think tanks out of the process. However, one response also noted the limitations of such feats: think tanks ultimately risk their credibility if an event they predict does not actually occur.

Furthermore, although current funding schemes and donor appropriations impose limits for European think tanks, sometimes think tanks themselves may inhibit their own agenda-setting capacity. Whether think tank structure is too conservative to pursue other interesting or innovative topics was also mentioned as a potential deterrent to achieving new ideas.

## 5. Independence in Funding and Research Quality

The term "independence" was a recurring point of concern for many in attendance, and the term took on several meanings throughout discussion, touching issues concerning funding and research quality.

Some summit attendees expressed their frustration with independence as it related to their research areas because although think tanks are generally considered "policy entrepreneurs," several European think tanks are heavily tied to government. This liaison sometimes leads to conflicts of interest in policy research because think tanks may be asked to defend status quo government initiatives, which in turn leaves new ideas out of reach. Many also argued that government project co-funding should not become political support for governmental donors.

ETTS participants defined research quality and independence through integrity and legitimacy. A concern about the ability of think tanks to be leaders and not followers, especially in times of crisis, was expressed by many of the participants. They also acknowledged the necessity for European researchers to maintain a sense of independence through the integrity of their research and through raising more diversified means of support. The sense of independence could be maintained by reframing the way think tanks work with donors, which would entail think tanks viewing themselves as partners with donors and not merely donation recipients.



Douglas Hengel, Deputy Chief of the U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Italy, welcomes summit barticipants.

viewing themselves as partners with donors and not merely donation recipients. The emphasis was placed on envisaging think tanks as "entities with intellectual integrity," with "donors as partners."

Think tank legitimacy in relation to funding partners was also questioned. How do think tanks build legitimacy? Participants emphasized independent safeguards and the ability to learn "how to do more with less" as an internal policy shift. They also decided that funding and independence "go hand in hand" and can only be determined by the value of the work. Value of work was defined as the way institutions and others can use the information produced.

#### A Shift to Private Financing?

Although think tanks at the summit considered how to increase research coffers, there was considerable emphasis on not corporatizing these research institutions because of their unique role in representing the public interest. Think tanks have a unique capacity to recognize and represent interests that otherwise would not have a voice.

Another participant recalled Margaret Thatcher's attempt to liberalize think tanks in the United Kingdom, an effort which ultimately ended in failure. It was stated that much like the recent decline in traditional journalism, think tanks should strategize and consider increasing their current advantages, such as their subscribers, to build up an existent support base. However, some concluded that viewing donors as partners in the process might help ease funding woes. Many present also questioned whether think tanks should begin to consider employing someone simply for project acquisition. In one breakout session, think tankers discussed the role of endowments as a means through which think tanks have achieved a good degree of independence.

### 6. Web 3.0: Public Outreach, Audience, and Social Media

Technology offers both opportunities and challenges. What does it mean for think tanks and the think tank community? Core framework adoption of new social media stirred debate over research value and quality. One response proposed to the growth of Internet-based media was that think tanks could act as providers of

information to the Internet. They can actively use the Internet as a part of information flow and provide policy advice and training. It was noted that social networking, including Twitter, can be very useful for think tanks and think tank start-ups specifically. Summit attendees noted that potential reader



demographics vary and social media could be used as a tool to attract a younger and more diverse audience.

#### Reaching a Wider Audience

An important question raised during the summit was, "Who is our audience?" While participants largely acknowledged that they needed to serve an elite and mostly government-related constituency, many expressed a strong desire to reach a wider audience. While some information could naturally trickle down to reach a larger group, some think tanks are increasing their involvement in social media as a way to attract a younger and more diverse readership. Participants noted that information must be communicated through commonly-used social media channels, and that the transmitted information may be in an entirely new format for these audiences. They noted that what would be appropriate for an elite audience might not apply for a social media service and vice-versa. As one ETTS participant noted, "Think tanks have to deal with issues on a complex level— then translate them to the public."

#### Social Media and Policy Influence

There was not complete consensus, however, on how to use social media to measure the level of power needed to influence policy. Think tankers are under pressure from the media to release both **relevant** and **timely** ideas. One summit attendee asked whether social media platforms would help build stronger think tank networks and further, whether more integrated media are necessary. Twitter occupied the bulk of the conversation on using social media as a tool for public outreach and maintaining relevance in a competitive field.

Because of the ubiquity of Twitter in media and other wired circles, think tank researchers are under more stress to increase their followers. There was a looming fear and acknowledgment that the number of Twitter followers a research institute has does not necessarily correlate to work quality. Participants expressed concern that an over-reliance on social media indicators (e.g., the number of Twitter followers) could damage think tank research quality. One researcher also noted how the inherent "Global North" bias in social media is also a stress factor for high research quality. Concluding thoughts suggested that social media is still worth exploring and exploiting, especially the more interactive features of such tools. However, think tanks should demand a wider variety of public engagement through social media and learn how to meet this demand.

## 7. Addressing Europe's Pressing Issues

The European Think Tank Summit featured a series of breakout session discussions focusing on specific crises facing the European Union and its ancillaries. Topics included the role think tanks play in the future of Europe; the Euro and the European Union; the role of think tanks in fending off global economic crisis and political paralysis in the EU; the future of energy; scarcity of resources; and climate change in European policy and global relations. Several narratives concerning think tank crises stemmed from these thematic areas, which spoke to think tank issues embedded in these research themes. These narratives are outlined below.

Global Economic Crisis and Political Paralysis Session

This breakout session addressed a wide range of issues contributing to the economic crisis and subsequent political paralysis within the EU. Most delegates agreed that this paralysis can actually be attributed to the slow decision-making process inherent to the institutional nature of the European Union. Progress is always harder when an agreement must be made between 28 parties. This breakout group also addressed the need for leadership within the EU and the necessity of having leaders who achieve a greater and more effective consensus. They noted that the biggest challenge for policymakers is the ability to ensure efficiency within the political system while simultaneously preserving its democratic legitimacy. Participants in this group also addressed the need for the EU to remain an active player on the global stage. Participants suggested that Europe should continue to work on common strategic goals to preserve its role as a model of regional integration. The group discussed the role of think tanks within this context, noting that they have a role to play in preserving the legitimacy of the political process, as well as promoting common values, constitutional and otherwise, within the EU.

#### Think Tanks, the Future of Europe, the Euro, and the European Union

This breakout session focused on the role think tanks play in preserving and maintaining European unity as well as challenges they face in addressing related policy questions. The group asked several questions, including whom European think tanks should address when writing policy suggestions. Participants noted the changes in EU foreign policy decision making and infrastructure, which has led to a reconfiguration of roles amongst European institutions and between Brussels and national capitals. They also noted that think tanks are playing "catch up in coping with the shifting roles and responsibilities within the EU." There was also a discussion about how European think tanks can reach their constituencies and European policymakers to address future questions over the future of Europe. Finally, this group also touched on one of the major themes of the summit, funding, and how the EU's budget affects research institutes as well as how EU institutions view think tanks.

#### Energy, Resources, and Climate Change: Conflict or Cooperation

The discussion in this working group was shaped by the recognition that it is increasingly difficult to limit global warming to less than 2 degrees centigrade over pre-industrial levels and that a "plus-2-degree world" is likely to be

much more disruptive and costly to adapt to than was generally assumed only a few years ago. The group found that the energy-resources-climate nexus poses specific challenges for think tanks. One is the global nature of the energy, resources and climate change conundrum because of global energy markets and the ubiquity of climate-related challenges. These pressure points force think tanks to transcend their national or domestic policy perspective, and to "think" and cooperate globally. Truly global, stable networks of think tanks, with habits of trust, exchange, and cooperation, are not yet established or not yet strong enough to ensure a global debate and effective policy learning or policy coordination. "Many lamented that the methods of energy markets, climate diplomacy, and governmental policy coordination do not



Participants discuss think tank solutions during a break-out session.

effectively address the pressing environmental issues." Participants also found that a number of sectors and infrastructure systems need to be transformed in order to avoid a global overheating within a few generations or even decades. This is most obviously the case of the (national or regional) energy economies that are embedded in global markets for energy resources, technologies, and finance. With the expected changes and transformations in the fields of energy and resources consumption, many think tanks agreed that they need to strengthen not just their capacities to identify options or "visions" of possible and desirable futures, but also to envision and formulate development pathways or "road maps" towards those futures.

## 8. Think Tanks on the European Continent

Aside from the major challenges facing think tanks and policy issues discussed in the breakout sessions, other major themes reappeared throughout the summit addressing issues specific to think tanks in Europe. These issues were discussed predominantly in the plenary and wrap-up sessions and are highlighted below.

#### Think Tanks and the Future of the European Project

The European Think Tank Summit addressed the unique role of think tanks in identifying relevant policy-oriented discussions. Several questions were asked, including whether think tanks have become too specialized and regarding the role think tanks should play in the policy process. However, three substantive sets of policy issues facing Europe today emerged: European unity, transatlantic cooperation, and the role of European think tanks in world events. Panelists discussed these points in the breakout session entitled, "Think Tanks and the Future of Europe, the Euro,

and the European Union." In discussing the current role of European think tanks, many other issues were brought to the surface, including the question of who the audience is, how to reach a greater audience, and to what extent internet technologies will play a role in addressing that audience. A panelist pointed out that while in the past, there had been a North-South divide in Europe, the current divide has shifted to one along the lines of capital. There are many benefits to be derived from collaboration among European think tanks. One panelist likened it to each think tank holding a piece of the "puzzle," and emphasized how overcoming national divergence will be key in being able to bring about a response to the current crises in Europe. Many agreed that a lack of funding made it difficult to look to issues outside of Europe currently. In the current era of global challenges, European think tanks will continue to be faced with issues that are global in nature, which require ever-increasing transatlantic cooperation.



