

About the Authors

Madeleine K. Albright is Chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm, and Chair of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment advisory firm focused on emerging markets. She was the 64th Secretary of State of the United States. Dr. Albright received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, from President Obama on May 29, 2012. In 1997 she was named the first female Secretary of State and became, at that time, the highest-ranking woman in the history of the U.S. government. As Secretary of State, Dr. Albright reinforced America's alliances, advocated for democracy and human rights, and promoted American trade, business, labor, and environmental standards abroad. From 1993 to 1997, she served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and was a member of the President's Cabinet. From 1989 to 1992, she served as President of the Center for National Policy. Previously, she was a member of President Jimmy Carter's National Security Council and White House staff and served as Chief Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Edmund S. Muskie. She is a Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. She chairs the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and serves as president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. She also serves on the Board of the Aspen Institute. In 2009, Dr. Albright was asked by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen to Chair a Group of Experts focused on developing NATO's New Strategic Concept. She received a B.A. with Honors from Wellesley College, and Master's and Doctorate degrees from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, as well as a Certificate from its Russian Institute. Her most recent book is *Fascism: A Warning*.

John-Michael Arnold is a DAAD Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He holds a Ph.D from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and his research interests include U.S. foreign

policy, strategic studies, transatlantic relations, and NATO. During his doctorate, he was a graduate fellow at Princeton's Center for International Security Studies (CISS) and he completed a pre-doctoral fellowship at the George Washington University's Institute for Security and Conflict Studies (ISCS). Prior to enrolling at Princeton, he worked as special assistant to the president of the Brookings Institution. He also has a master's degree in International Relations from Yale University and a BA in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (PPE) from the University of Oxford.

Wesley K. Clark is a businessman, educator, writer and commentator who serves as Chairman and CEO of Wesley K. Clark & Associates, a strategic consulting firm. Clark retired as a four star general after 38 years in the United States Army, having served in his last assignments as Commander of U.S. Southern Command and then as Commander of U.S. European Command/Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. He graduated first in his class at West Point and completed degrees in Philosophy and Politics. He studied Economics at Oxford University as a Rhodes scholar. He worked with Ambassador Richard Holbrooke in the Dayton Peace Process, where he helped write and negotiate significant portions of the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement. In his final assignment as Supreme Allied Commander Europe he led NATO forces to victory in Operation Allied Force, a 78-day air campaign, backed by ground invasion planning and a diplomatic process, saving 1.5 million Albanians from ethnic cleansing. His awards include the Presidential Medal of Freedom, Defense Distinguished Service Medal (five awards), Silver Star, Bronze Star, and Purple Heart.

Benoît d'Aboville is a career diplomat and former Ambassador. Between 2000 and 2005 he served as France's Permanent Representative to NATO. He is currently Vice President of the *Fondation pour les Études Stratégiques* in Paris and Associate Professor at Sciences-Po/Paris School of International Affairs. He is member of the board and vice president of the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in San Remo and Geneva. He serves as Chairman of the editorial committee of *Revue de Défense Nationale*. During his diplomatic career he was posted in Washington, Moscow, Geneva, Madrid (CSCE) and New York. He was Deputy Political Director at the Quai d'Orsay and senior auditor at the French *Cour des Comptes*. In 2018 he was appointed

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Stephen J. Flanagan is a Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation in Washington. His research interests include U.S. defense strategy, alliance and partnership relations in Europe/Eurasia, strategic deterrence, and outer space security. He served in several senior positions in the U.S. government over the past four decades including: at the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Defense Policy (2013-15) and for Central and Eastern Europe (1997-99); National Intelligence Officer for Europe; Associate Director and Member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff; and Professional Staff Member, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. He also held senior research and faculty positions at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, National Defense University, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. He served as the lead advisor to former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in her capacity as Chair of the Group of Experts that developed the foundation for NATO's Strategic Concept. He has published six books and many reports and journal articles and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He earned an A.B. from Columbia Univ. and a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School, Tufts University.

Mircea Geoană is president of the Aspen Institute Romania and a preeminent international public figure. He ran for the Presidency of Romania in 2009. In an unprecedented narrow and contested election, he received 49.6% of the ballots cast. He served as the President of the Romanian Senate and as Ambassador of Romania to the United States of America. From 2000 to 2004, he served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania. He also served as OSCE Chairman-in-Office in 2001. He is Chairman and Founder of MG International Strategic Consulting Group, a strategic advisory firm. An alumnus of the Polytechnic Institute and, respectively, the Law School at the University of Bucharest, he graduated in 1992 from the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* in Paris, France. He graduated in 1999 from the World Bank Group Executive Development Program at the Harvard Business School. He holds a Ph.D from the Economic Studies Academy of Bucharest. He

was decorated Commander of the National Order “The Star of Romania,” awarded the “Legion d’Honneur” (France) and “Stella della Solidarietà” (Italy). He is married to Mihaela, an architect by training. They have two children, Ana Maria and Alexandru. He is fluent in English, French, Spanish and Italian.

