



[Robina Foundation](#)

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Penny Hunt

ROBINA FOUNDATION
Board Meeting
Conference Call

Wednesday, February 27, 2019

10:00 a.m. to 12 Noon (CST)

11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. (EST)

Robina Foundation Board Meeting Agenda

Wednesday, February 27, 2019

10:00 a.m. to 12 Noon (CST)

11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. (EST)

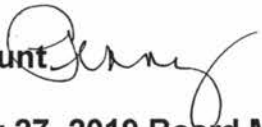
Participant Dial-In Instructions:

1. Dial the Moderator's Access Number: 1-877-820-7831
2. Enter the Participant Passcode: 3167335# (must dial # key)

TIME		TAB
10:00 a.m.	Welcome and Call to Order - Blatz	
10:05 a.m.	Minutes of November 15, 2018 – Short	1
10:10 a.m.	Executive Director's Report – Hunt	2
10:15 a.m.	Treasurer's Report – Lewis • Assets and Grants • 2018 4th Quarter Financial Report from Mike Sullivan • Exit Strategies with New Models G, H and I • 2019 Operating Budget - Action • Agreed Upon Procedures – Follow-up with CLA	3 4
10:35 a.m.	May Meeting with CFR and Yale – Hunt • Draft Schedule • Discussion of Meeting Topics • Post-Sunset Reporting Options	5
10:55 a.m.	Legacy Report Update – Hunt • Revised Report - Action • Legacy Report Dissemination ➤ Foundation Center ➤ Minneapolis Foundation Program – April 4, 2019 ➤ St. Paul and Minnesota Foundations ➤ ACTEC ➤ Minneapolis Club	6
11:20 a.m.	Sunsetting - Hunt • Updated Timetable	7
11:30 a.m.	Grantee Reports • Council on Foreign Relations ➤ James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance: Program and Endowed Reports ➤ Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund: Program and Endowed Reports • Yale University ➤ Gilder Lehrman Center Annual Report	8
11:45 a.m.	Board Meeting Dates (front cover of Bd Bk)	
12 Noon	Adjournment	

ROBINA FOUNDATION

TO: Robina Foundation Board of Directors

FROM: Penny Hunt 

RE: February 27, 2019 Board Meeting

Date: February 19, 2019

One of the reasons I'm looking forward to our meeting is that February 27 will signal that one of Minnesota's snowiest Februarys is almost over! We like snow in Minnesota, but this month it has been relentless. Enough!

As always, the agenda for our meeting highlights interesting topics as the Board moves Robina toward termination. Please pay particular attention to my Executive Director's Report, which includes additional background on several of the topics we will discuss.

Note that we are sending the material from Foundation Center found at Tab 6 before I have the chance to review it since it arrived the day of the mailing of the board book. Before the meeting I will review and discuss the material with Foundation Center staff.

Regarding Foundation Center, on February 5 Foundation Center and GuideStar announced that they have joined forces to become a new nonprofit entity named Candid. According to the announcement:

"Candid brings together the deep expertise of the two organizations in data, technology, research, and training to serve the entire social sector—nonprofits, foundations, social enterprises, and individual donors—and promote more and smarter giving. Building on more than 85 years of combined experience, Candid will enable new kinds of transparency about who is working where in the world and on what issues. Candid will also promote data standards and tools that can accelerate knowledge sharing and enhance collaboration. Powered with new insights, richer data, and increased access, Candid's more than 16 million users will be better equipped to make more strategic decisions and better advance their missions."

Brad Smith will be the president of Candid; Jacob Harold, previously president and CEO of GuideStar, will be Candid's executive vice president.

1	MINUTES November 15, 2018
2	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT
3	TREASURER'S REPORT 2018 4th Quarter Financial Report Exit Strategies
4	2019 OPERATING BUDGET
5	MAY MEETING WITH CFR AND YALE
6	LEGACY REPORT UPDATE
7	SUNSETTING
8	GRANTEE REPORTS COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS GILDER LEHRMAN CENTER

**Robina Foundation
Meeting Minutes
November 15, 2018**

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Robina Foundation, a Minnesota nonprofit corporation, was held on November 15, 2018, via conference call.

Directors present: Susan Berresford, Kathleen Blatz, Steve Lewis, and Marianne Short.

Staff present: Penny Hunt, Executive Director, and Nancy Gilberg, Administrative Consultant.

Mary Lou White was present and served as recorder.

Welcome and Call to Order

Blatz, Chair, called the meeting to order and welcomed Board Members.

Minutes of August 28-29, 2018, Annual Board Meeting

Following discussion,

A motion was made and seconded to approve the Minutes of the August 28-29, 2018, Annual Board Meeting included in the Board Book, subject to a change in the second and third sentences in the Governance section to read as follows: "After review and discussion, Board Members decided to retain the compensation levels previously set in FY2014 based on an estimate of time allocated to work, travel, board meetings, grantee visits and informal consultations, and comparison with the level of compensation of similar sized foundations that compensate trustees." That motion was approved unanimously.

Executive Director's Report

Hunt called the Board's attention to information in the written report related to CliftonLarsonAllen's preparation of "Agreed Upon Procedures" for the Foundation. Hunt and Gilberg explained that CLA does not believe that continuation of Agreed Upon Procedures for the remaining years of Robina's operations is necessary. Board Members discussed their determination to operate the Foundation to the highest possible standard, consulting experts to assure all applicable rules and regulations are followed and determined that, while it may not be necessary, Robina will engage CLA to perform an Agreed Upon Procedures audit for the final year of the Foundation's operations.

Berresford described for the Board her participation in a meeting with David Blight, head of the Gilder Lehrman Center, and several funders to discuss the future of the Center and various funding strategies.

Treasurer's Report

Discussion concerning the Assets and Grants, Sullivan's 2018 Third Quarter Financial Report and Exit Scenarios focused on new Exit Scenarios Models D, E and F and the timing of the transfer of Robina's Private Equity Funds (PEFs) to Yale University. Lewis explained how Yale will value and treat the PEFs at the time of transfer of the funds to

Yale and when funds will be available to Yale School of Drama as part of an endowment grant from Robina to support the Dean's Innovation Fund. According to Lewis only two of Robina's three funds can be transferred to Yale. Hunt was asked to confirm that. In order to provide as clean a transfer of the PEFs as possible, the Board decided to transfer the funds to Yale at the time of a decision concerning an endowment grant to Yale School of Drama and asked Hunt to talk with Sullivan about preparing additional Exit Scenarios assuming transfers in mid-2019 rather than 2020. Board Members expressed interest in terminating the Foundation in mid-2020, which would reduce 2020 operating expenses, permit earlier completion of closing activities, and perhaps eliminate transactions after the year the Foundation terminates.

2019 Operating Expenses

Hunt noted that the draft budget projects that 2019 operating expenses will be slightly less than 2018 expenses due to lower rent in 2019. Meeting expenses are predicted to remain approximately the same, assuming the Board travels to New Haven and New York City next spring.

Legacy Project

Revised Report

Directors agreed that a date should be added to the final Foreword to the report. Blatz and Berresford will provide Hunt with suggested minor changes to the Foreword.

Dissemination Options

Board Members discussed information regarding opportunities to disseminate information about Robina's work included in the Board Book:

Work with Foundation Center: Board Members asked Hunt to follow up with Foundation Center to determine possible future work, including preparation of a Q & A Robina could use in connection with meetings or presentations.

Work with Minneapolis Foundation: Lewis suggested that Hunt contact the St. Paul Foundation to discuss the feasibility of a program there similar to the program discussed with the Minneapolis Foundation.

Work with the American College of Trusts and Estate Counsel (ACTEC): Board Members expressed interest in exploration of national and local options for Robina to discuss its lessons learned with ACTEC members and asked Hunt to follow up with local trusts and estates attorney Ann Burns.

Board Members emphasized the importance of opportunities that involve interaction with donors and potential donors as well as with attorneys and others who provide philanthropic advice to clients, and their preference for meetings organized by organizations other than Robina. In addition to possible work with ACTEC, Board Members suggested that Hunt discuss this with Faegre Baker Daniels, and Short indicated that she would explore Dorsey's interest.

Sunset Issues

Post-Sunset Reporting: After reviewing background information included in the Board Book, Board Members asked Hunt to prepare a list of options for reports on Robina's

endowment grants for consideration at the February Board Meeting with the goal of developing several options to discuss during 2019 grantee visits with endowment recipients Yale School of Drama, Yale Law School, the Council on Foreign Relations and the University of Minnesota Law School. Board Members agreed that the goal of post-sunset reporting is to make Robina Grantees aware that their work is being monitored and that a process is established in the event of proposed changes in the use of Robina funds.

Archiving: Hunt and Gilberg reported on their discussion with the Minnesota Historical Society concerning archiving Robina records and the kind of contract with the Society that is appropriate for the Foundation. Hunt and Gilberg will prepare a list of items they feel should be archived and will work with Blatz to identify archiving issues requiring Board consideration. Blatz will review the Society's standard contract to determine whether a specially tailored contract is needed.

Robina Office

New Lease: Hunt and Gilberg explained that the manager of the IDS agreed to a new lease with Robina for a smaller office on the 49th floor beginning on December 1, 2018.

Director & Officers Liability Insurance: After reviewing information on the availability of an "Extension Period" following Robina's non-renewal at the time Robina sunsets, Board Members expressed the view that a three-year extension would be appropriate.

Grantee Reports

During review of grantee reports, Board Members noted that Yale School of Drama's use of the Production Enhancement Fund was low in FY2018 and asked Hunt to continue to discuss use of the Fund with Dean Bundy.

Future Board Meetings

February 27, 2019 Telephone Meeting: Hunt noted that the agenda should include Sullivan's New Exit Strategies to enable the Board to make a decision concerning funding of grants for Dean's Innovation Funds at Yale School of Drama and the University of Minnesota Law School.

Spring 2019 Meeting: Board Members identified potential dates for final visits to Yale and the Council on Foreign Relations: May 8-10 and May 20-21. Hunt will explore those dates with Yale and CFR.

Adjournment

There being no other business, the meeting was adjourned at 12:20 pm

Respectfully Submitted,

Marianne Short, Secretary

Date

**ROBINA FOUNDATION
BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
February 27, 2019
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S REPORT**

The agenda for the meeting and the material in the Board Book reflect the items I have been working on since the November Board Meeting. A few comments about the work and the material.

Foundation Finances

I followed up on the Board's interest in considering additional "Exit Strategies" for the Foundation and worked with Mike Sullivan, who prepared the strategies with the help of colleagues at Navassa Lane Consultants. New strategies Alternative Models G, H and I are found on page 17 of Mike's report. (Tab 3) We will undoubtedly focus on the new strategies during the meeting with the goal of identifying the best strategy to pursue.

Mike re-worked all of the strategies so that they all begin with Robina's assets as of 12/31/18. He also reworked the assumptions related to the foundation's private equity funds. On February 25 Steve and I are scheduled to speak with Mike about the report and the Exit Scenarios, so we will be able to explain the Exit Strategies in more detail during the board meeting.

May Meetings with CFR and Yale

To my surprise, scheduling May meetings at CFR and Yale was easier than I feared. Thanks to all of you for your quick response to inquiries about dates, times, etc.! Tab 5 includes a draft schedule of our time in New York and New Haven. We will also discuss meeting topics and post-sunset reporting as described in my memo at Tab 5. I anticipate that we will identify additional ideas for post-sunset reporting during our discussion. In order to assure that our meetings are productive, I will share the topics with CFR and Yale before we meet.

Legacy Project

Legacy Report

Consideration of the Report, including the Foreward, is an Action item on the agenda. (FYI – The Report includes one small change on page 9 requested at the last board meeting. You need not review the report again.)

Following are the items to be discussed:

- Finalize the Foreward;
- Determine timing of publication: before or after approval of Dean's Innovation Funds at Yale School of Drama and the University of Minnesota Law School;
- Distribution list;
- Printing of report.