Participants share ideas in a breakout session.

#### **Policy Geographical Limitations**

One noted issue was the difficulty of European think tanks in engaging with policy actors because of geographical location. Even at a member state level it was noted that "selling products" (i.e., policies) was a particular challenge in reaching policymakers. Europe faces certain unique issues in that there are problems at varied levels, which makes engagement at all levels difficult. It was noted that a presence in multiple member states would be ideal, but is not feasible. Even a Brussels presence was noted as not sufficient for greater policy influence.

#### **Transatlantic Peer Comparisons**

Several transatlantic comparisons emerged from Summit talks and left lasting impressions. For example, in comparing US think tanks to EU think tanks, it was noted that the difference between the two lies in the "revolving door" structure of US think tanks. The term refers to the greater level of fluidity between US think tanks and US legislators (e.g., Former South Carolina Republican Senator Jim DeMint's Senate departure to head the conservative Heritage Foundation, and Former California Democratic Congresswoman Jane Harman leaving for the Wilson Center) that exists in the United States and allows a direct exchange of policy ideas and personnel for implementation and fundraising.

European think tanks do not have this "revolving door" structure. There is an apparent skepticism of think tanks in most European states, and they are less influential in policy formulation as a result. Participants noted that European think tank institutional structure keeps policymakers and think tanks formally separate. Conversely, most European think tanks are heavily reliant on public funding from institutions like the EU Commission or member state governments, and are therefore generally "thinly sourced." This funding structure creates a more difficult arena in which to make long-term investments when funding projects, which may feature a fixed agenda and run for time

intervals usually spanning a few years at most. The point here is that once the contract is set, it is difficult to change the research agenda even if the issues or events that prompted the research have changed drastically. However, when institutions finally do receive long-term contracts from these public institutions, donor contracts further dictate research subject matter. This in turn limits research institute flexibility to alter research angles as policy issues evolve and change.

Further, European think tanks are different from U.S. think tanks because they are generally more prolific in publishing books and journal articles, and therefore have a greater academic focus. It was noted that this could stem from the fact that many think tanks in Europe are affiliated with major universities and located in university towns instead of in cities, where the seat of government is found.

Although transatlantic funding differences exist, participants were quick to point out infrastructural differences between European and U.S. think tanks, which cause this rift. Summit-goers noted that research independence is framed differently in Europe and the United States. Americans prefer to use the private sector as a modus for independence whereas Europeans view government as a non-biased funding source.

Other delegates noted the differences between labor law flexibility in the U.S. and the EU, and the related tendency in the EU to rely heavily on associations, affiliations, and written products. In the EU, there appears to be an erosion of "traditional" think tanks, or those most like their American peers. Additionally, profit-oriented entities inhibit traditional think tanks from being competitive because think tanks rely heavily on EU and national budgets. EU and national government austerity measures put greater pressure on the availability of project resources.

Although European think tanks appear to be at a monetary disadvantage in comparison to their U.S. counterparts, Summit participants noted the major institutional and political differences between the two settings. Most EU member state legislative bodies and EU institutions rely more heavily on consensus building than their U.S. counterparts, and Europe maintains more policy continuity over time. This type of setting does not allow for the type of think tank institutional establishment and fundraising that exists in the U.S., which is characterized both by a favorable tax structure that encourages corporations, individuals, and foundations to contribute to nonprofits, and by a highly polarized political arena. ETTS attendees noted that policy polarization in the U.S. fuels dueling opinions and subsequently think tank finances, whereas the EU political arena continues to search for broader agreement. Hence, fundraisers in Europe would not be motivated to donate in the same way. Some participants also noted that the model for think tanks in the U.S. was also not the best example for Europe to use, because think tanks there appear corrupted by private interests.

#### Differences within the Continent: Eastern and Central European Think Tanks

Although many attendees were from Western European organizations, some Eastern and Central European think tanks present were able to share their thoughts on related issues in their regions. For example, Eastern European think tanks pointed out that Eastern and Central European (ECE) think tanks like those in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary have a more classic European think tank model, which still builds relationships with companies. They emphasized that this should be addressed when examining think tanks in the region. ECE think tankers also noted that the networking link within the ECE region might be weaker because of technology constraints.

#### **Standards and Best Practices**

Several participants called for the adoption of a common standard for think tanks in Europe. Some saw that the best way for think tanks to stay competitive was for European think tanks to create a clearly drawn definition of the sector. As one participant noted, creating an industry standard could allow think tanks to distinguish themselves from law firms, consultancy firms, and advocacy groups by focusing on the public interest dimension of their mission to build integrity standards. It was additionally noted that a clearly defined standard for lobbyists in Brussels

is already in existence, and that this could apply for think tanks within the EU as well as those outside of this defined area (e.g., Russia or Balkan States).

A participant mentioned, "interdisciplinary approaches are essential to staying ahead of the competition." It was also mentioned that think tanks should enter the diplomatic sphere, while another best practice suggestion was to have assessment and evaluation of research.

Think tanks were also encouraged to think more long-term in order to stabilize politics. While they were encouraged to formulate new and relevant ideas, it was noted that EU veto power might hinder this ability.

Finally, there was further emphasis on ethics at think tanks in regards to independence and funding. Think tank participants emphasized the necessity of having a clear and transparent funding policy, such as those already developed by Bruegel and CEPS, which outline the conditions under which grants and contracts are accepted for sponsored research. These policies and procedures insolate scholars from the possible pressure of sponsors and protects the integrity of research.

## 9. Towards Building a Think Tank Network

The European Think Tank Summit closed with a greater emphasis on building a global network between think tanks in order to raise the performance of the community and increase the think tanks platform. An increased network would enhance a think tank "global vision." Furthermore, a distinction was made between the "classic EU think tank model" and the "new EU think tank model," which would be necessary to overcome future challenges. Participants stressed the need to create a global network of think tanks and to internationalize the old think tank system. Dr. James McGann, Director of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania, expressed his willingness to continue to facilitate and further these important discussions through the development of regional and global networks of think tanks, and proposed organizing an annual European Think Tanks Summit. The goal of such meetings would be to add to the exchange of ideas and information among the world's leading think tanks and to help build a worldwide network of think tanks with the assistance of the Internet and social media. Regional Global Summits are already scheduled for Latin America in March 2013, Africa in late spring 2013, Asia in summer 2013, and Middle East and North Africa for fall 2013.

#### 10. Conclusion

Closing remarks and discussion noted that several of the questions posed throughout the summit were not "either/or" questions with simple answers; rather, think tanks need to be willing to better manage their intentions, find ways to address both short-term and long-term goals, and "speak truth to donors." Finally, ETTS attendees noted the power of speaking as a group, and how their credibility is essential to their ability to stay competitive in the research marketplace. Think tankers present noted that they have many areas in which significant gains can be made, including the emerging role think tanks can play in overcoming national interest divergences, their ability to expand social media for think tank purposes, in creating more open dialogues with donors, and in building a stronger network through diverse partnerships.



## Challenges and Recommendations

Summit participants were asked to write four challenges think tanks face and specific recommendations to improve think tank relationships with donors, policymakers, and think tank groups, and to increase think tank influence in the policy arena. The following is a compiled list of these challenges and recommendations.

## European Think Tank Challenges

The following list of challenges was compiled from summit participants' written responses. Challenges facing European think tanks can be categorized as the following:

- Short-termism in funding and research horizons and a lack of continuity in research work
- Fragmentation of work into smaller projects, making an overall vision difficult
- ❖ Absence of official standards for the industry
- Finding how to expand and engage more effectively with a wider audience
- ❖ Making work relevant to a think tank audience
- \* Adapting to new technological innovation
- Balancing independence and transparency against donors' desire for anonymity and institutions' need for mobilizing resources
- ❖ Maintaining thematic consistency while embracing new issue areas
- ❖ Learning how to be both relevant and robust in social networks
- Overcoming language barriers when publishing in languages other than English

## European Think Tank Challenges Highlights

The following quotations best capture European Think Tank Summit participants' most frequently mentioned think tank challenges:

- \* "Much of the funding as well as the main channel to distribute any work is associated with the pervasiveness of <a href="civil service">civil service</a>. As democratic countries you will often hear that our work is independent and not influenced by the government. The truth is that the framework within which our work takes place is influenced by government priorities."
- \* "Lack of interest in ideas is our main challenge. Think tanks are in the market place for ideas. Politicians... tend to say more and more that ideas don't matter, politics is more about thinking pragmatic solutions to day-to-day problems. We don't believe this to be true. There is a constant battle of ideas, and our main challenge is therefore to set the right agenda."
- \* "To manage to provide a sound and shared interpretation of the complexity of our country from the point of view of its social and political cleavages in the present difficult age of transition to a new modernity."