Elias Götz is a DAAD Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins SAIS and researcher at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies (IRES), Uppsala University. He holds a Ph.D in Political Science from Aarhus University (2013). His main areas of expertise are security studies, international relations theory, and Russian foreign policy. He has published on these topics in journals such as *International Studies Review*, *International Politics*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Global Affairs*, and *Contemporary Politics*. He is currently working on a book project entitled *Russia’s Quest for Regional Primacy*.

Daniel S. Hamilton is the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). From 2002 to 2010 he was the Richard von Weizsäcker Professor at SAIS, and is Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at the Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin. He was the Founding Director of the School’s Center for Transatlantic Relations, and for fifteen years served as Executive Director of the American Consortium for EU Studies. He has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, responsible for NATO, OSCE and transatlantic security issues, U.S. relations with the Nordic-Baltic region, and stabilization of Southeastern Europe following the Kosovo conflict; U.S. Special Coordinator for Southeast European Stabilization; Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff for U.S. Secretaries of State Madeleine K. Albright and Warren Christopher; Senior Policy Advisor to Assistant Secretary of State and U.S. Ambassador to Germany Richard C. Holbrooke. In 2008 he served as the first Robert Bosch Foundation Senior Diplomatic Fellow on the policy planning staff of German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier. His book *Rule-Makers or Rule-Takers: Exploring the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership*, was named “#1 Global Policy Study of the Year” in 2016. Selected publications include *Advancing U.S.-Nordic-Baltic Security Cooperation*; *The Eastern Question: Russia, the West and Europe’s Grey Zone*; and *Alliance Revitalized: NATO for a New Era*. He

has been presented with Germany's Federal Order of Merit (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*); named a *Chevalier* of France's *Ordre des Palmes Académiques*; and awarded Sweden's Knighthood of the Royal Order of the Polar Star. He was presented the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his work to integrate the Baltic states into Euro-Atlantic structures.

Jan Havránek is the Policy Adviser at the Policy Planning Unit of the Office of the NATO Secretary General in Brussels. He previously served as the Head of Defense Section at the Czech Republic's Permanent Representation to NATO in Brussels (2014-2017); Assistant First Deputy Minister of Defense (2013-2014); and foreign policy advisor to Alexandr Vondra (2010-2012). In 2013, he was named to the *Diplomatic Courier's* annual list of the "Top 99 Under 33 Foreign Policy Leaders." His other engagements have included a fellowship at Center for European Policy Analysis (CEPA, 2013-2014) and work for the Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI, 2003-2006) and the Association for International Affairs (AMO, 2002-2007). He holds a master's degree in international security studies from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University (2009).

Liviu Horowitz is a DAAD Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins SAIS. He is currently writing a book on the United States' desire for military preponderance within the current international system. He has served as a research fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, a senior researcher on nuclear policy at the Center for Security Studies in Zurich, a consultant for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization in Vienna, and a research associate at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey. His work has been published in, for instance, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *European Security*, *International Spectator*, *RUSI Journal*, *The Washington Quarterly*, *Nonproliferation Review*, and *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. He holds a doctorate from ETH Zurich.

Robert E. Hunter was U.S. Ambassador to NATO from 1993 to 1998. He served on the National Security Council staff from 1977 to 1981 with lead responsibility for West European Affairs and then Middle East Affairs. He was Foreign Policy Advisor to Senator Edward M. Kennedy and worked on education issues as a member of the domestic

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Géza Jeszenszky is a professor of history and a Hungarian diplomat. He served as Hungary's Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1990-1994, President of the Hungarian Atlantic Council from 1995-1998, Hungary's Ambassador to the United States from 1998-2002, and Hungary's Ambassador to Norway and Iceland from 2011-14.

Jan Jireš has been the Head of Defense Section at the Czech Republic's Permanent Representation to NATO in Brussels since August 2017. From March 2014 to July 2017 he served as the Defense Policy Director at the Ministry of Defense of the Czech Republic. From 2004 to 2014, he was a lecturer in international relations and security studies at Charles University in Prague. Between 2009 and 2013, he worked as director of the Prague Centre for Transatlantic Relations at the CEVRO Institute College. He has worked with a number of U.S. and European research institutes and think-tanks on various security policy-related projects (CTR SAIS Washington, CESS Groningen, DCAF Geneva, CEPI Bratislava, PISM Warsaw, SOWI Strausberg, PSSI Prague, SAC Bratislava, CEPA Washington). He holds an M.A. in Political Science and History from Charles University. In 2012, he received a Ph.D from Charles University for his dissertation on the evolution of U.S.-Central European relations in the post-Cold War era.

Stephan Kieninger is a DAAD Post-Doctoral Fellow at Johns Hopkins University SAIS. He received his Ph.D in Modern History from

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John Kornblum served for more than 35 years an American diplomat. As a specialist for Europe, he was posted in Germany, Austria, Belgium and Finland, in addition to numerous postings in the State Department in Washington, DC. His assignments included positions as Minister and Deputy Commandant in Berlin, Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO, U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Deputy head of the U.S. Delegation to the Dayton Balkan Peace Talks, Special Envoy to the Balkans and U.S. Ambassador to Germany. Ambassador Kornblum has worked in private industry on both sides of the Atlantic since retiring from the Foreign Service in 2001. He lives with his family in Berlin.