Dissemination of Lessons Learned

Tab 6 includes an update on activities related to dissemination. Note in particular material provided by Foundation Center. Staff at the Center are eager to receive your

feedback on the material, which may be used, among other things, for the board to prepare for the April 4 meeting at the Minneapolis Foundation.

Archiving Robina Records

During a recent meeting, Kathleen, Nancy and I discussed Robina records in order to identify material appropriate for archiving at the Minnesota History Center. We decided that the foundation's board books provide the best, clearest and most concise and relevant description of Robina's work since they include all Robina Grantee proposals considered by the board, board decisions concerning proposals, etc. Nancy and I will begin to review the board books and then will focus on other files (grantee files, financial files, etc.), taking into consideration advice from Faegre Baker Daniels about document retention.

Updates

University of Minnesota Law School

Endowed Scholarship Match Program

We recently received documentation for the 7th Robina match of contributions to the Law School for endowed scholarships. According to David Jensen, the 8th match will occur before the end of June, and he is working with several other potential donors on the final two matches. David is confident that the U will request the balance of Robina's \$500,000 commitment, which will turn Robina funding into \$1.5M in additional endowment for scholarship support.

Binger Center for New Americans

Staff and students at the Binger Center have been busy! Recent highlights of the BCNA:

The Law School launched a new clinic designed to provide legal assistance to the growing number of immigrants living in rural areas. The Rural Immigrant Access Clinic, the fourth immigration-focused clinic run through the Binger Center, provides a semester-long learning opportunity for up to a half dozen students. The new clinic was formed following a two-year pilot program that confirmed the need for a program to address unmet legal needs and community concerns. Students will work in partnership with other legal assistance providers to facilitate mobile clinics in venues that local immigrants can easily access.

MPR covered the new clinic during a news program on February 14.

In late December three Law School students argued and won an important case at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit. The legal issue in the case, *Jasso Arangure v. Whitaker*, was whether "res judicata," a legal principle intended to prevent relitigation of cases between the same parties over the same issues, applies at the administrative level of an immigration proceeding. Due to the case's prominence and potential impact, the National Immigration Project of the National Lawyer's Guild submitted an amicus curiae brief to the 6th Circuit supporting the arguments the students made in the principal brief.

For Ben Casper Sanchez, watching the students brief, argue and win this case stands out as a highlight of his career as a teacher and lawyer.

The Law School recently announced that Steve Meili is the inaugural holder of the James H. Binger Professor in Clinical Law endowed by the Robina Foundation. He was a Clinical Professor and received tenure as an Associate Professor in 2018. Meili writes and teaches about the rights of noncitizens, particularly those seeking asylum and serves as director of the Law School's Immigration and Human Rights Clinic. His law review articles have appeared in numerous publications and in 2011 he was awarded the Law School's Stanley V. Kinyon Clinical Teacher of the Year Award.

	ROBINA FOUNDATION GRANTS PAID/COMMITTED										For February 27, 2019 Board Meeting				
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	TOTAL
ANWH															
Care Guides	1,253,535	2,373,233	2,373,232												6,000,000
LifeCourse: Late Life Supportive Care + Additional Funding					2,356,696	4,245,492	4,334,266								10,936,454
LifeCourse:2015 Transition Phase/2016 Completion of Research Study								3,990,000	2,500,000	1,000,000					7,490,000
														ANWH Total	24,426,454
CFR															
IIGG	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,046,627	2,034,671	2,034,971	2,074,424	2,114,664						18,305,357
Online Video Project				419,750	276,805										696,555
Expanded Diversity Initiative				15,000	377,034	426,492	470,722	446,117	157,889						1,893,254
Humanity in Action (Undergraduate) Fellowship								247,878						HIA	247,878
Expanded Diversity Initiative - Additional Activities						837,344	858,278	141,263							1,836,885
Humanity in Action Diplomacy and Diversity Fellowship								600,720						HIA	600,720
Endowed Chair in Global Governance								1,666,667	1,666,667			1,666,666			5,000,000
Six Franklin Williams Internships								1,320,000							1,320,000
														CFR Total	29,900,649
U of M															
LaPPS	1,400,000	1,436,750	1,480,338	2,850,854	893,457										8,061,399
Institute of Criminal Law & Justice					847,190	1,494,134	1,750,900	1,771,752	1,639,451						7,503,427
Sentencing Law Program Enhancements (CL&CJ)						820,056	844,658	869,997	896,097	922,980					4,353,788
Scholarships					250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000						1,250,000
Endowed Scholarship Match Program											250,000	250,000			500,000
Public Interest Scholars					379,800	694,544	809,355	813,736	1,074,188	726,688	1,074,188	1,076,688	809,188		7,458,375
Bridge Fellowship Program									150,000	150,000	150,000	150,000	150,000		750,000
Center for New Americans						1,349,393	1,022,887	1,039,869	1,057,361						4,469,510
Class Agent Pilot Program									84,000	91,500	91,500	91,500	91,500		450,000
Endow James H. Binger Center for New Americans									23,500,000						23,500,000
Endow James H. Binger Professorship in Clinical Law									1,000,000						1,000,000
Dean's Innovation Fund											100,000	100,000			200,000
														U of M Total	59,496,499
YALE															
Yale Drama															
CNT	750,000	750,000	1,350,000	950,000	18,000,000					25,000					21,825,000
Dean's Innovation Fund											100,000	100,000			200,000
Yale Law															
Human Rig	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000						9,000,000
Endow Robina Human Rights Fellowship Initiative									10,000,000						10,000,000
Endow Binger Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights									3,000,000						3,000,000
Yale University															
Thomas M. Crosby, Jr. Scholarship							200,000								200,000
Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition									383,180	486,012	382,042	173,475			1,424,709
														Yale Total	45,649,709
TOTAL	6,403,535	7,559,983	8,203,570	7,235,604	26,427,609	13,152,126	13,576,037	13,245,756	51,793,497	5,068,847	2,147,730	3,608,329	1,050,688		159,473,311
YEAR END NET ASSETS*				120,827,373	100,568,259	95,132,519	82,796,457	68,168,845	17,913,050	12,637,410	10,284,767	6,466,617	5,171,829		
*Estimated by Mike Sullivan based upon the projected grant programs and using asset allocation and assumed return assumptions.															
Not Included Above: Planning Grants from 2005-2008: Abbott - \$125,000; CFR - \$50,000; U of M Law School - \$375,000; Yale University - \$50,000															\$600,000
Misc Grants: ArtPlace Initiative-\$500,000; Aspen Institute-\$130,575; Ctr for Victims of Torture-\$26,000; Tandem-\$25,000; Orthopaedic International Education-\$25,000; Exponent Philanthropy-\$850															\$707,425
															\$1,307,425
													31-Dec-18	TOTAL	\$160,780,736

ROBINA FOUNDATION ASSETS AND GRANTS

Q/E DATE	ASSETS	GRANTS (Cumulative)	GRANTS (Outstanding Commitments)
12/31/07	\$149,839,012.57	\$350,000	\$ 0
12/31/08	128,359,302.03	7,028,535	17,507,864
12/31/09	127,065,750.39	14,719,093	9,947,881
03/31/10	126,595,324.27	14,719,093	9,947,881
06/30/10	123,001,620.97	15,719,093	8,947,881
09/30/10	121,856,212.63	20,549,431	10,067,543
12/31/10	128,007,811.51	22,922,663	7,694,311
03/31/11	128,482,893.73	22,922,663	16,944,311
06/30/11	128,031,543.16	24,422,663	15,444,311
09/30/11	125,106,894	30,208,267	23,229,046
12/31/11	120,827,123	30,658,267	32,895,500
03/31/12	121,350,931	34,489,187	48,338,828
06/30/12	99,963,670	53,765,992	32,563,646
09/30/12	98,199,014	57,085,876	29,243,762
12/31/12	100,293,064	57,086,876	29,243,762
03/31/13	96,166,446	63,502,994	22,827,644
06/30/13	95,512,864	64,502,994	30,650,942
09/30/13	93,066,393	70,203,905	27,417,442
12/31/13	94,871,823	70,239,002	28,960,291
03/31/14	89,006,105	77,244,890	25,944,403
06/30/14	89,678,334	79,898,903	23,290,390
09/30/14	84,256,819	83,815,039	20,844,976
12/31/14	82,796,456	83,815,039	20,844,976
03/31/15	77,384,424	90,272,908	14,362,502
06/30/15	76,583,811	91,272,908	13,363,502
09/30/15	68,141,242	96,919,532	7,826,004
12/31/15	68,168,845	\$97,060,795	13,974,091
03/31/16	63,014,212	101,991,315	20,113,571
06/30/16	63,437,327	102,991,315	19,113,571
09/30/16	58,526,903	108,367,625	51,237,261
12/31/16	17,913,050	148,904,293	11,450,594
03/31/17	16,540,138	150,390,304	9,964,582
06/30/17	16,501,546	150,390,304	9,964,582
09/30/17	14,425,125	152,306,472	8,073,414
12/31/17	12,635,704	153,973,389	6,406,747
03/31/18	10,139,247	154,405,731	5,974,705
06/30/18	12,028,330	154,455,731	5,924,705
09/30/18	10,459,956	156,021,419	4,559,017
12/31/18	\$10,284,768	\$156,121,419	\$4,659,317(1)

(1) Includes the following commitments:

CFR's *Endowed Chair in Global Governance*: \$1,666,666 (2019)

University of Minnesota Law School: \$1,885,876 (2019-2020) *Public Interest Scholars*; \$300,000 (2019-2020) for *Bridge Fellowship Program*; and \$183,000 (2019-2020) for *Class Agent Fundraising Pilot Program*; \$250,000 (2019) for *Endowed Scholarship Match Program*; \$100,000 (2019-2020) Dean's Innovation Fund

Yale University: \$173,475 (2019) *Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance and Abolition*; \$100,000 (2019-2020) Dean's Innovation Fund