#### **Recommendations to Donors**

Recommendations centered on creating and maintaining an open dialogue between think tanks and donors. European Think Tank Summit participants stressed that donors should grant more freedom for developing long-term projects by truly investing in think tanks, rather than individual short-term projects. The following best describe the most common recommendations:

- "One of the key reasons the relationship between a donor and a think tank may end up badly is simply mutual misunderstanding. Dealing with a think tank is a learning process. Such a learning process would be faster if donor[s] were more vocal and so to say, 'noisier."
- \* "Provide institutional funding for the structure of think tanks (overheads, administrative staff) rather than just research."
- ❖ "Fund core work not just project[s]. Too many organizations end up chasing donor agendas to the detriment of quality work that can make a difference... [think tanks] need to find the right balance."
- \* "Be brave and entrust your money for longer-term research programs."
- \*"Fund 'blue skies' thinking: completely new ideas are rare and making it possible to generate them is precious."
- \* "Donors should 'invest' in think tanks with a 5-10 year perspective. At least in the business community, that is not a strange or unusual time frame, but they don't always think of politics in that way."

#### Recommendations to Think Tanks

Key recommendations to think tanks were to network and create partnerships to increase influence and pool think tank resources. There was also a push to clearly define think tanks and create a set of industry standards. The following quotations best describe the most common recommendations:

- ❖ "International networking brings new ideas back home. [There is] too much focus today of coming up with new ideas. Most ideas are already out there, but unknown to you. Don't just think 'interdisciplinary,' think more 'bring home the good examples."
- \* "Keep the debate about relevance of think tanks and a better understanding of the possibilities of joint work not only through projects (that we already do), but through strategic partnerships to ensure: policy relevance, impact, interdisciplinary, common knowledge and resilience."
- \* "We could all benefit from a recognized, legitimate definition of a think tank in Europe: its role and standards of transparency, legitimacy and behaviors."
- "In order to save money our think tanks could think of a common library: all would place on-line books/articles and the database would be accessible to other friend think tanks. This would allow for a better spending of money as it wouldn't duplicate the purchase of the same books, allowing the purchase of more books."
- \* "Focus and narrow down the scope of your work. Especially in Europe, there seems to be a tendency to 'widen' the scope of our work rather than to 'deepen.' Given the financial constraints and much smaller size of our organizations compared to the US it does make more sense to narrow down themes and geographical scope of our work."
- \* "Do not just produce research for researchers; books and in-depth studies continue to be important and necessary. But policymakers and opinion leaders need different products."
- \* "To define the value of our work as a community we must define what separates us from advocacy groups, interest groups, and partisan groups. We can have a <u>perspective</u> and an <u>opinion</u> without being <u>biased</u> if we can define intellectual integrity of our work. To be effective we cannot fail to have <u>opinions</u>."

# **Bios of Summit Attendees**

European Think Tank SummitA Regional and International ConferenceRome, Italy20 November 2012United States Embassy in Rome



### HAIZAM AMIRAH-FERNÁNDEZ

Senior Analyst for the Mediterranean and Arab World Real Instituto Elcano

Haizam Amirah-Fernández is Senior Analyst for the Mediterranean and Arab World at the Madrid-based think tank Real Instituto Elcano, and Associate Professor of International Relations at IE Business School.

He holds a BA from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and an MA in Arab Studies on a Fulbright scholarship from Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. He completed his studies at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Belgium) and at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

Professor Amirah-Fernández specializes in international relations, political Islam, and transitions to democracy in the Arab world, where he has lived for over sixteen years.

He has lectured at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Georgetown University, Saint Louis University, Universidad San Pablo-CEU, and the Universitat de Barcelona.

He has published numerous articles and is co-editor of the book *North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). He is also co-editor of the book *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Assessing the First Decade* (Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano and FRIDE, 2005). He has translated into Spanish the book by the Egyptian writer Alaa Al Aswany titled *Egipto: Las claves de una revolución inevitable* (Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011).

He has worked for the United Nations in New York and for Human Rights Watch in Washington DC, and is a frequent commentator in the Spanish and international media. Professor Amirah-Fernández speaks Spanish, Arabic, English, and French.



ivil societies program, international relations program, university of pennsylvania Ertor! Unknown **switch argument.** 

#### Lo Spazio della Politica

Alessandro Aresu is the co-founder and director of *Lo Spazio della Politica*, an Italian think tank composed of young scholars and professionals based in Italy and Brussels. He works as a political analyst and writes for *Limes*, the leading publication in Italy on international affairs, and for the newspaper *La Nuova Sardegna* as an op-ed columnist. His work is mostly focused on Italian politics and economics, on the analysis of the European crisis, and on U.S. political theory. He is the author of several books and essays. He is also the editor and translator of the Italian edition of Reinhold Niebuhr's "*The Irony of American History*" (Bompiani, 2012).



FRANCESC BADIA I DALMASES

General Manager Centro de Estudios y Documentación Internacionales de Barcelona (CIDOB)

After graduating from the University of Barcelona, he completed his studies at the Diplomatic School in Madrid. He holds a Masters (with honors) in Information and Knowledge Society from IN3 (Internet Interdisciplinary Institute) at the UOC, where he studied for his International Doctorate and obtained a Diploma in Advanced Studies, with a thesis on Local Policies and

Global Flows.

Before becoming the current General Manager and a Senior Fellow at the Barcelona-based Think Tank CIDOB (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs), he was Executive Director of the Office of Coordination and Orientation of the URB-AL Program of the European Commission, and General Manager at the European Institute of the Mediterranean.

He worked as a senior advisor for the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and was Director of the EuroMed Regions Conference at the International Relations Office of the Government of Catalonia. He was also conference coordinator and spokesperson at the Universal Forum of Cultures and Managing Director of the Interarts Foundation, Observatory of Urban and Regional Cultural Policies.

Prior to this, he worked for 15 years as an international consultant, specializing in investment and trade with emerging and transition economies. His research interests are: Global Governance, International Networks and International Action of Local and Regional Governments. He is currently the editor of CIDOB's series of on-line publications "Notas Internacionales", "Opinion", and "In Focus."



LIZZA BOMASSI
Deputy Director
Carnegie Europe

Lizza Bomassi is responsible for aligning Carnegie Europe's strategic and operational priorities, as well as managing relations with Carnegie's global centers and partner organizations in Europe. She graduated with a B.A. from Simon Fraser University and an M.Sc. from the London School of Economics, and has a background in communications and development studies. She helped

to establish the Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention, and has previously worked for the EastWest Institute's International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy, a group of decision makers working to make conflict prevention a reality. Prior to this, she worked for Save the Children in Pakistan and Afghanistan on emergency relief, and has also spent time working in the private sector in France.



NATALIA BUBNOVA
Deputy Director for Communication
The Carnegie Moscow Center

Before joining the Center in 2005, she worked for six years at audit and consulting firms, first as senior consultant in Price Waterhouse's Management Consulting Department and later as marketing manager, then director, at Deloitte, with responsibility for Russia and the CIS.

From 1992 to 1995, Bubnova was an associate professor at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and associate director of the University's Center for International Studies. In this role, she co-directed the Center's international exchange and outreach program. She regularly participated in TV and radio programs and had a biweekly column on Russia in the *Rocky Mountain News*. Previously, for nearly eight years, she was a research associate at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies. Bubnova also has extensive editing and translation experience, and early in her career worked as interpreter at the Budapest-based Danube Commission. Bubnova received a Ph.D. at the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences and an M.A. at the Moscow Institute of International Relations



WILLIAM BURKE-WHITE Deputy Dean and Professor of Law University of Pennsylvania Law School

William Burke-White, an expert on international law and global governance, served in the Obama Administration from 2009-2011 on Secretary Clinton's Policy Planning Staff, providing the Secretary direct policy advice on multilateral diplomacy and international institutions. He was principal drafter of the *Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review* 

(QDDR), Secretary Clinton's hallmark foreign policy and institutional reform effort. Burke-White has written extensively in the fields of international law and institutions, with focus on international criminal and international economic law. His work has addressed issues of post-conflict justice, the International Criminal Court, international human rights, and international arbitration. His current research explores gaps in the global governance system and the challenges of international legal regulation in a world of rising powers and divergent interests. In 2008, he received the A. Leo Levin Award and, in 2007, the Robert A. Gorman award for Excellence in Teaching.



EROL CEBECI
Executive Director
SETA Foundation at Ankara

Mr. Cebeci completed his undergraduate studies at Istanbul University and received an M.S. degree from Penn State University, both in Business Administration. He attended a Ph.D. program first in Managerial Economics then in Ecological Economics at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI). He taught several undergraduate courses on Economics and

Public Finance as an Adjunct Professor at RPI. He has established and run private companies in business consulting and international trade. He has served two terms as a member of the Turkish Parliament. He also served as a member of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, first as a member and then as the Chairman of the Turkish Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. While in politics, he has mainly worked on the issues of human rights, security and defense, foreign policy, and European politics.



**THIERRY CHOPIN**Director of Studies
Robert-Schuman Foundation

Thierry Chopin previously served as a Research Director and Representative Officer at the Robert-Schuman Foundation. He is also currently an Associate Research Fellow at the Centre for International Studies and Research, and an Associate Professor at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Metiers (CNAM). He has previously served as a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, as well as a professor at Mines Paris Tech and Sciences-Po Paris.



**TAMARA COFMAN WITTES**Senior Fellow and the Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy *Brookings Institute* 

Wittes served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs from November of 2009 to January 2012, coordinating U.S. policy on democracy and human rights in the Middle East for the State Department. Wittes also oversaw the Middle East Partnership

Initiative and served as deputy special coordinator for Middle East transitions. She was central to organizing the U.S. government's response to the Arab awakening.