László Kovács is a Hungarian politician and diplomat. He served twice as Foreign Minister of Hungary, from 1994 to 1998 and from 2002 to 2004. He was a founder of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) in October 1989, becoming a member of the presidium of the National Board in May 1990. He was party spokesman on foreign affairs from November 1990. He also served as party chairman from 1998 to 2004. From 1994 to 2004 he was a Member of the Hungarian Parliament. From 2004 to 2010 he served as Member of the European Commission in Brussels, responsible for Taxation and the Customs Union. From 2010 to 2014 he was Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Hungarian Parliament. Earlier in his career, between 1975 and 1986, he worked in the Foreign Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, establishing relations with social democratic parties in Western Europe. From 1986

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Andrei Kozyrev is the former Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation. In 1974 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations and subsequently earned a degree in Historical Sciences. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1974 and served as head of the Department of International Organizations from 1989-1990. He became the Foreign Minister of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic in October 1990 and retained his position when the Russian Federation gained independence in 1991. He was an early proponent for increased cooperation between the United States and Russia and advocated for the end of the Cold War. He was a participant in the historic decision taken in December 1991 between the leaders of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine to peacefully dissolve the Soviet Union. As Russia's first Foreign Minister, he promoted a policy of equal cooperation with the newly formed independent states of the former Soviet Union, as well as improved relations with Russia's immediate neighbors and the West. He left the post of Foreign Minister in January 1996, but continued in politics by representing the northern city of Murmansk in the Russian Duma for four years. Since 2000, Kozyrev has lectured on international affairs and served on the boards of a number of Russian and international companies.

Sir Malcolm Rifkind served as a UK Government Minister, under Margaret Thatcher and John Major, continuously from 1979-1997. Among other ministerial and Cabinet appointments, he was Minister responsible for the UK's relations with the Soviet Union from 1982-86. He was Secretary of State for Defense from 1992-1995 and Foreign Secretary from 1995-1997. He was Chairman of the Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament, with responsibility for oversight of the UK's Intelligence Agencies, from 2010-2015. He was a member of the OSCE's Eminent Persons Panel which examined the crisis in Ukraine and Western relations with the Russian Federation. He is a Visiting Professor at the Department of War Studies of King's College, London University.

Jeremy Rosner is Managing Partner at Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, a Washington-based polling and strategy firm. He served as Senior Ad-

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Volker Rühle served as the Minister of Defense of the Federal Republic of Germany from April 1, 1992 to October 27, 1998. As Germany's longest-serving defense minister, he oversaw the country's integration of the former East German army, expanded Germany's role within NATO, and played a central role in opening NATO's door to aspiring candidates from Central and Eastern Europe. Between September 11, 1989 to October 27, 1992 he served as Secretary General of Germany's Christian Democratic Union (CDU). He represented his constituency in Hamburg as a Member of the German Bundestag from December 14, 1976 to October 18, 2005, and served as Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee from 2002 to 2005.

András Simonyi (Ph.D) is an economist by training. He was Hungary's first Ambassador to NATO (1995-1999) and his country's first Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council (1999-2001). He was Hungary's Ambassador to the United States (2002-2007). He is an independent foreign policy consultant living in Washington D.C.

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Strobe Talbott is a distinguished fellow in residence in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution. Previously he served as President of the Brookings Institution from July 2002 to October 2017, after a career in journalism, government, and academe. Prior to joining Brookings, he was founding director of the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization. Before that, he served in the State Department from 1993 to 2001, first as Ambassador-At-Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union, then as Deputy Secretary of State for seven years. He entered government service after 21 years with *Time* magazine. As a reporter, he covered Eastern Europe, the State Department, and the White House, then was Washington bureau chief, editor-at-large and foreign affairs columnist.

Alexander Vershbow is a Distinguished Fellow at the Atlantic Council in Washington, DC. He served as Director of the U.S. State Department's Office of Soviet Union Affairs (1988-91), U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to NATO (1991-93), Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for European Affairs on the National Security Council staff (1994-97), U.S. Ambassador to NATO (1998-2001), U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federations (2001-2005), U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (2005-08), Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (2009-2012) and Deputy Secretary General of NATO (2012-16).

Karsten D. Voigt is member of the board of Aspen Germany and Senior Associate fellow and member of the presidium of the German Coun-

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Jenonne Walker served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Europe on the U.S. National Security Council staff in 1993-1994 and then as U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic 1995-1998. Earlier in her government career she had been an analyst of West European affairs at the Central Intelligence Agency, a member of the Policy Planning staffs of U.S. Secretaries of State Henry A. Kissinger and Cyrus R. Vance, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Stockholm, Sweden, and chair of the U.S. Government's interagency committees on the negotiations to eliminate Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) and to reduce and limit Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) during the second term of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. During a period out of government (1990-1992) she was a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. From retiring in 1998 through 2000 she was Vice President for Europe of the World Monuments Fund.

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