Exponent Philanthropy: \$300 Annual Donation

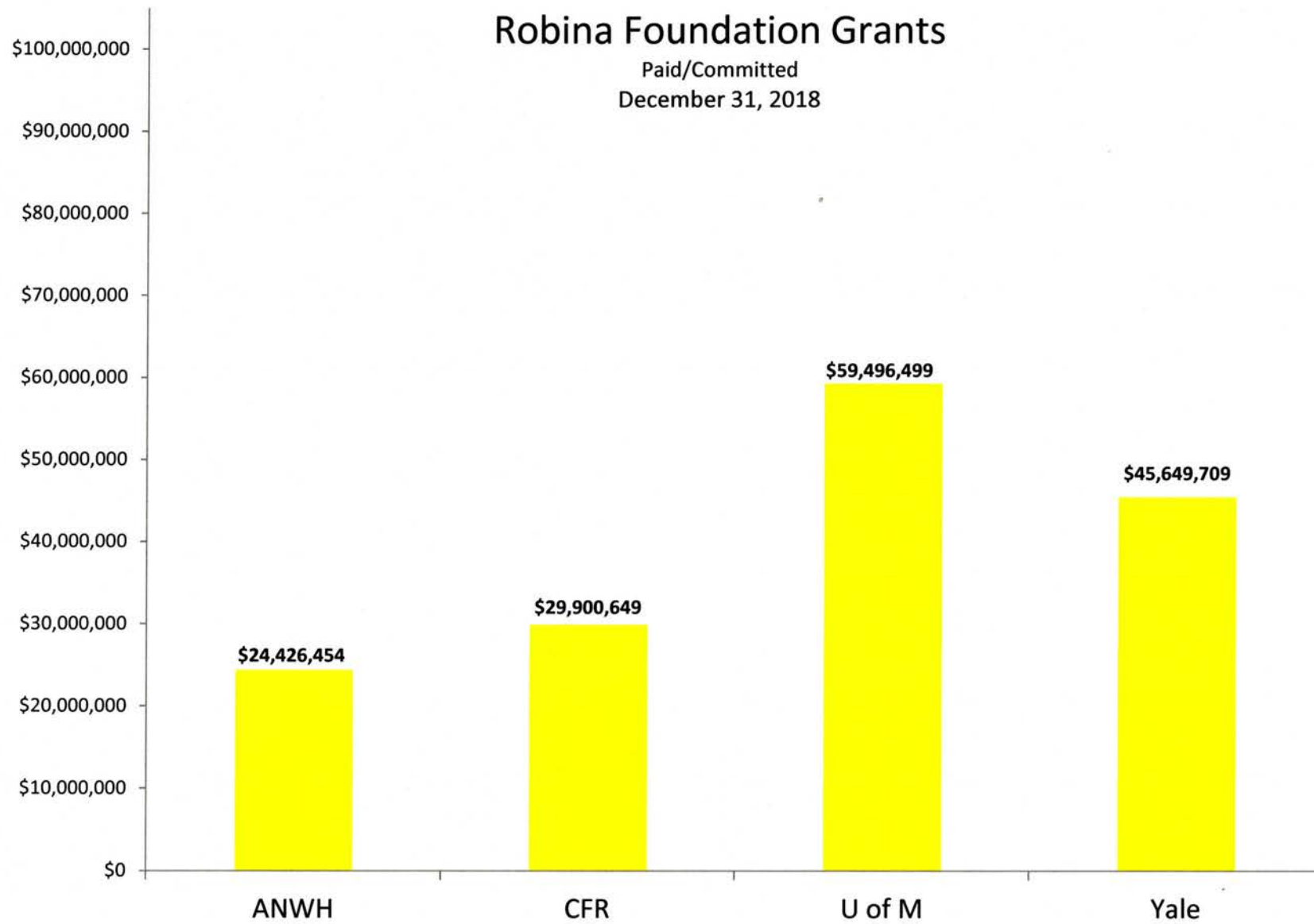
ROBINA FOUNDATION

ASSETS DETAIL

Assets	12/31/07	12/31/08	12/31/09
USbank Checking	\$28,607.85	\$39,292.02	\$3,299,000.81
USbank Investment	28,068,147.99	21,523,747.18	30,793,370.96
TIFF	8,587,802.83	6,356,616.51	8,183,916.75
Estate of Jim Binger	96,165,289.90	83,450,482.32	67,800,297.87
IRS Refund	16,989,164.00	16,989,164.00	16,989,164.00
Total	\$149,839,012.57	\$128,359,302.03	\$127,065,750.39
Assets	03/31/10	06/30/10	09/30/10
USbank Checking	\$3,260,931.19	\$2,211,528.66	\$5,338,375.00
USbank Investment	30,990,610.24	31,231,745.96	23,575,643.46
TIFF	8,441,421.21	8,058,254.83	8,792,014.78
Estate of Jim Binger	66,913,197.63	64,510,927.52	67,161,015.39
IRS Refund	16,989,164.00	16,989,164.00	16,989,164.00
Total	\$126,595,324.27	\$123,001,620.97	\$121,856,212.63
Assets	12/31/10	03/31/11	06/30/11
USbank Checking	5,279,343.30	3,969,261.41	3,899,548.61
USbank Investment	21,160,516.65	70,072,133.88	79,068,499.17
TIFF	9,262,202.25	Closed - Funds wired to USbank	-0-
Estate of Jim Binger	82,985,461.31	45,121,210.44	35,743,207.38
IRS Refund	9,320,288.00	9,320,288.00	9,320,288.00
Total	\$128,007,811.51	\$128,482,893.73	\$128,031,543.16
Assets	09/30/11	12/31/11	03/31/12
USbank Checking	3,242,279	3,107,762	1,554,595
USbank Investment	79,623,780	74,568,396	76,710,536
Estate of Jim Binger	30,618,655	30,705,220	30,640,055
IRS Refund	11,622,180	12,445,745	12,445,745 (4)
Total	\$125,106,894	120,827,123	121,350,931
Assets	06/30/12	09/30/12	12/31/12
USbank Checking	538,773	438,552	331,081
USbank Investment	74,687,548	74,324,421	76,039,563
Estate of Jim Binger	12,291,604	10,990,296	11,476,675
IRS Refund	12,445,745	12,445,745	12,445,745
Total	\$99,963,670	98,199,014	100,293,064
Assets	03/31/13	06/30/13	09/30/13
USbank Checking	235,329	121,792	141,307
USbank Investment	93,225,051	92,712,707	90,134,695
Estate of Jim Binger	2,706,066	2,678,365	2,790,391
Total	\$96,166,446	\$95,512,864	93,066,393
Assets	12/31/13	03/31/14	06/30/14
USbank Checking	218,896	96,503	180,943
USbank Investment	92,411,790	86,407,628	86,995,264
Estate of Jim Binger	2,241,137	2,208,474	2,208,627
Bazal Property	-	293,500	293,500
Total	\$94,871,823	89,006,105	89,678,334
Assets	09/30/14	12/31/14	03/31/15
USbank Checking	156,815	194,677	\$265,106
USbank Investment	83,728,078	82,272,092	76,790,061
Residual of JPMorgan	78,426	4,187	3,757
Bazal Property	293,500	293,500	325,500
Total	84,256,819	82,796,456	\$77,384,424
Assets	06/30/15	09/30/15	12/31/15
USbank Checking	227,826	171,332	\$184,426
USbank Investment	76,029,036	67,644,410	67,984,419
Residual of JPMorgan	1,449	-0-	-0-
Bazal Property	325,500	325,500	-0-
Total	76,583,811	68,141,242	68,168,845
Assets	03/31/16	06/30/16	09/30/16
USbank Checking	\$167,571	\$111,220	146,856
USbank Investment	62,846,641	63,326,107	58,380,047
Total	\$63,014,212	\$63,437,327	\$58,526,903
Assets	12/31/16	03/31/17	06/30/17
USbank Checking	\$139,046	99,183	172,144
USbank Investment	17,774,004	16,440,955	16,329,402
Total	17,913,050	\$16,540,138	\$16,501,546
Assets	09/30/17	12/31/17	03/31/18
USbank Checking	195,379	\$139,046	\$150,533
USbank Investment	14,229,746	12,496,658	9,988,714
Total	\$14,425,125	\$12,635,704	\$10,139,247
Assets	06/30/18	09/30/18	12/31/18
USbank Checking	\$153,861	\$82,536	48,116
USbank Investment	9,865,907	8,359,209	8,207,466
Vanguard	2,008,562	2,018,211	2,029,186
Total	\$12,028,330	\$10,459,956	\$10,284,768

Robina Foundation Grants

Paid/Committed
December 31, 2018



Robina Foundation

Quarterly Financial Report Q4 2018

*Prepared by Michael F. Sullivan, Ph.D.
Navassa Lane Consultants*

February, 2019

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Executive Summary

Mission Statement

The Robina Foundation, a Minnesota-based private grant making foundation, seeks to positively impact critical social issues by encouraging innovation and financially supporting transformative projects of its four institutional partners. These partners, selected by the Foundation's founder, James H. Binger, are: Abbott Northwestern Hospital, Minneapolis, MN; The Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY; University of Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis, MN; and Yale University, New Haven, CT.

Executive Summary

There are three sections in the Q4, 2018 report:

1. Standard quarterly balance sheet and income statement with performance comparative
2. Maturity matching schedule of grants and investments
3. Exit Model Scenarios
 - Current Plan
 - Adjusted Current Plan
 - Exit Models G, H, I

Executive Financial Summary

	2017	2018	2018	2018	2018
	Qtr 4	Qtr 1	Qtr 2	Qtr 3	Qtr 4
Cash	\$2,433,123	\$2,515,397	\$3,765,235	\$2,902,095	\$4,072,476
Fixed Income	\$9,659,623	\$9,079,493	\$7,754,623	\$7,055,170	\$5,776,409
Equities	\$544,665	\$544,665	\$508,471	\$493,690	\$435,882
Grand Total	\$12,637,411	\$12,139,555	\$12,028,329	\$10,450,955	\$10,284,767

	Cash and Cash Equivalents	Q4 2018
	Cash	\$4,072,476
→	PE Equity	\$435,882
	Total Cash	\$4,508,358

Robina Foundation

Balance Sheet

	<u>2017</u>		<u>2018</u>			<u>2018 Total</u>
	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
Beginning Balance:	\$14,425,125	\$12,637,410	\$12,139,555	\$12,028,329	\$10,450,955	\$12,637,410
Plus: Earnings	\$69,460	\$46,256	\$29,247	\$161,392	\$75,485	\$312,590
Less: Grants	(\$1,691,917)	(\$432,042)	\$0	(\$1,565,688)	(\$100,000)	(\$2,097,730)
Less: Operating Expenses	(\$152,823)	(\$101,249)	(\$131,986)	(\$165,203)	(\$134,406)	(\$532,844)
Less: Bank Expenses	(\$12,435)	(\$10,820)	(\$8,697)	(\$7,875)	(\$7,267)	(\$34,659)
Ending Balance:	\$12,637,410	\$12,139,555	\$12,028,329	\$10,450,955	\$10,284,767	\$10,284,767

Portfolio Return vs. Benchmark

	1 Year	3 Year	5 Year
Portfolio % return, annualized	1.71	2.51	1.37
Benchmark % return, annualized	1.86	2.09	1.47

Sources of Capital

	2017	2018	Qtr2	Qtr3	Qtr4
	Qtr4	Qtr1			
Asset Summary					
Cash					
Pending cash	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
US Bank Private Client MM	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
US Bank MM	\$2,292,370	\$356,040	\$1,602,812	\$801,348	\$1,995,174
Vanguard MM	\$0	\$2,000,252	\$2,008,562	\$2,018,211	\$2,029,186
US Bank Cash	\$0	\$8,571	\$0	\$0	\$0
Robina Checking Account	\$142,752	\$150,534	\$153,861	\$82,536	\$48,116
Cash Total	\$2,433,123	\$2,515,397	\$3,765,235	\$2,902,095	\$4,072,476
Fixed Income					
Bonds					
Taxable US	\$6,494,913	\$5,943,260	\$4,618,015	\$3,920,565	\$3,526,044
Taxable Foreign Bonds	\$3,164,710	\$3,136,179	\$3,136,608	\$3,134,605	\$2,250,366
Fixed Income Total	\$9,659,623	\$9,079,493	\$7,754,623	\$7,055,170	\$5,776,409
Equities					
Hedge					
Pointer Offshore Ltd	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Private Equity					
Flag Venture Partners III LP	\$143,065	\$143,065	\$111,055	\$122,655	\$76,050
Flag Venture Partners IV LP	\$293,724	\$293,724	\$289,540	\$263,149	\$282,283
Pfingsten Partners III LP	\$107,876	\$107,876	\$107,876	\$107,876	\$77,550
Private Equity Total	\$544,665	\$544,665	\$508,471	\$493,690	\$435,883
Equities Total	\$544,665	\$544,665	\$508,471	\$493,690	\$435,883
Grand Total	\$12,637,410	\$12,139,555	\$12,028,329	\$10,450,955	\$10,284,767

Robina Foundation

Grants Paid: 2018

	Qtr1	Qtr2	Qtr3	Qtr4	Grand Total
University of Minnesota Law School	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$1,465,688	\$100,000	\$1,665,688
Public Interest Scholars			\$1,074,188		\$1,074,188
Bridge Fellowship Program			\$150,000		\$150,000
Class Agent Pilot Program			\$91,500		\$91,500
Matching Program, Endowed Scholarships	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	\$100,000	\$250,000
Dean's Innovation Fund			\$100,000		\$100,000
Yale University	\$382,042	\$0	\$100,000	\$0	\$482,042
Gilder Lehrman Center	\$382,042				\$382,042
Dean's Innovation Fund			\$100,000		\$100,000
Exponent Philanthropy		\$300			\$300
Grand Total	\$432,042	\$50,300	\$1,565,688	\$100,000	\$2,148,030