Before joining the State Department, Wittes was a senior fellow in the Saban Center at Brookings, where she directed the Middle East Democracy and Development (MEDD) Project. In that capacity, Wittes conducted research into political and economic reform in the Middle East region as well as U.S. efforts to promote democracy there. Before joining the Saban Center in December 2003, Wittes served as Middle East specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace and previously as Director of Programs at the Middle East Institute in Washington. She also taught courses in International Relations and Security Studies at Georgetown University. Wittes was one of the first recipients of the Rabin-Peres Peace Award, established by President Bill Clinton in 1997.

Wittes is the author of Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy\_(Brookings Press, 2008). She is also editor of How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process (USIP, 2005). She holds a B.A. in Judaic and Near Eastern Studies from Oberlin College, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Government from Georgetown University. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Women in International Security.



MATT DANN Secretary General Bruegel

Matt Dann, a British citizen, is an experienced media professional who has worked in both television and the financial sector. He is a graduate of Keele University, England and has an MBA from Solvay Business School, at Université Libre de Bruxelles. He is fluent in English and French, and has a working knowledge of Dutch.



GIANNI DE MICHELIS
President

**IPALMO** 

Gianni De Michelis was born in Venice on November 26, 1940. He holds a degree in Industrial Chemistry from the University of Padua. Since 1980 he has been Associate Professor of General Chemistry at the University of Venice and a Member of the Italian Socialist Party from 1960 until the disappearance of the party in 1994. From 1962-64 he was National Chairman of the UGI (Italian University Students Union). He was later elected to the Venice City Council in 1964, and in 1969, he was responsible for urban

development. Gianni was also a Member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party since 1976. He was elected to Italian Parliament in 1976 and was reelected every year until 1994. Additionally, Gianni has consulted for Italian companies in the Middle and Far-East since 1994. On September 13, 1997 he was elected National Chairman of Socialist Party. Since 1999 Gianni has been a consultant for Italian companies in the Balkan region. In 2002, he became President of IPALMO, and in 2003, he became a Member of the European ASEM Task Force. On July 20, 2004, he was elected to the European Parliament and served as a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; the Subcommittee on Security and Defence; and the Committee on Industry, Research, and Energy. He was also part of the Delegation for Relations with the People's Republic of China and the Delegation to the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly. In 2006, Gianni began international consulting for CSSM (China Society Management for Strategy Research). In 2007, he became a Member of the Strategic Steering Group (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy), and in 2008, he became a member of the Strategic Committee of the Italia-Cina Foundation. In February 2009, Gianni became the President of the Strategic Committee of the Italia-Cina Foundation. In September 2009 he began working as a political advisor to the Minister for the Public Administration and Innovation.



JILL DONOGHUE
Director of Research
Institute of International and European Affairs

Jill Donoghue is Director of Research at the Institute of International and European Affairs since 1998. She also held the rotating post of Director General of the Institute concomitantly with the post of Director of Research from 2009 to 2011. In her previous academic career, she lectured variously at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in European Studies and in

European Languages at the University of Limerick, University College Dublin, and NUIM, Maynooth. She established and was Deputy Director of the Languages Centre in UCD from 1994 to 1997 and lectured in law and finance at the Smurfit Business School. She is married to the Political Director at the Irish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, David Donoghue, and has accompanied her spouse on postings to London, Berlin, Moscow, Vienna, and New York.



SILVIA FRANCESCON
Head of Rome Office
European Council on Foreign Relations

d civil societies program, international relations program, university of pennsylvania Error! Unknown **switch argument.**  Before joining ECFR, Silvia was Deputy Head of the G8-G20 Sherpa office at the Prime Minister's Office. She was in charge of coordinating the Prime Minister and Sherpa's G8 and G20 policy dossiers and bilaterals. Silvia also served the United Nations as Coordinator of the Millennium Campaign in Italy and is a former negotiator of international and European agreements for the Ministry for the Environment. Previously, Silvia worked at the OECD (Environment Directorate), the WTO (Legal Affairs Division), and the European Commission (DG Agriculture) and was also a research fellow at the International Law Department of the Universities of Leiden (NL) and Ferrara (Italy). Silvia holds a Masters in International Environmental Law from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS, London) and graduated cum laude in International Law at the University of Ferrara, where she was awarded of the title of "cultore della materia" in International Law.



#### **THOMAS GOMART**

Director of Russia/NIS Center and Vice President for Strategic Development French Institute for International Relations (Institut français des relations internationales)

Dr. Thomas Gomart (Ph.D in History at Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and EMBA at HEC) is both the Vice-President for Strategic Development and the Director of the Russia/NIS Centre at Ifri (French Institute of International Relations based in Paris and Brussels). He is the editor of the trilingual electronic collection *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Gomart's academic and professional background has been closely related to post-Soviet space. As Lavoisier Fellow at the State

Institute for International Relations (University-MGIMO - Moscow), Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Security Studies (European Union - Paris) and Marie Curie Fellow at Department of War Studies (King's College - London), he has acquired a diversified international experience. He lectured on international affairs at the Special Military School of Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan (2002-2010). In 2008, he co-directed the IFRI/CSIS project Europe, Russia, and the United States: Finding a New Balance.

Gomart belongs to the editorial boards of *Politique étrangère*, and *La Revue des deux mondes*. His recent publications (from 2008) include three books and one policy oriented report:

- Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy, (ed.), London, Routledge, 2011.
- Russian Civil-Military Relations: Putin's Legacy, Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008.
- Russie. Nei. Visions 2009 (ed.), Paris, Ifri, 2009.
- EU-Russia Relations, Toward a Way Out of Depression, Washington DC, Ifri/CSIS, 2008.



#### INGEBORG HAAVARDSSON

Special Adviser on External Relations Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)

Ms. Haavardsson has more than 15 years of management and project administration experience. She is PRIO's Special Advisor for External Relations and the Executive Director of the Peace Research Endowment. Ms. Haavardsson is responsible for developing and maintaining good relations with the Institute's collaborators and funding sources, and she coordinates a key conferences and events. She directs the PRIO-affiliated organization in the United States, the

Peace Research Endowment. Ms. Haavardsson has previously worked for the Norwegian Church Aid and the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. Ms. Haavardsson holds an M.A. in International Conflict Analysis from the University of Canterbury in Kent, UK, and a Cand.Mag. (French, History, Comparative Politics) from the University of Oslo and the University of Bergen.

#### **DOUGLAS C. HENGEL**

Deputy Chief of Mission
United States Embassy-Rome
Term of Appointment: 11/2010-11/2013

Mr. Hengel is Deputy Chief of Mission for the U.S. Embassy in Rome, a position he assumed in November 2010. From October 2007 until September 2010, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Energy, Sanctions and Commodities at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C. In that capacity his responsibilities included formulating and advancing U.S. international energy security policy, including relations with the International Energy Agency (IEA) in Paris. From 2006 to 2007, he was Executive Assistant to the Undersecretary for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs. A career Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Hengel has served at U.S. Embassies in Prague, Lima, Rome, and Caracas; additionally, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Bratislava from 1999 to 2002, where he served as Charge d'Affaires for 21 months. He has also served as Director of the Office of Southern European Affairs and in the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. Mr. Hengel has a BA from Colgate University and a Masters in Public Policy from the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton.



#### **GABRIELE IACOVINO**

Coordinator and Senior Analyst in charge of Projects Centro Studi Internazionali

Gabriele Iacovino is the Coordinator of Analysts at Ce.S.I. and was previously in charge of the North Africa and Middle East Desk. He holds a Masters in International Relations and a degree in Political Science both obtained at the LUISS University of Rome and a Masters in Peacekeeping and Security Studies from the University of

Roma Tre (Rome). He worked as a political advisor with NATO's Rapid Deployable Corps NRDC-ITA of Solbiate Olona. From 2009 to 2010 Iacovino was teaching assistant in Contemporary History at LUISS University of Rome. He features as a lecturer of the Master in Peacekeeping at the University of Roma Tre and at the Master in "Security, Intelligence and Crisis Areas", a partnership between Ce.S.I. and SIOI (Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale – Italian Association for International Organisation). Previously, as the analyst in charge of the North Africa and Middle East Desk, Iacovino has been frequently interviewed as commentator on TV and radio programmes aired both by public broadcasters, RAI, RSI, and private ones, including SKY and CNBC.



MARCO INCERTI

Research Fellow & Head of Communications Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

Marco Incerti is the Head of Communications and a Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), one of the leading European think tanks. Before joining CEPS, he worked in the International Law Department of the University of Rome "La Sapienza". Since joining CEPS in 2002, he has concentrated on the European Constitutional process, following the work of the Convention on the future of Europe and focusing in

particular on institutional reform. In this context, he helped found and, between 2003 and 2006, managed the European Policy Institutes Network (EPIN), a network of think tanks from all over Europe which, through regular meetings in Brussels and a constant flow of publications, aims to foster the European dimension of the debate on EU policies and to increase cooperation between research organisations on the continent. Incerti is a member of the Steering Committee of the Brussels Think Tanks Dialogue, of the Young Transatlantic Network of the German Marshall Fund, and of the European Association of Communication Directors. For CEPS, he follows the developments of think tanks-related policy in Europe and is in charge of the European Transparency Initiative dossier. During his tenure, CEPS has been ranked for five years in a row among the Top Ten Think Tanks in the world and received the European Public Affairs Award as "Think Tank of the year" in 2008, 2010, and 2011.