Robina Foundation

Robina Grant Commitments

	Month to be Paid	2019	2020	Grand Total
Council on Foreign Relations		\$1,666,666		\$1,666,666
Endowed Chair in Global Governance	January	\$1,666,666		\$1,666,666
University of Minnesota Law School		\$1,668,188	\$1,050,688	\$2,718,876
Public Interest Scholars	July	\$1,076,688	\$809,188	\$1,885,876
Bridge Fellowship Program	July	\$150,000	\$150,000	\$300,000
Class Agent Pilot Program	August	\$91,500	\$91,500	\$183,000
Matching Program, Endowed Scholarships	* Q1 (\$50K), Q2 (\$200K)	\$250,000		\$250,000
Dean's Innovation Fund	September	\$100,000	(?)	\$100,000
Yale University		\$273,475		\$273,475
Gilder Lehrman Center	February	\$173,475		\$173,475
Dean's Innovation Fund	September	\$100,000	(?)	\$100,000
Exponent Philanthropy	April	\$300		\$300
Grand Total		\$3,608,629	\$1,050,688	\$4,659,317

Implementation of Maturity Matching Investment Strategy

September 30/2018 – December 31/2020

Maturity Matching Investment Strategy

Beginning Balance: 01/01/2019	\$10,284,767
Minus: Operating Expenses	-\$1,000,000
Minus: Committed Grants	-\$4,659,317
Plus: Bond Dividends and Income	\$598,536
Ending Balance: 12/31/2020	\$5,223,986

Incorrect

Ignore

Robina Foundation

End of Quarter Fund Balances

2019	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Beginning Balance:	\$10,284,767	\$8,343,789	\$8,091,786	\$6,519,573
Plus Earnings:	\$74,163	\$73,297	\$70,975	\$72,044
Less:				
Grants	\$1,890,141	\$200,300	\$1,518,188	\$0
Operating and Banking Expenses	\$125,000	\$125,000	\$125,000	\$125,000
Ending Balance:	\$8,343,789	\$8,091,786	\$6,519,573	\$6,466,617

2020	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Beginning Balance:	\$6,466,617	\$6,400,086	\$6,345,817	\$5,227,254
Plus Earnings:	\$58,469	\$70,731	\$57,125	\$69,575
Less:				
Grants	\$0	\$0	\$1,050,688	\$0
Operating and Banking Expenses	\$125,000	\$125,000	\$125,000	\$125,000
Ending Balance:	\$6,400,086	\$6,345,817	\$5,227,254	\$5,171,829



Less PE Value on 12-31-2020:

\$5,171,829
 -\$195,383
 \$4,976,446

Robina Foundation

Total Budget Long-Term History and Projections

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Beginning Year Net Assets	\$120,827,373	\$100,568,259	\$95,132,519	\$82,796,457	\$68,168,845	\$17,913,050	\$12,637,410	\$10,284,767	\$6,466,617
Plus Revenues	\$6,822,930	\$8,418,009	\$2,077,836	-\$542,089	\$2,268,454	\$337,889	\$312,590	\$290,479	\$255,899
Less Expenses	-\$653,435	-\$701,623	-\$837,861	-\$839,767	-\$680,752	-\$544,432	-\$567,503	-\$500,000	-\$500,000
Less Grants Paid	-\$26,428,609	-\$13,152,126	-\$13,576,037	-\$13,245,756	-\$51,843,497	-\$5,069,097	-\$2,097,730	-\$3,608,629	-\$1,050,688
Year End Net Assets	\$100,568,259	\$95,132,519	\$82,796,457	\$68,168,845	\$17,913,050	\$12,637,410	\$10,284,767	\$6,466,617	\$5,171,829

Exit Scenarios

Robina Foundation

Fund Exit Scenarios

The table below highlights the investment implications of various exit strategies for the Robina Foundation endowment fund. Depending on the model, bond equities will be sold prematurely at discounts.

Plan	Description	End of Quarter Balance-2019				End of Quarter Balance-2020			
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Current Plan	- No new grants awarded after Jan. 1, 2019 - Robina ends 12/31/2020	\$8,343,789	\$8,091,706	\$6,519,573	\$6,466,617	\$6,400,186	\$6,345,817	\$5,227,254	\$5,171,829
Adjusted Current Plan		\$7,907,906	\$7,655,823	\$6,083,690	\$6,030,734	\$5,964,303	\$5,909,934	\$4,791,371	\$4,735,946
Alternative Model G	- New grants of \$200,000 in Q2 2019 - Endowment grants of \$4,300,00 in Q3 2020 - Yale to receive PEFs in Q2 2019 - Robina ends 12/31/2020 9/30/20	\$7,907,906	\$7,124,823	\$6,052,690	\$5,999,734	\$5,933,303	\$5,879,034	\$83,971	
Alternative Model H	- Endowment grants of \$4,300,00 in Q3 2020 - Yale to receive PEFs in Q2 2019 - Robina ends 12/31/2020 9/30/20	\$7,907,906	\$7,625,823	\$6,653,690	\$6,000,734	\$5,934,303	\$5,880,034	\$281,471	
Alternative Model I	- Endowment grant of \$2,000,000 to Yale in Q4 2019 - Endowment grant of \$2,300,000 to University of Minnesota in Q3 2020 - Yale receives PEFs in Q2 2019	\$7,907,906	\$7,625,823	\$6,053,690	\$3,960,734	\$5,864,303	\$5,840,034	\$151,471	

Includes PEF
No PEFs

2019 OPERATING BUDGET							
OPERATING EXPENSES				2018 Budget	2018 Actual	2019 Budget	
Administration: Contract Services							
	Penny Hunt			\$124,000	\$124,000	\$124,000	
	Baker Management (Nancy Gilberg)			50,160	50,160	50,160	
	Outside Consultants			20,000	13,000	5,000	
	Gilberg Overtime			1,500	1,473	1,500	
Accounting-Audit Fees				13,000	8,327	6,000	
Directors' Fees				138,000	138,000	138,000	
Insurance							
	D&O			2,250	2,250	2,250	
	Property			505	506	506	
Investment Management Fees (Usbank and Mike Sullivan)				75,000	59,679	60,000	
Legal-Prof Fees				4,000	2,444	5,000	
Meeting Expense				28,000	16,970	18,000	
Membership Dues				750	750	750	
Misc Expense				1,000	3,383	1,000	
Office							
	Equipment and Furnishings			100	0	100	
	Misc			2,000	378	400	
	Supplies			600	326	400	
Parking and Mileage				3,250	3,295	3,000	
Postage and Delivery				700	654	700	
Printing, Web Design and Maintenance				500	982	700	
Rent				26,297	25,775	11,000	
Taxes							
	Excise, State, Federal			19,617	5,025	18,690	
Telephone/Internet				4,000	3,413	4,000	
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES				515,229	460,789	451,156	
GRANTS				3,864,396	2,148,030	3,608,629	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES				4,379,625	2,608,819	4,059,785	

* Could increase -
 Transfer of P&F's
 + Work re:
 termination

Add.
 \$5000

Robina Foundation Budget Notes

01/01/19 – 12/31/19

Operating Expenses

Administration – Consultants

Penny Hunt – annual contract: \$124,000

Baker Management (contract employer for Nancy Gilberg) - \$50,160 annual

External Consultants - \$5,000 Dissemination Costs

Accounting/Audit Fees

CliftonLarsonAllen(CLA)

\$6,000: Tax Related Work

Directors' Fees

\$138,000: \$30,000 annual fee for four directors plus \$18,000 additional fee for Chair

Insurance

Directors and Officers: Annual premium of \$2,250.

Property: \$506: Basic policy to cover office equipment/furnishings

Investment Management Fees

USbank Fees: \$35,000: USbank's current annual management fee is 0.35%

Michael Sullivan: \$25,000

Legal/Professional Fees

\$5,000: Legal fees in connection with sunseting and other issues

Meeting Expense (Board and Staff)

\$18,000: Includes travel, accommodations and meals for board meetings, grantee visits,

Membership Dues

\$750: Exponent Philanthropy's annual membership dues

Miscellaneous

\$1,000: Certificate of Incorporation annual fee (\$25), gifts, compensation and bonus adjustments, etc.

Office Expense

Equipment and Furnishings: \$100

Misc: \$400: Computer and technology consulting/maintenance/repair

Supplies: \$400: Paper products, 3-ring binders, file folders, toner cartridges, etc.

Rent

\$11,652: \$970.52/month lease for current space (to be reduced by \$4 sq ft beginning 6/2019)

Taxes

Excise Tax: \$18,690; estimated at 2% by CLA; tax will be reviewed/revised by CLA during the year

Telephone/Internet

\$4,000: Approximately \$340/month including Conference Calls

Grants

\$3,608,629: Grant payments currently scheduled for 2019. Additional grant payments will be made if approved by the Board.

DRAFT SCHEDULE

Robina Foundation Meetings at CFR and Yale

May 7-9, 2019

Tuesday, May 7 Everyone to Arrive in NYC

CofC??

6:00 p.m. Dinner at The Lotos Club Grill

Lodging The Lotos Club
5 East 66th Street
New York, NY 10021
Phone: 212-737-7100

*Material for
Meetings??*

Wednesday, May 8 Meetings with Council on Foreign Relations

11:00 a.m. Meetings with CFR
(Richard Haass, Stewart Patrick, Jim Lindsey, Jan
Hughes, Suzanne Helm)
↳ VP, HR + Admin.

3:00 p.m. Van to Penn Station
Travel by train to New Haven
Van to The Study from Train Depot

6:00 p.m. Dinner in the Heirloom at The Study

Lodging The Study
1157 Chapel Street
New Haven, CT 06511
Phone: 203-503-3900

Thursday, May 9 Meetings at Yale

8:30 a.m. Meeting with Scott Hunter re: Transfer of PEFs
(Steve Lewis, Penny Hunt, Kathleen Blatz)

157 Church St.

10:00 a.m. Yale School of Drama

James Bundy by phone

12 Noon Yale Law School (working lunch)

Silk, Hope Metcalfe, Tara, Eleiah Sexton

2:30 p.m. Van to Hartford Airport

(one stop at Train Depot for Susan's Departure)

*Tara will meet us in lobby &
walk w/ us.*

ROBINA FOUNDATION

TO: Robina Board of Directors

FROM: Penny Hunt

RE: Post-Sunset Grant Reporting

DATE: February 27, 2019

In connection with plans to “sunset” the Robina Foundation, the Board needs to determine how Robina Grantees will report on work funded by Robina once the Foundation ceases its operations.

Following is information to facilitate discussion of post-sunset reporting:

- Information on the grants;
- Provisions related to reporting included in various grant agreements;
- Issues / approaches that the Board may want to pursue in discussions with the Council on Foreign Relations, Yale School of Drama and Yale Law School in May and with the University of Minnesota Law School in the summer. (I’m certain you will come up with others!)

Grants

Program Grants

The Foundation is scheduled to make grant payments totaling \$1,050,688 in 2020 to the University of Minnesota Law School to support three programs. The Foundation’s current reporting schedule calls for annual reports a year after each payment is made, i.e. in 2021, a year after the Board currently plans to end Robina’s operations.

Endowment Grants

Robina has made six endowment grants to Robina Grantees:

- \$23.5 million to the University of Minnesota Law School for the James H. Binger Center for New Americans;
- \$1 million to the University of Minnesota Law School for the James H. Binger Professorship in Clinical Law;
- \$1.32 million to CFR for Robina Franklin Williams Interns;
- \$5 million to CFR for the James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance;
- \$10 million to Yale Law School for the Robina Human Rights Initiative;

- \$3 million to Yale Law School for the Binger Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights;
- \$18 million to Yale School of Drama for the Binger Center for New Theatre.

In addition, the Board plans to consider grants to endow “Dean’s Innovation Funds” at the University of Minnesota Law School and Yale School of Drama.

Robina Grantees currently provide Robina with annual program reports summarizing activities supported by these grants, as well as endowment reports on the status of the endowment funds.

Reporting Provisions

Following is a summary of provisions covering reporting and change in circumstances. (Agreements with the University of Minnesota Law School, Yale Law School, Yale School of Drama and the Council on Foreign Relations are attached.)

University of Minnesota Law School

Endowment of Binger Center for New Americans

Program and Endowment Reports:

- Robina to designate period of time for reports;
- Reports to be in form and with information acceptable to Robina;
- If Robina no longer in existence, reports go to Robina’s designated representative or that person’s designated successor;
- Designations must be made in writing.

Change of Circumstances:

- Determined by U of M Foundation Board of Trustees if use of funds for original purposes impossible, impractical or inexpedient;
- Foundation can change use of funds to support U of M Law School activities that the Foundation Board determines will, as nearly as possible, accomplish the charitable purpose, objective and intention of Robina and will satisfy Robina’s Mission included in the agreement.
- Foundation Board of Trustees must consult with “appropriate University and Law School leadership” regarding change in circumstances and with Robina or its designated representative prior to changing use.

Endowment for Binger Professorship in Clinical Law

Reporting:

- Program Report to be included with the Program Report on CNA.
- Endowment Report: same terms as with CNA Endowment Report.

Change of Circumstances:

- Same as with CNA.

Yale Law School

Robina Human Rights Initiative Endowment and Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights

Program and Endowment Reports:

- Reports to be in a form acceptable to Robina;
- After termination of Robina, report to be provided to Robina's designated representative;
- If requested, YLS will participate in evaluations and assessments of the use of and expenditures of funds.

Change in Circumstances:

- If YLS determines that it is impractical, inexpedient or impossible to use funds for original purposes, YLS may make modifications to the use of the funds as will "appropriately recognize the interests of the Foundation, in coordination with YLS's priorities, in a manner that will (a) as nearly as possible, accomplish the charitable purpose, objective and intention of the Foundation in making the Grant, and (b) satisfy the Foundation's Mission..."
- If possible and practical, YLS will consult with Robina or its designated representative prior to selecting any alternate use of funds.

Yale School of Drama

Program and Endowment Reports

- YSD to provide Robina with an annual written report in a format acceptable to Robina;
- Robina can designate an organization to receive reports.

Change of Circumstances

- Yale Corporation may make modifications to the use of funds if in judgment of the Yale Corporation it becomes impossible, impractical or unlawful to apply funds to the original purpose.
- Changes will be considered in consultation with Robina or its stewardship successor.

Council on Foreign Relations

Binger Chair in Global Governance and Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund

Program and Endowment Reports

- To be provided in a form acceptable to Robina for period designated by Robina;
- If Robina no longer operating, reports to go to Robina's designated representative or that person's designated successor as identified in writing.

Change in Circumstances

Same terms as YLS except that CFR's consultation with Robina or its designated representative prior to selecting any alternate use does not state that consultation will take place "if possible and practical."

Post-Sunset Reporting Issues / Approaches

Timeframe for reporting

- Leave open-ended;
- Set specific time period: e.g. five years after Robina sunsets, unless a change in circumstances occurs, in which case the five-year reporting requirement begins again with the designated successor representative to receive reports.

Initial person to receive reports

- Kathleen or another board member
- Others?

Possible designated successor representatives

- The General Counsels of Yale, CFR and the University of Minnesota
- The Provost of Yale and the University of Minnesota; the Head of the Department supervising IIGG and Franklin Williams Interns;
- The President and CEO of the University of Minnesota Foundation
- State Attorney General (suggestion from Harvard's CFO)

Goal: Reach agreement re: rep'tg - or
options to discuss w/ RG.

Cent. orig. grant -
used for purpose.



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA FOUNDATION

Robina Foundation

Fund Agreement

Robina Foundation (the "Donor"), Regents of the University of Minnesota (the "University"), and the University of Minnesota Foundation (the "Foundation") enter into this Fund Agreement (the "Agreement") regarding the administration of the Fund described below to which a gift from the Donor to the Foundation will be directed.

Name:

The fund shall be named the *James H. Binger Center for New Americans Fund* (the "Fund").

Fund Purpose:

The purpose of the Fund is to provide financial support to the University of Minnesota Law School to support the operations of the James H. Binger Center for New Americans ("CNA"). The CNA brings about transformative change by creating a national model for the provision of comprehensive and cohesive legal services for immigrant communities through a variety of means, including improving federal immigration law and policy through impact litigation; protecting detainee rights and improving access to legal representation for refugees and immigrants; educating non-citizens about their legal rights; creating dynamic and comprehensive immigration clinics for students; and collaborating with others on immigration issues.

The Fund is intended to complement the charitable objectives of the fund created to support the James H. Binger Professorship in Clinical Law, and these two funds will be administered in a coordinated manner to support the leadership and operations of the CNA.

Funding Details:

The Donor's initial gift in the amount of \$23.5 million will be directed to the Fund. The Donor and others may make additional gifts to the Fund at any time. Additional gifts to the Fund will be reflected in the records of the Foundation.

Fund Type: Endowment

Stewardship and Recognition:

The Foundation and the University will provide the Donor with appropriate stewardship and recognition consistent with Foundation's and the University's policies. The Foundation may include information about the Donor's gift and the Fund in the Foundation's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. The Foundation and the University will give the Donor the opportunity to review and comment on

draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the gift and the Fund before a press release or announcement is made.

Fund Administration:

The Fund will be administered and invested by the Foundation in accordance with the policies of the Foundation. Oversight and management of the Fund shall be the responsibility of the Foundation in consultation with the Dean of the Law School or his assignees. The assets of the Fund may be commingled with other assets of the Foundation for purposes of investment. Separate records and accounts will be kept of receipts and disbursements of the Fund.

As an endowment fund, the earnings attributable to the Fund and the annual amount appropriated by the Foundation and made available for distribution from the Fund will be determined by the Foundation's policies as defined by its Board of Trustees from time to time. Fund assets that the Foundation does not appropriate for distribution from the Fund in a given year shall continue to be held in the Fund and administered under this Agreement.

Reporting:

For a period to be designated by the Donor, the University will provide the Donor with an annual written report in a form and with information acceptable to the Donor that describes the activities and programs of the CNA as supported by the Fund. If requested by the Donor or the Donor's designated representative, the University will participate in evaluations and assessments funded by the Donor of the activities of the CNA, including third party evaluations and assessments.

In addition, the Foundation will provide an annual written report on the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount, in accordance with Foundation and University policies. If the Donor is no longer in existence, these reports shall be provided to the designated representative of the Donor or that person's designated successor as identified by the Donor in a writing filed with the Foundation that includes each designated representative's name and contact information.

Change in Circumstances:

If the Foundation's Board of Trustees determines that a change in circumstances has made the use of Fund distributions for the purpose described above impossible, impractical, or inexpedient, the Foundation shall use subsequent Fund distributions to support those University of Minnesota Law School activities that the Board determines will, as nearly as possible, accomplish the charitable purpose, objective and intention of the Donor and will satisfy the Donor's Mission, as further described below. The Board of Trustees will consult with appropriate University and Law School leadership regarding any determination of change in circumstances and any modification of Fund use and with the Donor or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting an alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Foundation acknowledges that the Donor's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

Governing Law:

This Agreement shall be governed exclusively by Minnesota law, including the Uniform Prudent Management of Institutional Funds Act as adopted by Minnesota, and any successor statute (collectively "UPMIFA"). For purposes of UPMIFA, the Fund shall constitute an institutional fund.

Entire Agreement:

This Agreement constitutes the entire agreement of the parties related to this Fund administration, and this Agreement supersedes any oral and written agreements or communications related thereto.

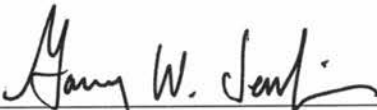
Effective Date:

This Agreement is effective as of the 13 day of October, 2016

ROBINA FOUNDATION

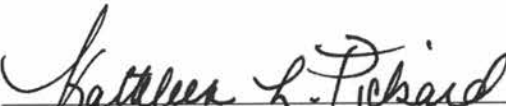
By: Kathleen Blatz

Its: Chair, Board of Directors, Robina Foundation

REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

By: Garry W. Jenkins

Its: Dean, Law School

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA FOUNDATION

By: Kathleen L. Pickard

Its: Vice President and CFO



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
FOUNDATION

Robina Foundation

Fund Agreement

Robina Foundation (the "Donor"), Regents of the University of Minnesota (the "University"), and the University of Minnesota Foundation (the "Foundation") enter into this Fund Agreement (the "Agreement") regarding the administration of the Fund described below to which a gift from the Donor to the Foundation will be directed.

Name:

The fund shall be named the *James H. Binger Professorship in Clinical Law* (the "Fund").

The individual selected for this named position (the "Holder") will be referred to as holder of the *James H. Binger Professorship in Clinical Law* and may use the working title as the *James H. Binger Professor of Clinical Law* or *James H. Binger Clinical Professor of Law*, as appropriate.

Fund Purpose:

The purpose of the Fund is to assist the University in recruiting, supporting and retaining outstanding faculty members in the Law School. The individual holding the named position, regardless of academic rank, will be engaged in clinical instruction within the James H. Binger Center for New Americans ("CNA") with a focus on immigration, asylum, detainee rights, and/or refugee law and policy.

All individuals supported by this Fund will be recruited according to University and Law School policies and procedures in place at the time. The position and terms of appointment, typically six (6) years, and terms of renewal will be approved by the Dean of the Law School. The position may be held open or awarded on a temporary or interim basis as the situation warrants.

The Fund is intended to complement the charitable objectives of the James H. Binger Center for New Americans Fund, and these two funds will be administered in a coordinated manner to support the leadership and operations of the CNA.

At the time of establishment, the Fund shall comply with the requirements of the current University policies. If the Donor wishes to make a future change regarding the use of a fund in support of a named faculty position, it must comply with the requirements of the then-current University policies, including but not limited to minimum funding levels and naming restrictions in place at that time.

Funding Details:

The Donor's initial gift in the amount of \$1 million will be directed to the Fund. The Donor and others may make additional gifts to the Fund at any time. Additional gifts to the Fund will be reflected in the records of the Foundation.

Fund Type: Endowment**Stewardship and Recognition:**

The Foundation and the University will provide the Donor with appropriate stewardship and recognition consistent with Foundation's and the University's policies. The Foundation may include information about the Donor's gift and the Fund in the Foundation's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. The Foundation and the University will give the Donor the opportunity to review and comment on draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the gift and the Fund before a press release or announcement is made.

Fund Administration:

The Fund will be administered and invested by the Foundation in accordance with the policies of the Foundation. Oversight and management of the Fund shall be the responsibility of the Foundation in consultation with the Dean of the Law School or his assignees. The assets of the Fund may be commingled with other assets of the Foundation for purposes of investment. Separate records and accounts will be kept of receipts and disbursements of the Fund.

As an endowment fund, the earnings attributable to the Fund and the annual amount appropriated by the Foundation and made available for distribution from the Fund will be determined by the Foundation's policies as defined by its Board of Trustees from time to time. Fund assets that the Foundation does not appropriate for distribution from the Fund in a given year shall continue to be held in the Fund and administered under this Agreement.

Reporting:

The University shall report on the uses of the Fund in conjunction with the annual report provided on the James H. Binger Center for New Americans Fund, subject to the terms of its Fund Agreement.

In addition, the Foundation will provide an annual written report on the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount, in accordance with Foundation and University policies. If the Donor is no longer in existence, these reports shall be provided to the designated representative of the Donor or that person's designated successor as identified by the Donor in a writing filed with the Foundation that includes each designated representative's name and contact information.

Change in Circumstances:

If the Foundation's Board of Trustees determines that a change in circumstances has made the use of Fund distributions for the purpose described above impossible, impractical, or inexpedient, the Foundation shall use subsequent Fund distributions to support those University of Minnesota Law School activities that the Board determines will, as nearly as possible, accomplish the charitable purpose, objective and intention of the Donor and will satisfy the Donor's Mission, as further described below. The Board of Trustees will consult with appropriate University and Law School leadership regarding any determination of change in circumstances and any modification of Fund use and with the Donor or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting an alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Foundation acknowledges that the Donor's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

Governing Law:

This Agreement shall be governed exclusively by Minnesota law, including the Uniform Prudent Management of Institutional Funds Act as adopted by Minnesota, and any successor statute (collectively "UPMIFA"). For purposes of UPMIFA, the Fund shall constitute an institutional fund.