CHRISTIAN KOCH
Director
Gulf Research Center Foundation

Dr. Christian Koch's work combines the various international and foreign relations issues of the GCC states with a particular interest in GCC-EU Relations. He currently manages a twoyear project named "Al-Jisr" pertaining to GCC-EU Public Diplomacy and Outreach

Activities with the support of the European Commission.

Prior to joining the GRC, Dr. Koch worked as Head of the Strategic Studies Section at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi. Dr. Koch received his Ph.D. from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany and also studied at the American University in Washington, D.C. and the University of South Carolina. He is the author of *Politische Entwicklung in einem arabischen Golfstaat: Die Rolle von Interessengruppen im Emirat Kuwait* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000), the editor of five books including *Broadening the Horizon: European Union - Gulf Cooperation Council Relations and Security Issues* (Dubai: Gulf Research Center, 2008) and *Gulf Security in the Twenty-First Century* (Abu Dhabi: ECSSR, 1997 – as co-editor) as well as a contributor to numerous books with the latest on "US-UAE Relations," in Robert Looney, ed., *A Handbook of US-Middle East Relations* (Routledge, 2009). Dr. Koch also collaborated on the World Economic Forum's Middle East@Risk report in 2007. He regularly writes articles for the international media including the Financial Times, Handelsblatt, die Süddeutsche Zeitung, Jane's Sentinel Publications on Gulf issues and his media appearances include the BBC, Deutsche Welle and Al-Arabiyya television. In January 2007, he joined the advisory board of the German Orient Foundation.



R. ANDREAS KRAEMER
Director and CEO
Ecologic Institute

R. Andreas Kraemer has been Director and CEO of the Ecologic Institute in Berlin since its foundation in 1995, and since 2008, he has also been Chairman of the Ecologic Institute

Washington DC. He teaches courses on Environmental Policy and European Integration in the Berlin Program of Duke University. With a strong background in institutional analysis and in capacity building in sustainable development, environmental policy, and resource management, Andreas now focuses on integrating environmental concerns into other policies, notably EU General Affairs and external relations, including trade, development, foreign affairs, and security policy. He is particularly engaged in strengthening transatlantic relations and cooperation on environment, climate, and energy security. Andreas is working on a book explaining Germany's nuclear phase-out and shift to renewable power, two edited volumes on the consequences of climate change in the Arctic, and international cooperation and governance of the seas and oceans. His recent articles, "Dissolving the

'Westphalian system': Transnationalism in transboundary water management' appeared in Strategic Review (2012, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 43-47), together with "Germany, Fukushima and global nuclear governance" (pp. 143-152).



#### **ALEXEY KUZNETSOV**

Head of the Center for European Studies

Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO)

Alexey V. Kuznetsov was born in 1978 in Moscow. He graduated from the Moscow State University in 2001 (diploma in Economic Geography with honours – *summa cum laude*). In 2003 he received a PhD in Economics (*kandidat nauk*) at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of Russian Academy of Sciences and joined the staff. In 2008 Alexey Kuznetsov became the youngest Russian professor (*doktor nauk*) in the field of

world economy. In 2011 Prof. Kuznetsov became the youngest corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Prof. Kuznetsov has been the head of the Section for EU studies since 2006 and the head of the Center for European studies at the IMEMO-Institute since 2009. Prof. Kuznetsov is the author of several books and more than 100 articles in Russian (including twelve articles in "Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya"). He is also the author of three brochures and 20 articles in English (including articles in "Transnational Corporations", "International Studies of Management and Organization" and "Transnational Corporations Review"). He received the Russian Academy of Sciences medal for his book "Internationalization of Russian economy: an investment aspect" in 2007.

The main fields of Prof. Kuznetsov's research are European foreign direct investment, multinational enterprises from Russia and other emerging markets, Russian foreign economic relations, economy of the European Union, and regional policy. He has taken part in various Russian and international scientific projects. At the moment he is the team-leader of the Russian part of "Emerging Market Global Players" program of the Columbia University (USA) and the team-leader of "Monitoring of Mutual Investments in the CIS" project of the Eurasian Development Bank (Kazakhstan).



**LUCA LA BELLA**Senior Analyst in charge of the Asia Desk
Centro Studi Internazionali

Luca La Bella is a Senior Analyst at Ce.S.I. – Centre for International Studies, where he is in charge of the Asia Desk. He holds a degree in International Relations and a Masters in Contemporary War and Peace Studies both obtained at the University of Sussex. He worked

as a political advisor with NATO's Rapid Deployable Corps, NRDC-ITA of Solbiate Olona, as well as with the Italian Navy. Among his duties as Desk chief is regular travel to the countries and crisis-areas in his portfolio. Moreover, La Bella has been a lecturer on the Master in Peacekeeping at the University of Roma Tre and at the Master in "Security, Intelligence and Crisis Areas," a partnership between Ce.S.I. and SIOI (Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale – Italian Association for International Organisation). As an expert on Asia, Dr. La Bella is frequently interviewed as commentator on national TV and Radio programmes aired by public broadcaster RAI, SKY, as well as Swiss public TV RSI and the online news channel Repubblica TV. Among the radio and online news services, La Bella has been interviewed by Radio Vatican, Radio Capodistria, L'Occidentale and Il Sussidiario.net.



NICO LANGE
Deputy Director for Political Consulting
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Nico Lange was born in 1975. After serving as an officer in the German armed forces with missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo he studied Political Science, Communications and Computer Science. Lange worked as political advisor to the CDU/CSU faction of the German parliament before he changed to represent the Robert Bosch Stiftung in St. Petersburg, Russia from 2003 to 2006. From 2006 to 2012 Lange was director of the Ukraine

office of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Kyiv. Since 2012 Nico Lange is the deputy director for political consulting at KAS main office in Berlin.



IAN O. LESSER
Executive Director, Transatlantic Center
German Marshall Fund of the United States

Ian Lesser is executive director of the German Marshall Fund's Transatlantic Center in Brussels, where he leads GMF's work on the Mediterranean, Turkish, and wider-Atlantic security issues. Prior to joining GMF, Dr. Lesser was a public policy scholar at the

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and vice president and director of Studies at the Pacific Council on International Policy (the western partner of the Council on Foreign Relations). He came to the Pacific Council from RAND, where he spent over a decade as a senior analyst and research manager specializing in strategic studies. From 1994-1995, he was a member of the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State, responsible for Turkey, Southern Europe, North Africa, and the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process. A frequent commentator for international media, he has written extensively on international security issues. His books and policy reports include Beyond Suspicion: Rethinking US-Turkish Relations (2008); Security and Strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean (2006); Global Trends, Regional Consequences: Wider Strategic Influences on the Black Sea (2008); Countering the New Terrorism (1999); and A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West (with Graham Fuller, 1995).

He is a senior advisor to the Luso-American Foundation in Lisbon, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Atlantic Council, and the Pacific Council on International Policy. He serves on the advisory boards of the International Spectator, Turkish Policy Quarterly, and Insight Turkey, and has been a senior fellow of the Onassis Foundation in Athens. Dr. Lesser was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, the London School of Economics, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and received his D.Phil from Oxford University.



PAOLO MAGRI
Executive Vice President and Director
Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)

Paolo Magri was born in Bergamo, Italy in 1960. He has been Director of ISPI since 2006. He is also Secretary-Treasurer of the Italian Group of the Trilateral Commission; Professor of International Organizations at Pavia University and IULM University; Member of the Scientific Committee of Fondazione Giordano Dell'Amore (microfinance); International Advisor of CESVI (a leading Italian ONG). From 1992 to 2005 he has been Director of International

Affairs at Bocconi University, Milan; from 1989 and 1992 he was UN Official at the Secretariat in New York. He has been a consultant for several international organizations and companies: Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs (Albania), European Union (Poland), Italcementi (Egypt), and Director of Business Italian-Egyptian Business Council (2006-2007).



JAMES G. MCGANN, Ph.D. Director
Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program
University of Pennsylvania

James G. McGann is Assistant Director of the International Relations Program and Director of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) at the University of Pennsylvania. He conducts research on the trends and challenges facing think tanks and policymakers around the world and provides advice and technical assistance to think tanks, governments,

and public and private donors on how to improve the quality and impact of policy research. He is also a senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, a think tank based in Philadelphia. Prior to coming to the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. McGann was an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Villanova University where he taught international relations, international organizations, and international law. His current research interests include: assessing global trends in security and international affairs research; the role of think tanks in shaping US foreign policy; think tanks and policy advice in the BRIC and G20 countries; and transnational threats and global public policy.

Dr. McGann has served as a consultant and advisor to the World Bank; the United Nations; the United States Agency for International Development; the Soros, Rockefeller, MacArthur, Hewlett, and Gates foundations; the Carnegie Corporation; and foreign governments on the role of non-governmental, public policy, and public engagement organizations in civil society. He has served as the senior vice president for the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats, the public policy program officer for the Pew Charitable Trusts, and the assistant director of the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He also served as a senior advisor to the Citizens' Network for Foreign Affairs and the Society for International Development.