Entire Agreement:

This Agreement constitutes the entire agreement of the parties related to this Fund administration, and this Agreement supersedes any oral and written agreements or communications related thereto.

Effective Date:

This Agreement is effective as of the 13 day of October, 2016.

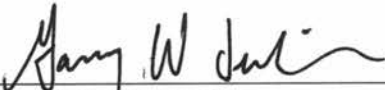
ROBINA FOUNDATION



By: Kathleen Blatz

Its: Chair, Board of Directors, Robina Foundation

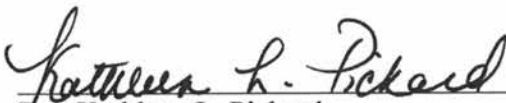
REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA



By: Garry W. Jenkins

Its: Dean, Law School

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA FOUNDATION



By: Kathleen L. Pickard

Its: Vice President and CFO

ROBINA FOUNDATION

GRANT AND ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT

Robina Foundation, a Minnesota nonprofit corporation (the "Foundation"), and Yale University ("Grantee") enter into this Grant and Endowment Agreement (the "Agreement") to establish the terms of an endowment Grant from the Foundation to the Grantee for the benefit of Yale Law School ("YLS").

1. **Description of Grant.** The Foundation shall make a grant of \$10 million (the "Grant") to the Grantee to establish the *Robina Human Rights Initiative Endowment Fund* (the "Fund"), which will be administered according to the terms of this Agreement. The Grant shall be paid on or before December 31, 2016.
2. **Use of the Fund.** Income generated from the Fund shall be used to sustain the Robina Human Rights Initiative at YLS. The annual income shall be distributed for these specific purposes: 1) to provide financial assistance to YLS students and graduates pursuing careers in human rights, including through academic-year scholarships, summer public interest fellowships, post-graduate fellowships, and law school loan repayment assistance; 2) to support visiting human rights faculty, scholars, and practitioners; and 3) to fund human rights-related research, clinical education, teaching and programming at YLS, particularly to enable innovation in human rights clinical education and student opportunities to gain direct human rights investigation and advocacy experience, and outreach to the broader Yale community, including support for human rights education and experience for Yale undergraduates.

The annual income produced by the Fund may be reserved for future use whenever the Dean of YLS determines that a temporary accumulation of income is advisable or appropriate. For purposes of this Agreement, "income" means the amount available for distribution from the Fund as determined in accordance with Grantee's endowment spending policy. The donor intends that the Fund provide continuous, stable, and sustainable spending in support of the purposes described above, in accordance with the University spending policy. The donor recognizes that the application of Yale's spending policy, combined with economic conditions, may cause the market value of the Fund to fluctuate above or below the historic book value of the Fund.

The Fund is intended to complement the charitable objectives of the *Binger Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights at Yale Law School*. These two funds will be administered in a coordinated manner to support the leadership and operations of the Human Rights Initiative at YLS.

3. **Stewardship and Recognition.** Grantee will provide the Foundation with appropriate stewardship and recognition in a manner consistent with Grantee's policies. Grantee may include information about the Grant and the Fund in Grantee's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. Grantee will give the Foundation an opportunity to review and comment on draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the Grant before the press release or announcement is made.
4. **Reporting.** For a period designated by the Foundation, the Grantee will provide the Foundation with an annual written report in a form acceptable to the Foundation that describes the Grantee's use of distributions from the Fund. This report must also include a description of the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount. If the Foundation is no longer in existence, this report must be provided to the designated representative of the Foundation or that person's designated successor. If requested by the Foundation or the Foundation's designated representative, the Grantee will participate in evaluations and assessments of the use of and expenditures from the Fund assets income, including third party evaluations and assessments.
5. **Investment of the Fund.** The Grantee or a committee duly authorized by the Grantee has sole discretion as to the investment and reinvestment of the assets of the Fund, including the selection of investment managers, and as to the selection of custodians of the assets of the Fund. Fund assets may be commingled with the Grantee's other assets for investment purposes provided that the separate identity of the Fund and the distributions from the Fund are at all times maintained.
6. **Change in Circumstances.** If at some future time, due to changed circumstances, in the judgment of the Grantee it becomes impractical, inexpedient or impossible to apply the distribution from the Fund to the purposes described above, the Grantee shall make such modifications to the use of the Fund as will appropriately recognize the interests of the Foundation, in coordination with the Grantee's priorities, in a manner that will (a) as nearly as possible, accomplish the charitable purpose, objective and intention of the Foundation in making the Grant, and (b) satisfy the Foundation's Mission, as further described below. If possible and practical, Grantee will consult with the Foundation or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting any alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Grantee acknowledges that the Foundation's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

7. **Counterparts.** The parties may sign this Agreement in counterparts which, taken together, will constitute a fully executed original.

8. **Effective Date:** This Agreement is effective as of the _____ day of _____, _____.

ROBINA FOUNDATION

Kathleen Blatz
Chair, Board of Directors, Robina Foundation

YALE UNIVERSITY

Robert C. Post
Dean
Yale Law School

Joan E. O'Neill
Vice President for Alumni Affairs and Development
Yale University

ROBINA FOUNDATION

GRANT AND ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT

Robina Foundation, a Minnesota nonprofit corporation (the "Foundation"), and Yale University ("Grantee") enter into this Grant and Endowment Agreement (the "Agreement") to establish the terms of an endowment Grant from the Foundation to the Grantee for the benefit of Yale Law School ("YLS").

1. **Description of Grant.** The Foundation shall make a grant of \$3,000,000 (the "Grant") to the Grantee to endow the *Binger Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights at Yale Law School* (the "Chair"), which will be administered according to the terms of this Agreement. The Grant shall be paid on or before December 31, 2016.
2. **Use of the Fund.** Income generated from the Fund shall be used to support a clinical faculty member at Yale Law School who will teach human rights-related courses and clinics, and lead the Robina Human Rights Initiative. The annual income produced by the Fund may be reserved for future use whenever the Dean of the Law School determines that a temporary accumulation of income is advisable or appropriate. For purposes of this Agreement, "income" means the amount available for distribution from the Fund as determined in accordance with Grantee's endowment spending policy. The donor intends that the Fund provide continuous, stable, and sustainable spending in support of the purposes described above, in accordance with the University spending policy. The donor recognizes that the application of Yale's spending policy, combined with economic conditions, may cause the market value of the Fund to fluctuate above or below the historic book value of the Fund.

The Chair Fund is intended to complement the charitable objectives of the Robina Human Rights Initiative Endowment Fund. These two funds will be administered in a coordinated manner to support the leadership and operations of the Human Rights Initiative at YLS.

3. **Stewardship and Recognition.** Grantee will provide the Foundation with appropriate stewardship and recognition in a manner consistent with Grantee's policies. Grantee may include information about the Grant and the Fund in Grantee's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. Grantee will give the Foundation an opportunity to review and comment on draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the Grant before the press release or announcement is made.
4. **Reporting.** For a period designated by the Foundation, the Grantee will provide the Foundation with an annual written report in a form acceptable to the Foundation that describes Grantee's use of distributions from the Fund. This report must also include a description of the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount. If the Foundation is no longer in existence, this report must be provided to the designated representative of the Foundation, or that person's designated successor. If requested by the Foundation or the Foundation's designated representative, the Grantee will participate in evaluations and assessments of the use of and expenditures from the Fund assets income, including third party evaluations and assessments.

5. **Investment of the Fund.** The Yale Corporation or a committee duly authorized by the Corporation has sole discretion as to the investment and reinvestment of the assets of the Fund, including the selection of investment managers, and as to the selection of custodians of the assets of the Fund. Fund assets may be commingled with the Grantee's other assets for investment purposes, provided that the separate identity of the Fund and the distributions from the Fund are at all times maintained.
6. **Change in Circumstances.** If at some future time, due to changed circumstances, in the judgment of the Grantee it becomes impractical, inexpedient, or impossible to apply the distribution from the Fund to the purposes described above, the Grantee shall make such modifications to the use of the Fund as will appropriately recognize the interests of the Foundation, in coordination with the Grantee's priorities, in a manner that will (a) as nearly as possible, accomplish the general purposes, objective and intention of the Foundation in making the Grant, and (b) satisfy the Foundation's Mission attached as further described below. If possible and practical, Grantee will consult with the Foundation or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting any alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Grantee acknowledges that the Foundation's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

7. **Counterparts.** The parties may sign this Agreement in counterparts which, taken together, will constitute a fully executed original.
8. **Effective Date:** This Agreement is effective as of the _____ day of _____, ____.

ROBINA FOUNDATION

Kathleen Blatz
Chair, Board of Directors,
Robina Foundation

YALE UNIVERSITY

Robert C. Post
Dean
Yale Law School

Joan E. O'Neill
Vice President for Alumni Affairs and Development
Yale University

The Binger Center for New Theatre

Indenture Documenting the Endowment and Current Use Gift from the Robina Foundation

The Robina Foundation ("the Donor") is pleased to document a commitment of \$18,000,000.00 to Yale School of Drama, of which \$15,000,000.00 shall be used to establish an endowed fund for the benefit of The Binger Center for New Theatre ("the Center") at Yale School of Drama. The name of the fund will be The Binger Center for New Theatre Endowment Fund ("the Fund"). The remaining \$3,000,000.00 of the gift shall be used to provide operating funds for the Center.

Endowment

Schedule and Form of Contributions: This commitment will be fulfilled on or before June 30, 2012. The Fund may be added to from time to time by the Donor or others.

Use of Endowment Income: The expendable income¹ from the Fund shall be used to provide direct support to the Center. Yale School of Drama will direct the resources from this Fund to the commissioning, development, production, and dissemination of new plays under the auspices of the Center in accordance with the attached proposal, "The Binger Center for New Theatre: Yale's Vision," revised April 13, 2012 ("the Proposal"), which represents the overall understanding of the Robina Foundation and Yale University of the activities of The Binger Center for New Theatre and is part of this indenture.

Excess Income: If expendable income from the Fund grows beyond what is practical to use for the purposes stated above, the University Provost may use the excess income to support projects at Yale School of Drama that most closely align with the spirit of the Donor's intent. These include, but are not limited to, such purposes as may be identified by future independent review panels and adopted by the Dean of the School. During the life span of the Robina Foundation, such use of excess income shall be determined in consultation with the Donor.

Stewardship: Yale shall provide the Donor with an annual written report of its progress in a format acceptable to the Donor, to include program highlights as well as financial updates noting the Fund's market value, principal, and expendable income. As the Robina Foundation will be dissolved at some future date, the Donor may designate an organization to which reports shall be made and with which consultation pursuant to this indenture will continue when the Robina Foundation has ceased to exist.

Fund Administration: Yale University will administer the Fund created hereunder in accordance with the policies authorized by the Yale Corporation. The Donor intends that the Fund provide continuous, stable, and sustainable spending in support of the purposes described above, in accordance with the University spending policy. The Donor recognizes that the application of Yale's spending policy, combined with economic conditions, may cause the market value of the Fund to fluctuate above or below the historic book value of the Fund.

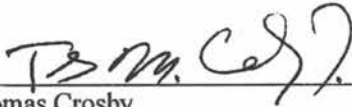
In the event that, at some future time, in the judgment of the Yale Corporation, it becomes impossible, impractical, or unlawful to apply the distributions from the Fund to the purpose described above, the Yale Corporation shall make such modifications to the use of the Fund as will appropriately recognize the interests of the Donor in coordination with University priorities. Any such changes will be considered in consultation with the Donor or its stewardship successor, as the case may be.

¹ "Expendable income" is determined by the University's Endowment spending policy, which allocates endowment earnings to operations. Currently, the target spending rate approved by the Yale Corporation stands at 5.25%. According to the smoothing rule, Endowment spending in a given year sums to 80% of the previous year's spending and 20% of the targeted long-term spending rate applied to the market value two years prior. The spending amount determined by the formula is adjusted for inflation and constrained so that the calculated rate is at least 4.5% and not more than 6% of the Endowment's inflation-adjusted market value one year prior. The smoothing rule and the diversified nature of the Endowment are designed to mitigate the impact of short-term market volatility on the flow of funds to support Yale's operations.