JAN MELISSEN
Director of Research
Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'

Jan Melissen is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Antwerp University (Belgium) and he teaches diplomacy at the University of Leiden. He is founding co-editor of *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* and editor of the Diplomatic Studies book series with Martinus Nijhoff. His most recent co-edited books are *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), *Consular Affairs and Diplomacy* (Martinus Nijhoff, 2011), and *Economic Diplomacy* (Martinus Nijhoff, 2011). His *The New Public Diplomacy* (Palgrave-

Macmillan, 2005/7) has editions in three languages. Jan Melissen's current research is on trends and innovation in diplomatic practice, public diplomacy and foreign policy strategy in East Asia, and public diplomacy in Europe. He co-authored the report Futures for Diplomacy: Integrative Diplomacy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (2012). He co-edited Public Diplomacy in Europe: Soft Power at Work, which will be published in paperback in 2013 (Palgrave-Macmillan). Before joining Clingendael in 2001 Jan Melissen was Director of the Centre for the Study of Diplomacy at the University of Leicester (UK). He graduated at the University of Amsterdam and holds a doctorate from Groningen University.

#### **NILS MEYER-OHLENDORF**

Head, Global Policies Coordinator, International Governance Senior Fellow Ecologic Institute

Dr Nils Meyer-Ohlendorf is a Senior Fellow at Ecologic Institute and Coordinator of its International Governance Program. He is co-founder and co-director of Democracy Reporting International (DRI), a Berlin-based NGO promoting democratic governance in the Arab world. With a background in international and European law, his work focuses on climate change, international governance, and sustainable development. Since 2003, when he joined Ecologic Institute, he has led numerous projects on climate change, international trade, reform of international environmental governance, economic transformation, and indicator development. International and constitutional law are the focus of his work at DRI. Dr Nils Meyer-Ohlendorf works in German and English; he also has a good knowledge of Spanish. Before joining Ecologic Institute, Dr Nils Meyer-Ohlendorf worked at the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety (BMU, Unit "EU Co-ordination"). He has worked as a legal advisor to various election observation missions managed by the EU and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in South America, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. He was also an attorney at an international corporate law firm.

Dr Nils Meyer-Ohlendorf studied law at Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel and Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (both in Germany), with a concentration in European and international law. He also studied history at Beloit College (USA). His PhD thesis analyzed whether the International Court of Justice has the authority to control the UN-Security Council. He completed his legal clerkship at the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Nairobi (Kenya).



Research Fellow Institute for International and Strategic Relations

A graduate of the ESCP Europe, holder of two Masters of Research in Political Science (Paris I) and Military History (EPHE), Philippe Migault is currently pursuing a doctorate in Political Economics at EHESS. He was a reporter and war correspondent for *Le Figaro* and was the defense issues specialist of the newspaper from 1999 to 2006. In addition to reports in crisis

areas (Kosovo, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Côte d'Ivoire, DRCongo, Haiti, Lebanon), he devoted himself to the budgetary, social, and institutional aspects of national defense and covers industries of aeronautics, armaments, space, and transport in the *Figaro Economie*. Auditor in 2002 of the 55th National Session of the Institute for High Studies of National Defence (IHEDN), and then in 2004 of the 41st Session of the French Center for Higher Armament Studies (CHEAr), his main areas of expertise are the issues of defense and security, the armaments industries and dual-use technologies in Russia and in the European Union.

He also taught at the Higher Institute of International and Strategic (ISRIS) Relations. Its courses deal with politics, economy and defense of the States of the Community of Independent States. There, he taught the graduate diploma in International Relations from the ISRIS.



Bruno Leoni Institute

civil societies program, international relations program, university of pennsylvania Error! Unknown **switch argument.**  Alberto Mingardi is currently a senior Fellow of the Centre for New Europe in Brussels. He holds a degree in Political Science from the University of Pavia, and has been a Calihan Fellow at the Action Institute of Grand Rapids in Michigan, a Visiting Fellow of the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in Virginia, and an intern at the Center for Data Analysis of the Heritage Foundation in Washington, DC. He is particularly interested in the field of political philosophy, and has published several articles in magazines such as The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post and The International Herald Tribune.



ALESSANDRO PALANZA
Scientific Director
Italiadecide
Administrative Judge
Consiglio di Stato (Council of State)

Born in Avezzano (AQ) on January 12, 1948, Alessandro Palanza lives in Rome. He studied law at Rome University "La Sapienza," where he graduated in 1973 with a degree thesis on

Constitutional Law. He did a postgraduate specialization in parliamentary law at Florence University in 1975.

Alessandro has been a Parliamentary Official in the Chamber of Deputies Administration from 1976. He was Clerk of the Budget, Treasury, and Economic Planning Committee (from 1983 to 1990), Deputy Director for the area of the Economic and Financial Committees' Office at the Chamber of Deputies (from 1990 to 1995), Director of the Office for the Rules of Procedure and of the Rules Committee Secretariat of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1995 to 1997) and Director of the Research Department of the Chamber of Deputies (from 1997 to 2000). He was appointed as Deputy Secretary General of the Chamber of Deputies in July 2000 and in 2006 Main Deputy Secretary General. He was Professor of Constitutional Law at Urbino University from 1991 until 1996. He is the author of a number of publications about law-making and budget procedures. He has been a member of the Aspen Institute Italia since 2006. In February 2011, he retired from the Chamber of Deputies and simultaneously was appointed as an Administrative Judge in the Council of State. From 2008 he has been Scientific Director of Italiadecide, a non-partisan and non-profit research association.



ANDREA PÉRUZY Secretary General Fondazione Italianieuropei

Andrea Péruzy was born in Rome in 1962. He is married and has two children. He graduated in Law at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" and received a Master in Business Administration and International Law from the University of New York.

He serves as a member of the board of directors of several Italian and European industrial, real estate and financial companies.

Since 1999, he has been the treasurer of the Fondazione Italianieuropei, which he has directed since 2007. Italianieuropei is a political foundation established in 1998 with the aim of promoting a Europe-minded political culture and of bringing to the fore new leaders in various public arenas: politics, business, public administration, and culture. The Italianieuropei Foundation promotes public discourse through the design and organization of

conferences, round tables, and series of training events. At the same time it promotes and hosts seminars for the discussion of specific issues that are on the political or economic, domestic or international agendas, led by prominent personalities from the world of research and political institutions.

As Secretary General of Italianieuropei, Mr Péruzy decides the working program – on the basis of the decisions made by the board of directors and of the advisory board – and manages the assets of the Foundation. Moreover, he is responsible for Italianieuropei's international and institutional relations.



#### **GIOVANNI RIZZONI**

Deputy Scientific Director *Italiadecide* 

Head of Department *Italian Chamber of Deputies* 

Giovanni was born in Udine on April 2, 1957, is married and is a legal expert of the Constitutional Affairs Committee and of the Parliament's Constitutional Reform Committee. Dr. Rizzoni has supported the drafting of the Italian electoral and of

constitutional reform laws since 1988. He has distinguished himself through his research on comparative constitutional models and European federal systems.

Since 2002, he has served as an international expert in several SIGMA missions to assists partner countries in strengthening policy making and strategic capacities and in setting up co-ordination mechanisms at the centre of government. SIGMA is a joint initiative of the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which is principally financed by the EU.

From 2008 to 2009 he was the project leader for the Italian Chamber of deputies in the Phare Program "Strengthening the capacity of the Turkish Grand National Assembly."

He is author of several publications in the field of constitutional and parliamentary law. He has been the Deputy Scientific Director of Italiadecide, a non-partisan and non-profit research association, since 2008.



**MATTHIAS RUCHSER** 

Head of Communications German Development Institute (GDI)

Since 2008 Matthias Ruchser has headed the Communications Department at the German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Germany's leading think-tank in development policy and international co-operation. A political scientist by training with an M.A. in International Relations, he has been working in the German energy industry since 1996. In 2001 he founded Energetic Consulting, a full-service consulting and communications Agency focused on energy, sustainable development and protecting the

climate.



**DENNIS J. SNOWER** 

President

il societies program, international relations program, university of pennsylvania Ertor! Unknown **switch argument.**  Dr. Snower has been the President of the Kiel Institute for the World Economy since 2004. He is also a Professor of Economics and the Chair of Economic Theory at the University of Kiel. Among his other current roles are Fellow, Labor Markets and Institutions, IZA (Institute for the Future of Work) and Fellow, Centre for Economic Policy Research, London. Dennis is also a Member of the Global Agenda Council on Economic Imbalances, World Economic Forum and a Member of the Global Agenda Council on the Skills Gap, World Economic Forum. He has been a visiting Professor at the European Commission's Directorate General (1999), the University of Tel Aviv (2000), and the Institute for Advanced Studies in Vienna (2002). Dr. Snower received an M.A. (1973) and Ph.D. (1975) from Princeton University. Dr. Snower's fields of specialization include the following: macroeconomic theory, unemployment, inflation, macro fluctuations, macroeconomic policy, labor economics, wage and employment determination, employment policies, organizational change, theory of the firm, organization of work, microeconomic theory, information theory, imperfect competition, industrial organization, and public economics.



**MACIEJ SOBOLEWSKI** 

Vice President
CASE - Center for Social and Economic Research

Dr Maciej Sobolewski (36) obtained his PhD in economics from University of Warsaw. His research interests include industrial organization, regulatory economics, access pricing and competition theory with a particular focus on electronic markets, ICT technologies and innovation. From 2007 to 2011 he worked as a senior expert at Orange Labs – a France Telecom R&D Center. He has participated in numerous research projects regarding modeling

of competition in markets, diffusion of innovations, spectrum auctions and social networks. Maciej Sobolewski is an assistant professor at the Department of Economics at University of Warsaw. In 2011 he was appointed Vice President of CASE – Center for Social and Economic Research, one of the most recognized private think tanks in Central and Eastern Europe, where he is responsible among others for developing new research areas.