Current Use Gift

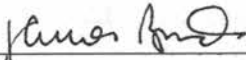
The current use gift portion of \$3,000,000.00 will be invested by the Yale Office of Investments in Treasury bonds with maturity rates that will meet the approved cash flow requirements outlined in the financial section of the Proposal. Any interest earned on these Treasury bonds will be added to the spendable portion of the gift and expended for the programmatic purposes outlined in the Proposal.

Reports on the use of these funds will be included in the annual written report described in the "Stewardship" section of this Indenture.



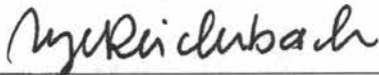
Thomas Crosby
Chair, Board of Directors
The Robina Foundation

4/12/12
Date



James Bundy
Dean, Yale School of Drama
Artistic Director, Yale Repertory Theatre

4.18.12
Date



Inge T. Reichenbach
Vice President for Development, Yale University

4.23.2012
Date

Attachment: "The Binger Center for New Theatre: Yale's Vision," revised April 13, 2012

Amendment to
The Binger Center for New Theatre
Indenture

Documenting the
Endowment and Current Use Gift from the Robina Foundation

April 15

This Amendment dated ~~March~~ *April 15* 2015, is being made to the April, 2012 Indenture documenting the endowment and current use gifts from the Robina Foundation for the Binger Center for New Theatre at the Yale School of Drama ("the 2012 Indenture").

By mutual agreement, the parties hereby amend the 2012 Indenture as follows:

The section of the 2012 Indenture captioned "Current Use Gift" shall be replaced with the following provisions:

1. The existing balance of the original current use gift of \$3,000,000, including interest income earned by its investment in U.S. Treasury Bonds, will be transferred to a separate fund within the Yale Endowment referred to as a "term endowment fund," which allows for, but does not necessarily require, the periodic expenditure of principal from the fund. The term endowment fund will remain in existence for as long as there is unspent principal and/or income in the fund.
2. Expendable income from the term endowment fund shall be used to provide operational support for the Binger Center for New Theatre ("the Center") as determined by the Dean of the Yale School of Drama ("the Dean"). In any fiscal year that the term endowment fund is in existence, unspent income may be reinvested to principal at the discretion of the Dean, with the approval of the Provost.
3. At the discretion of the Dean, and with the approval of the Provost, principal from the term endowment fund may be applied, in whole or in part, for the operational support of the Center.
4. For as long as it is in existence, the term endowment fund, shall also be subject to the provisions set forth in the paragraphs captioned *Stewardship* and *Fund Administration* in the 2012 Indenture.

In all other respects, the 2012 Indenture shall remain in full force and effect.

The Robina Foundation

By: *Kathleen Blatz*

Kathleen Blatz, Chair

3/31/15
Date

Yale University

By: *James Bundy*

James Bundy
Dean, Yale School of Drama
Artistic Director, Yale Repertory Theater

4/10/15
Date

Joan E. O'Neill
Joan E. O'Neill
Vice President for Development

4/15/15
Date

ROBINA FOUNDATION

GRANT AND ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT

THIS GRANT AND ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT ("Agreement") is made this 17th day of November, 2016 between Robina Foundation, a Minnesota nonprofit corporation (the "Foundation"), and the Council on Foreign Relations (the "Grantee") to establish the terms of an endowment grant from the Foundation to the Grantee.

1. **Description of Grant.** The Foundation shall make a grant of \$5 million (the "Grant") to the Grantee to create the James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance Fund (the "Fund"), which will be administered according to the terms of this Agreement. The Grant shall be paid as follows: \$1.6 million on or before December 31, 2016; \$1.7 million on or before December 31, 2017; and \$1.7 million on or before December 31, 2018.
2. **Use of the Fund.** Grantee agrees to hold and administer the Fund as an endowment fund. Income generated from the Fund shall be used to create and support the *James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance* (the "Chair"). The holder of the Chair will engage in independent scholarship on issues of global governance and address a wide range of transnational challenges, providing analysis and ideas on the requirements for effective multilateral cooperation through research, meetings and publications to help policymakers and experts at home and abroad better address transnational challenges. Fund income may also be used to support a research associate working with the Chair holder. The annual income produced by the Fund may be reserved for future use whenever the Grantee determines that a temporary accumulation of income is advisable or appropriate. For purposes of this Agreement, "income" means the amount available for distribution from the Fund as determined in accordance with Grantee's endowment spending policy.
3. **Selection of the Chairholder.** Dr. Stewart M. Patrick, senior fellow and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program of the Grantee, will be the initial Chairholder and his title will be "*The James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance*." The Foundation understands and agrees that the selection of future Chairholders will be determined by Grantee's president in consultation with the director of the David Rockefeller Studies program and will comply with the existing policy and administrative guidelines of the Grantee. When the Chair becomes vacant, the Grantee is committed to filling it as quickly as possible with someone of proven stature and capacity.
4. **Stewardship and Recognition.** Grantee will provide the Foundation with appropriate stewardship and recognition in a manner consistent with Grantee's policies. Grantee may include information about the Grant and the Fund in Grantee's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. Grantee will give the Foundation an opportunity to review and comment on draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the Grant before the press release or announcement is made.

5. **Reporting.** For a period designated by the Foundation, the Grantee will provide the Foundation with an annual written report in a form acceptable to the Foundation that describes Grantee's use of distributions from the Fund. This report must also include a description of the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount. If the Foundation is no longer in existence, this report shall be provided to the designated representative of the Foundation or that person's designated successor as identified by the Foundation in a writing filed with the Grantee that includes each designated representative's name and contact information.
6. **Investment of the Fund.** The Grantee or a committee duly authorized by the Grantee has sole discretion as to the investment and reinvestment of the assets of the Fund, including the selection of investment managers, and as to the selection of custodians of the assets of the Fund. Fund assets may be commingled with the Grantee's other assets for investment purposes, provided that the separate identity of the Fund and the distributions from the Fund are at all times maintained.
7. **Change in Circumstances.** If at some future time, due to changed circumstances, in the judgment of the Grantee it becomes impractical, inexpedient, or impossible to apply the distribution from the Fund to the purposes described above, the Grantee shall make such modifications to the use of the Fund as will appropriately recognize the interests of the Foundation, in coordination with the Grantee's priorities, in a manner that will (a) as nearly as possible, accomplish the general purposes, objective and intention of the Foundation in making the Grant, and (b) satisfy the Foundation's Mission as further described below. The Grantee will consult with the Foundation or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting any alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Council will manage this endowment fund in accordance with the considerations outlined in the New York Prudent Management of Institutional Funds Act ("NYPMIFA"). This means that in the unlikely event that the market conditions temporarily drive the Fund's market value below the historic gift value, Donor authorizes Grantee to apply the payout formula based on its then current spending policy in order to ensure that the Fund provides immediate and consistent benefits to Grantee, even if the application of this formula would result in the Fund balance going below the historic dollar value.

The Grantee acknowledges that the Foundation's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

8. **Grantee Representations.** The Grantee is exempt from income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and classified as a public charity. A copy of the Grantee's annual report filed with the New York State Attorney General may be obtained from the Grantee or from the NYS Office of the Attorney General, Charities Bureau, 120 Broadway, New York, NY 10271.

9. Miscellaneous.

a. This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of the State of New York, without regard to its conflict of laws provision.

b. This Agreement shall constitute the entire agreement between the parties hereto. No changes or revisions to this Agreement are permitted without the express written consent of both Foundation and Grantee.

c. This Agreement will be made a part of Grantee permanent records and is intended as a guide to those who will administer the Fund in the future.

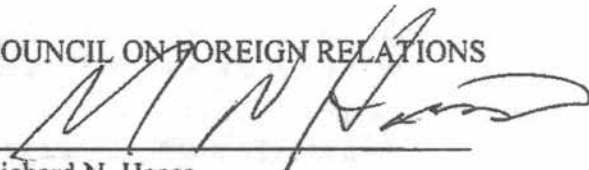
10. Counterparts. The parties may sign this Agreement in counterparts which, taken together, will constitute a fully executed original.

ROBINA FOUNDATION



Kathleen Blatz
Chair, Board of Directors
Robina Foundation

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS



Richard N. Haass
President, Council on Foreign Relations

ROBINA FOUNDATION

GRANT AND ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT

THIS GRANT and ENDOWMENT AGREEMENT ("Agreement") is made this 7th day of December, 2016 between Robina Foundation, a Minnesota nonprofit corporation (the "Foundation"), and the Council on Foreign Relations (the "Grantee") to establish the terms of an endowment grant from the Foundation to the Grantee.

1. **Description of Grant.** The Foundation shall make a grant of \$1.32 million (the "Grant") to the Grantee to endow the Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund (the "Fund"), which will be administered according to the terms of this Agreement. The Grant shall be paid on or before December 31, 2016.
2. **Use of the Fund.** Grantee agrees to hold and administer the Fund as an endowment fund. Income generated from the Fund shall be used to support the participation each year of six undergraduate or graduate students from underrepresented populations through the Grantee's Franklin Williams Internship program. The Grantee commits to supporting six interns through other institutional resources until the income generated by the Fund can fully support the program. This program provides students who are studying international relations or a related field work experience to enhance their knowledge and skills in the field of foreign policy. Grantee agrees that the six annual internships supported by the Fund will be in addition to the two annual internships already supported by Grantee's preexisting endowment funds. The annual income produced by the Fund may be reserved for future use whenever the Grantee determines that a temporary accumulation of income is advisable or appropriate. For purposes of this Agreement, "income" means the amount available for distribution from the Fund as determined in accordance with Grantee's endowment spending policy.
3. **Stewardship and Recognition.** Grantee will provide the Foundation with appropriate stewardship and recognition in a manner consistent with Grantee's policies. Grantee may include information about the Grant and the Fund in Grantee's annual and other periodic reports, on its web page, and in legally required filings, such as its Form 990. Grantee will give the Foundation an opportunity to review and comment on draft press releases and similar announcements regarding the Grant before the press release or announcement is made.
4. **Reporting.** For a period designated by the Foundation, the Grantee will provide the Foundation with an annual written report in a form acceptable to the Foundation that describes Grantee's use of distributions from the Fund. This report must also include a description of the Fund's market value, principal, and accumulated spendable amount. If the Foundation is no longer in existence, this report shall be provided to the designated representative of the Foundation or that person's designated successor as identified by the Foundation in writing filed with the Grantee that includes each designated representative's name and contact information.

5. **Investment of the Fund.** The Grantee or a committee duly authorized by the Grantee has sole discretion as to the investment and reinvestment of the assets of the Fund, including the selection of investment managers, and as to the selection of custodians of the assets of the Fund. Fund assets may be commingled with the Grantee's other assets for investment purposes, provided that the separate identity of the Fund and the distributions from the Fund are at all times maintained.
6. **Change in Circumstances.** If at some future time, due to changed circumstances, in the judgment of the Grantee it becomes impractical, inexpedient, or impossible to apply the distribution from the Fund to the purposes described above, the Grantee shall make such modifications to the use of the Fund as will appropriately recognize the interests of the Foundation, in coordination with the Grantee's priorities, in a manner that will (a) as nearly as possible, accomplish the general purposes, objective and intention of the Foundation in making the Grant, and (b) satisfy the Foundation's Mission as further described below. The Grantee will consult with the Foundation or its designated representative (if any) prior to selecting any alternate use of distributions from the Fund.

The Council will manage this endowment fund in accordance with the considerations outlined in the New York Prudent Management of Institutional Funds Act ("NYPMIFA"). This means that in the unlikely event that the market conditions temporarily drive the Fund's market value below the historic gift value, Donor authorizes Grantee to apply the payout formula based on its then current spending policy in order to ensure that the Fund provides immediate and consistent benefits to Grantee, even if the application of this formula would result in the Fund balance going below the historic dollar value.