**FABRIZIO TASSINARI** 

Senior Researcher and Head of Research Unit Foreign Policy and EU Studies Unit Danish Institute for International Studies

Fabrizio Tassinari is a foreign policy scholar, adviser, and writer. His research centers on European security and integration, with a particular reference to the politics and political economy of the wider Europe. He is the author of *Why Europe Fears its Neighbors* (Praeger, 2009), which also appeared in an updated Turkish-language edition for the mass

market (Inkilap, 2011).

Tassinari served as an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen and as an Associate Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels from 2005 and 2008 before joining DIIS. Between 2001 and 2004 he worked as a researcher in an EU Commission's network managed by Humboldt University, Berlin and earned a PhD in Political Science from the University of Copenhagen.

Tassinari's writings feature regularly in international media such as The Economist, the Financial Times, CNN, Le Figaro and Die Welt. Other articles have appeared in academic and policy journals including the European Foreign

Affairs Review and Cooperation and Conflict. He has advised several Western governments and international organizations. His 2006 policy brief on Black Sea cooperation provided the blueprint, and the official name, of a European Union policy.

Tassinari is a frequent speaker at events around Europe and North America, most recently at Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC, the University of Cambridge, and the German Foreign Office.

Among Tassinari's advisory positions, he serves as a non-Resident Fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations of Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies, in Washington, DC.



NATHALIE TOCCI
Deputy Director
Istituto Affari Internazionali

Besides being Deputy Director at IAI, Nathalie Tocci is head of the Institute's Department entitled, "the EU and the Neighbourhood" and is Editor of The International Spectator. She received her PhD in International Relations at the London School of Economics in 2003. She was a Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS),

Brussels (1999-2003), Jean Monnet and Marie Curie Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence (2003-2007), Associate Fellow at CEPS (2007-2009), and Senior Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy in Washington (2009-2010). Her research interests include European foreign policy, conflict resolution, the European neighbourhood, with a particular focus on Turkey, Cyprus, the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the South Caucasus. Dr. Tocci received the 2008 Anna Lindh award for the study of European foreign policy.



FRANCESCA TRALDI
Director, International Relations
Magna Carta Foundation

Since 2012, Ms. Traldi has been Director of International Relations of the Magna Carta Foundation, a centre-right think tank. In 2011 she was Junior Project Manager at the European Network of Political Foundations (ENoP) in Brussels. She was also a Research Fellow at Brown University in 2006. She holds a PhD in Political European History.



HAKAN TRIBELL
Director of Program Development
Trimbo

Hakan Tribell is responsible for programming, networking, and conducting training activities. He has run Timbro's youth leadership program, The Sture Academy, since

2006. Prior to joining Timbro, Håkan was a long-time member of Upsala Nya Tidning's editorial page as well as an

editor of the public affairs magazine Neo and Project Manager at the Center for Business and Policy Studies in Stockholm. He also serves on the board of directors of the Bertil Ohlin Institute. Håkan earned a Master of Political Sciences degree from Uppsala University. He currently resides in Uppsala, where his hobbies include singing in the Orphei Drängar choir.



#### ANTONIO VILLAFRANCA

Head & Senior Research Fellow, European Programme Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI)

After receiving his degree in Economics from Università di Palermo, Antonio Villafranca attended a postgraduate course at the School of Economics and International Relations at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, where he received the Agostino Gemelli award. He collaborated with the IDSE Institute on the Dynamics of Economic Systems at the

National Research Council (CNR) in Milan. He is currently Head of the European Program and Senior Research Fellow at ISPI - Institute for International Political Studies, where he also teaches courses. He is a Teaching Fellow in International Relations at Università Bocconi and he was a member of Team Europe (Representation of Italy, European Commission) until 2009. In 2011 he was selected by the State Department of the United States for the International Visitor Leadership Program.



### **RICHARD WHITMAN**

Associate Fellow, Europe Programme Chatham House

Professor Richard G. Whitman is Professor of Politics and International Relations in the School of Politics and International Relations. He joined the University of Kent in September 2011.

Professor Whitman is also an Associate Fellow at Chatham House (formerly known as the Royal Institute of International Affairs) and an Academic Fellow at the European Policy Centre. He regularly writes and researches for think tanks and his most recent publication for Chatham House is *A Diplomatic Entrepreneur: Making the most of the European External Action Service.* 

He was Professor of Politics at the University of Bath 2006-2011 and Senior Fellow, Europe (April 2006-April 2007) and Head of the European Programme at Chatham House (April 2004 to April 2006). Prior to arrival at Chatham House he was Professor of European Studies at the University of Westminster where he was also Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy from 2001-2003.

Professor Whitman is a contributor to leading journals, and has presented many papers and keynote addresses. His current research interests include the external relations and foreign and security and defence policies of the EU, and the governance and future priorities of the EU. He is on the editorial boards of European Security and Studia Diplomatica. Professor Whitman is a regular media commentator, working with print and broadcast media at home and overseas. He has been interviewed widely on Europe and European integration. Recent coverage has included BBC radio and television, CNN, Bloomberg, CNBC, Newsweek, Reuters, the International Herald Tribune, and the Wall Street Journal.

Professor Whitman was elected an Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences in October 2007 and, from 2009-2012, the Chair of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES).



ANNA ZIELIŃSKA-RAKOWICZ International Programmes Manager Polish Institute of International Affairs

Anna previously worked as a lecturer and teaching assistant at the Department of International Affairs, Collegium Civitas University.

## Summit Rapporteurs



SYDNEY BALOUE
Transatlantic Fellow
Ecologic Institute

Sydney Baloue works as a Transatlantic Fellow at Ecologic Institute in Berlin, Germany. She is involved in energy projects, touching on issues such as transport, electric mobility, smart grids, and energy security. She is also working on projects related to

climate change legislation, energy markets, utility networks, and consumer behavior.

Before joining Ecologic Institute, Sydney Baloue was a German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Fellow at the Environmental Policy Research Centre (FFU) of the Freie Universität Berlin (FU Berlin, Germany) where she researched the liberalization of energy markets in Germany. She worked on smart grid policies as a Summer Associate at the Greenlining Institute in Berkeley, California in 2011. She also interned at the US Senate in conjunction with her Senator's Energy and Environmental Legislative Assistant in Washington in the summer of 2009.

Sydney graduated magna cum laude from the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia with a BA in political science and French studies. She completed a full academic year at Sciences Po-Paris as an exchange student and is an alumna of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sydney is a native English speaker, is professionally proficient in French, and has a working knowledge of German.



**CECILE LAVRUT MOORE** 

MA Candidate
University of Bologna and Corvinus University Budapest

Cécile Moore is in the second year of a two-year MA in interdisciplinary research and studies on Eastern Europe (MIREES), a joint-degree program between the University of Bologna and Corvinus University of Budapest. She is currently studying in the economics department of Corvinus University, with a focus on public policy. She is a former intern of the Think

Tanks and Civil Societies Program, under the direction of James McGann, Ph.D. She completed her undergraduate studies at Loyola University Chicago in international studies. During her undergraduate studies she held internships with the Inner-City Muslim Action network and with the education department of the Mexican Consulate of Chicago and was a student advocate and advocacy manager with LIFT Chicago. Her academic background and interests include: migration and identity studies, post-socialist countries in, and post, transition, film, and languages. She has spent time studying and living in Hungary, Morocco, Brazil, France, and Italy.

## **European Think Tank Summit**

Think Tanks in a Time of Crisis and Paralysis: On the Sidelines or Catalysts for Ideas and Action?

> A Regional and International Conference 20 November 2012 United States Embassy Rome, Italy

#### BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Over the last 25 years, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) has developed and spearheaded a series of global initiatives that have helped bridge the gap between research and policymaking in critical areas such as international peace and security; globalization and governance; international economics; environmental issues; information and society; poverty alleviation; and healthcare and global health. Our ongoing international collaborative efforts are designed to establish regional and international networks of policy institutes and communities that improve policy making while strengthening democratic institutions and civil society around the world.

In 2005, TTCSP launched the "Global Go To Think Tank Index," which identifies and rates leading think tanks around the world. Three years ago, TTCSP initiated a cooperative effort with think tanks in G20 countries, resulting in a major conference in Beijing in the fall of 2011 and the G20 Foreign Policy Think Tank Summit in Philadelphia in the spring of 2012.

For decades, scholars have tried to define the role of think tanks in the policymaking process. What remains undisputed is that whether creating, translating, or transforming knowledge, think tanks hold the capacity to influence the policy agenda and prioritize topics, thereby playing an important role in policy design. In addition, think tanks play an important human resource function, providing a reservoir of talent for current and future governments.

While definitions of the exact nature of think tanks vary, two key conclusions permeate the literature on think tanks: first, think tanks play a part—whether large or small—in the policymaking process, be it through agenda-setting, legitimating processes, or policy formulation; and second, the role of think tanks becomes particularly relevant in moments of change or transformation and in the face of increasingly complex policy demands. TTCSP views the ongoing transformation of the national, regional, and international environment as a critical moment that is generating increasingly complex demands for emerging and established world powers alike. The European Think Tank Summit (ETTS) aims to understand the changing role of think tanks in a group of states with growing relevance at the national, regional, and global levels of government.

This peer-to-peer exchange will provide the participating think tank representatives with the opportunity to discuss a variety of special, substantive policy challenges and organizational issues through a series of panels, presentations, and roundtable discussions in which the Chatham House Rule will apply.

The overall objective of the conference is the creation of a global forum for peer-to-peer exchange on regional and international issues, best practices for domestic and foreign policy think tanks, and the establishment of enduring linkages among think tanks at the national, regional and global levels. The organizers hope only that such a forum of the leading think tanks globally will foster thoughtful analysis and discussions on the relevant issues faced by all of these institutions.

#### PRELIMINARY SUMMIT SCHEDULE

All session will take place at: **The United States Embassy in Rome, Italy.** Via Sallustiana 49 – 00187 Roma italy.usembassy.gov (+39) 06 46741

08:00h Clear Embassy Security

08:00h - 08:40h Registration and Continental Breakfast

08:45h – 09:00h Welcome and Overview of the Summit

James G. McGann, Director, Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, International Relations Program, University of Pennsylvania

09:00h-9:50h Plenary Session and Roundtable Discussion

Policy Gridlock and Political Paralysis In a Time of Crisis: Think Tanks Part of the Problem, or the Solution?

Plenary Session Chair, William Burke-White, Deputy Dean and Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania Law School

The current economic crisis and political paralysis provide a unique opportunity for think tanks to be catalysts for ideas and action but are they? The general view is that think tanks are a source of ideas and shapers of public policy. Have think tanks become a part of the problem rather than sources of innovative policy solutions? Have decreasing general operating support, the rise of specialized think tanks and project-specific funding, and a narrowing set of policy options led think tanks to support the status quo and not challenge conventional wisdom by providing alternative policy proposals? According to a Greek proverb, "policy paralysis" is caused by analysis, hence "paralysis by analysis." What factors make think tanks conservative or innovative in the development of their ideas? What role can and should think tanks play in breaking the political paralysis and policy gridlock in the United States and in Europe? What strategies might they employ to help policymakers and the public end the gridlock and paralysis?

#### 10:00h – 11:15h Breakout Sessions (Three Concurrent Sessions)

I. Think Tanks and the Future of Europe, the Euro, and the European Union Session Chair, Tamara Cofman Wittes, Senior Fellow and the Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution

It was not too long ago that we spoke with confidence of a "Europe Whole and Free," but now the deep divisions and traditional fault lines in the region have come back with a vengeance: old vs. new; rich vs. poor; north vs. south. What can think tanks do to help bridge these age-old divisions that have begun to reemerge in Europe? What regional and national policies and institutional mechanisms might be developed to help mount an effective response to the many challenges facing Europe? What role can and should think tanks play in promoting a pan-European response to policy problems or creating a pan-Euro infrastructure of think tanks that would be able to bridge the divide and develop coherent and comprehensive policy proposals to address the challenges that threaten the potential for peace and prosperity in the region and the future of the transatlantic partnership? The conference takes place two weeks after the U.S.

presidential election and a few days after new leaders were selected at the 18th Party Congress in China. Will the reelection of President Obama lead to greater policy convergence or divergence between the United States and the European Union, with respect to: (1) the United States and the European Union bilaterally; and (2) the United States and the European Union and NATO in the wider international setting, in the face of global challenges? How does the much discussed decline of the US and the West and the Rise of China and the Rest impact Transatlantic relations? As leading think tanks we must asked ourselves what must our organizations do to not only encourage policy alignment but also steer it in a constructive direction? One of the questions is the role of "transnational" and "foreign" think tanks in various countries and their role in cross-fertilizing policy debates in various countries. Drawing on the experiences and approaches of the diverse countries and think tanks represented at the Summit, what solutions/options can make foreign and domestic policy action more effective in times of crisis?

#### II. Global Economic Crisis and Political Paralysis Session Chair, Marco Incerti, Research Fellow and Director of Communications, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

The dynamic growth and competitive challenge posed by the emerging economies in the Global South require that the countries in the North trim their budgets and government programs to bring them in line with current global economic competition, changing demographics, mounting sovereign debt and little or no economic growth. The inability of the Economically Developed Countries (EDCs) to compete with the low-wages and low benefit cost in developing countries and emerging economies will make it difficult for the countries in the North to emerge from the economic crisis in the short term. The prospects for meaningful economic growth even in the long term appear to be dim unless significant structural adjustments occur, new technologies are employed and productivity gains are realized. Making budget cuts and strategic investments (e.g. in science and technology, infrastructure, strategic resources, and education) that will enable the countries in the North to remain competitive in the global economy will require deep cuts in military spending and entitlement programs. Rather than developing a plan to deal with these long-term structural problems, the politicians in the United States, Europe, and Japan have become mired in partisan politics and policy gridlock. The underlying question that comes out of the global financial crisis and its long-run effects, at least in the United States and Europe, is: "The State (and the European Union): Hero or Villain?" What do the other regions have to say on this? What role can think tanks play in managing these very fundamental structural and philosophical tensions that pose long term challenges to national, regional, and international governance?

# III. Energy, Resources, and Climate Change: Conflict or Cooperation? Session Chair, R. Andreas Kraemer, Director and CEO, Ecologic Institute

We now have a clear understanding and appreciation of the costs and consequences of our failure to address the interrelated issues of energy, resources, and climate change, and yet policy paralysis persists. Add to this the national and international security dimensions of U.S. and European dependencies on foreign oil and gas as well as the increasing demand for these resources among the emerging powers, and the dangers increase exponentially. Some analysts suggest that it would take a slight redirection of only one to two percent of investment and economic activity in the industrialized countries to change over to climate-saving, safe, and sustainable renewable energy within twenty years. Nevertheless, not much happens, and the risk of losing the planet as we know it increases. What explains this paralysis? What are the similarities and differences between the United States and the Europe, between the European Union and (some of) its member states? How can think tanks help overcome the obstacles? What are the international implications, with reference to changing financial flows once fossil fuels are on the way out, and with reference to new alliances built around renewable energy? Can energy independence and enhanced security be achieved without utilizing energy sources that

have higher negative impact on the environment? Will the ongoing consumption of vital resources inevitably lead to conflict in a number of regions in the world? What can be done to address the increasing competition and the potential serious conflict over basic necessitates like food and water?

11:15h – 11:30h Coffee Break

11:30h – 13:00h Roundtable Discussion

Should Think Tanks Serve As Catalysts for Innovation, Ideas, and Action in Good Times and Bad?

Roundtable Chair, James G. McGann, Director, Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program, International Relations Program, University of Pennsylvania

This session concerns the ongoing global economic crisis, power shifts among established and emerging powers, structural adjustment in OECD countries and the emerging economic powers, increasing poverty, climate change, and the access to critical resources pose major challenges for countries around the world. Policymakers are confronted with an array of policy issues that are characterized by uncertainty, multiple constraints, causes, and actors that span legal, political, and national boundaries. Think tanks have the potential to help policymakers and the public meet these challenges because of their unique role in the policymaking process and their capacity to engage in interdisciplinary, policy oriented research. Given that think tanks are uniquely positioned to address these issues, why aren't they playing a more prominent role in policy debates in Europe? What role can and should think tanks play in not only providing analysis and advice on emerging and enduring policy issues but also advancing new approaches and policy options for addressing these issues? What steps should think tanks take to improve their profile, performance and impact on the critical policy challenges facing the policymakers and countries they serve? How effective have think tanks been in engaging with other policy oriented groups at the regional and global levels of government?

13:00h – 13:30h Wrap Up Session: Recommendations and Next Steps

Session Co-Chairs: Christian Koch, Director Gulf Research Center Foundation

Peter Stoute-King Senior Engagement Manager, Global Agenda Councils,

#### World Economic Forum

The objective of this session is to develop a set of concrete recommendations and a plan of action flowing from the Summit. Specifically the 40 think tanks will be asked to develop a set of recommendations for think tanks, journalists and donors that would strengthen the capacity of national and regional governments to address the policy challenges they face. These recommendations might come in the form of public and private funding initiatives to support innovative, evidence based, policy research, dissemination of best practices and innovative policy proposals, joint ventures between think tanks and the old and new media that would focus on the difficult policy choices that OECD countries will face in the next decade. Recommendation might also include research and public engagement programs that are designed to help think tanks examine the "3rd rail" issues that require analysis and action but are issues that policy-makers are reluctant to consider because the political costs are too high. In addition, we might suggest strategies or initiatives to address the regional and global policy issues discussed at the Summit. Finally, we might suggest some ideas for improving the profile, performance and impact of think tanks individually and collectively.



#### THINK TANK AND CIVIL SOCIETIES PROGRAM

The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) at the International Relations Program, University of Pennsylvania conducts research on the role policy institutes play in governments and civil societies around the world. TTCSP was established in 1989. TTCSP maintains a database and network of over 6,500 think tanks in 152 countries. Often referred to as the "think tanks' think tank," TTCSP examines the evolving role and character of public policy research organizations. Over the last 25 years, the Program has developed and led a series of global initiatives that have helped bridge the gap between knowledge and policy in critical policy areas such as international peace and security, globalization and governance, international economics, environmental issues, information and society, poverty alleviation, and healthcare/global health. These international collaborative efforts are designed to establish regional and international networks of policy institutes and communities that improve policy making while strengthening democratic institutions and civil societies around the world. TTCSP works with leading scholars and practitioners from think tanks and universities in a variety of collaborative efforts and programs and maintains the world's leading research database and directory of think tanks. TTCSP produces the annual Global Go To Think Tank Index that ranks world's leading think tanks with the help of a panel of over 1,500 peer institutions and experts from the print and electronic media, academia, public and private donor institutions, and governments around the world.

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