The Grantee acknowledges that the Foundation's Mission is to support charitable projects and programs that (a) evince or promote innovation and creativity; (b) are forward-thinking and futuristic; (c) are major projects and initiatives rather than day-to-day operations; and (d) are intended to have a significant and positive long-term impact.

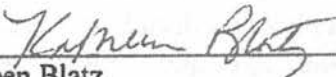
7. **Grantee Representations.** The Grantee is exempt from income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and classified as a public charity. A copy of the Grantee's annual report filed with the New York State Attorney General may be obtained from the Grantee or from the NYS Office of the Attorney General, Charities Bureau, 120 Broadway, New York, NY 10271.
8. **Miscellaneous.**
 - a. This Agreement shall be governed by the laws of the State of New York, without regard to its conflict of laws provision.

b. This Agreement shall constitute the entire agreement between the parties hereto. No changes or revisions to this Agreement are permitted without the express written consent of both Foundation and Grantee.

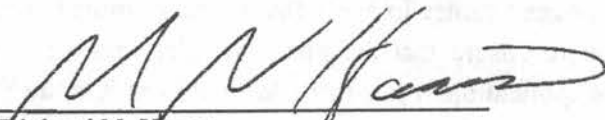
c. This Agreement will be made a part of Grantee permanent records and is intended as a guide to those who will administer the Fund in the future.

9. **Counterparts.** The parties may sign this Agreement in counterparts which, taken together, will constitute a fully executed original.

ROBINA FOUNDATION


Kathleen Blatz
Chair, Board of Directors
Robina Foundation

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS


Richard N. Haass
President
Council on Foreign Relations

DRAFT

FOREWORD

(add date?)

Kathleen Blatz, Chair
Robina Foundation

James Binger created the Robina Foundation in 2004 shortly before his death, focusing its assets and efforts on four organizations with which he had significant relationships during his life. He believed they would be important for decades to come and hoped that funding partnerships with Robina would increase their effectiveness and ability to respond to new societal challenges. His aspiration, made clear from the start, was that the grants to the four designated organizations would have transformational impacts and benefit the larger society. To do that best, he advised that the Foundation's term need not exceed 20 years.

Since grantmaking began in 2007, Robina's Board of Directors and small staff had the great honor to implement Jim Binger's vision for the Foundation. Over time, and through trial and error, we learned that formulating large multi-year program commitments, and in some cases ultimately making endowment grants, permitted Robina to "punch way above its weight" with grants the size of those made by much larger foundations. Along the way, the Foundation had payout levels exceeding the required 5% and continually strove for the transformative effects Jim Binger hoped for.

In 2017, as we neared the end of our organization's life, we engaged a recognized expert on philanthropic giving, Melinda Marble, to help us and the grantees reflect on how we implemented Jim Binger's vision and what aspects of the Robina experience might interest current and future donors, other philanthropic leaders and staff. Members of the Robina Foundation Board of Directors hope that the Legacy Report that follows serves that purpose.

Attached to the Legacy Report is a list of Robina's grants to provide more specific information on the ways we sought to fulfill our founder's vision, as well as Robina Foundation's Bylaws and "Guiding Principles." It is our hope that Jim Binger's creative approach and meaningful legacy will be a catalyst for similar impactful giving now and into the future.

ROBINA FOUNDATION LEGACY PROJECT

By Melinda Marble

The Robina Foundation Legacy Project started with a question: what lessons might a limited-life foundation, smaller in scale and more modest than some of its well-known national counterparts, offer to donors contemplating the best structure and operations for their philanthropy?

Robina was designed by its founder, James H. Binger, to spend down assets of more than \$150 million within a time frame of roughly 20 years. Limited-life rather than perpetuity is an option chosen by growing numbers of donors today, spurred in part by the Giving Pledge and other efforts. Another aspect of Binger's design is more unusual, however: he designated four institutions to be the recipients of the Foundation's funding – yet gave the board great freedom as to how each would be supported.

Robina will be winding down its operations soon, after having fully spent out its assets during nearly two decades of close partnership with its four designees. As its trustees prepare for closure, they sought to reflect upon the Foundation's evolution over time. During the summer of 2017, I was retained to interview 21 current and former trustees and grantees to shed light on how Binger's unusual approach to structuring his foundation had played out over time, and to capture lessons that might be useful to other donors and the field.

Those interviewed generally agreed on five key findings:

- While they were given great freedom and flexibility, the Foundation's board showed strong fidelity to the donor's vision;
- The Foundation formed unusually strong partnerships with its four designees, who deeply appreciated the experience of being discovered, supported, understood and trusted by Robina.
- The limited-life, limited-designee structure allowed Robina to make investments on the scale of a major donor without the infrastructure.
- The partnership approach and scale of gifts resulted in significant learning and transformational impact within the four designated grantees and in the larger community of interest.
- A strong and active working board was critical to Robina's success, allowing it to achieve impact with a staff of two seasoned professionals, including an executive director who welcomed the board's deep engagement.

This report focuses on the grantee and board experience, not on the investment, financial, or procedural aspects of managing a limited-life foundation. It does not attempt to assess Robina's impact, though Robina engaged consultants to evaluate many of the programs it funded. Rather, it is an attempt to chronicle one model of a sharply-focused, limited-life foundation as seen by its board members and grantees.

Robina's origins.

Shortly before his passing at age 88, James H. Binger created the Robina Foundation. Binger was an attorney who served as the in-house counsel and later CEO of the Honeywell corporation. He was married for 60 years to Virginia McKnight, whose parents founded the McKnight Foundation. A life-long Minneapolis resident, Binger was also a race horse owner, an avid polo player, and the owner of a group of Broadway theaters. When he died November 3, 2004, the lights on Broadway were dimmed in his honor.

Binger established the Robina Foundation late in life. He began by engaging The Philanthropic Initiative (TPI), a charitable advisory firm, to help him draw up by-laws and select and recruit the board. According to TPI, he envisioned Robina as a limited-life foundation from the start, driven in part by concern about possible dilution of vision over successive generations of trustees and the desire that the assets be put to immediate use. While he did not designate a particular spend down date, he thought that roughly twenty years was an appropriate life span. He knew that he wanted a small and active board rather than a heavily-staffed organization.

Binger took the unusual step of designating four disparate grantees as recipients of the Foundation's funding: the Council on Foreign Relations, Abbott Northwestern Hospital (later encompassed within Allina Health Care), the University of Minnesota Law School, and Yale University. He encouraged the Foundation's board to make significant gifts to these institutions, ones that would be transformational for the recipient organizations and have significant impact on society.

Binger had a personal connection to each of his designees. He was an alumnus of Yale and of the University of Minnesota Law School. He was a long-time member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and regularly attended events there. He and his wife had been treated by Abbott Northwestern physicians for many years, and he understood the hospital's significance as a major health care provider in Minneapolis.

In the foundation's by-laws, Binger accorded the board great freedom to enact his vision within the structure provided by the limited-life time frame and the four designees. He did provide general guidance within the by-laws via a Mission Statement on Charitable Activities, in which he briefly outlined principles for the board's consideration. These included encouraging innovation and creativity, forward-thinking projects and initiatives, and major projects as opposed to normal ongoing operating expenses. He also made it clear that resources did not have to be divided evenly among the designees.

In the same document, Binger defined his standard for trustees:

The members of the Board should each evince qualities that the Founder believes will promote the success of the Foundation. These qualities include an inquiring and critical mind, the ability for long-term strategic thought, creativity, open-mindedness, and respect for unconventional ideas and notions of futurism.

According to those who knew him, Mr. Binger was very comfortable with the foundation's design, and was confident that the board would "do the right thing." He did not provide the trustees he knew with additional direction. As one trustee said:

He had thought this out and, at the end of the day, he trusted other people. He had confidence that there'd be a board and that they'd figure it out. He found the right balance between prescription and discretion. He clearly was interested in the four institutions and *what they could contribute* to society...he wanted there to be a group of people to work with them over time.

Launch and early operations

Prior to his passing, Mr. Binger met with the four designee organizations and indicated his intention that they would receive support from his estate. He did not specify the scope, duration, or amount of these gifts. He met with potential board members, although he did not notify most that they had been selected to serve; nor did he provide them with direction beyond the Foundation's bylaws. His initial trustee choices brought deep experience in and knowledge of civic engagement, national foundations and philanthropy, and board leadership to the Foundation.

Binger had not staffed or activated the foundation before he died. As a result, Robina operated as an independent foundation from the start, with no donor or

family presence on the board. Leadership changes and departures soon required the board to recruit new members. The full board discussed and approved new members. The Board has ranged from four to seven members during the life of the foundation. Presently, there are four trustees. The foundation has been staffed since 2010 by an executive director, who had substantial previous foundation experience, and an administrative consultant.

This exceptionally lean staffing structure required the board to be more directly engaged with grantees than at many more institutional foundations. The executive director, an exceptionally secure and sophisticated professional, was a critical bridge between trustees and grantees. Interviewees agree that her deft counsel, clear communication, and ability to synthesize different board perspectives helped to make the Foundation's unusual structure work and was critical to its success.

From the beginning, the board members showed extraordinary sensitivity and fidelity to Binger's intent as a donor. There was deep and continuous conversation among the board about "what would Jim want?" They understood that he wanted his gifts to create transformational change within the recipient institutions and have deep impact on society. *What that meant* in the context of each designated grantee was a continual theme that board members delved into at board meetings. As one trustee recalls:

The (founding) document set such a high bar that it made us all rise to that occasion. There was a richness, a calmness to the discussions. It would coalesce and gel...We were all on the same search to stay loyal to the document and to Mr. Binger.

Per Binger's wishes, the board asked each designated grantee to identify potential major projects for support. One of the board's first grant actions was to award the institutions planning grants that would help them prepare their respective proposals. While the designees were invited to think big and outside the box, the board felt that some were not ambitious enough in their initial requests. "People brought out their favorite stuff, standard things they would have done anyway," recalls a founding trustee. "They were less imaginative and flexible than I'd hoped."

As another board member put it:

There was an interesting tension between the desire of institutions to fulfill their perennial needs and the desire of the donor to be

transformational. These seldom were in alignment. Getting to the best possible outcome within the tension was the work of the board.

From time to time, the board requested proposals addressing a particular issue that they thought Binger would have been interested in.

From the start, the trustees said no, often multiple times, to designees when the projects they presented did not seem transformative enough. An early board member recalls:

We didn't force it, but we were more involved in the shaping than they would have experienced elsewhere. That could be frustrating for the recipient. That's why there was a lot of discussion, debate, soul searching in our meetings...Sometimes I think the organizations would be happy to present, have us decide, and leave. The recipients had to adjust to something that was worthwhile but out of their comfort zone.

Members of the board took care to identify projects within each institution that they thought addressed Binger's interests. At Yale, for example, the board homed in on the Yale School of Drama early on because of Binger's love of theater and Broadway interests. Board members supported programs in human rights and immigration at both universities because they knew Binger thought these were important issues – and because they thought that the proposed work would change and shape the universities in productive ways.

A pattern of support and engagement, partnership and trust

Having only four designated grantees “gave us focus, the mandate to build deep relationships, and to be helpful to the institutions over time,” according to one board member.

As the foundation developed, a pattern of support began to emerge. When the board identified a promising project, it provided support to plan and to test the idea. This was followed with three to five years of implementation and operating support, renewed for as long as ten years. While board members decided initially not to fund endowment requests, they altered that position over time, making several capstone endowment gifts to sustain projects once they had proven themselves. After the programs originally funded had largely run their course, the board began to think about its final phase. To launch that, they developed and distributed Guiding Principles for new grants and conducted a “listening tour,” visiting all four institutions to learn more about their priority projects.

The board sought to build measurable process outcomes into each grant, and, over time, to identify long term impact outcomes of the work. Working with the board to define and negotiate outcomes has been a key aspect of the Executive Director's work. From time to time, the board commissioned external assessments of projects funded by the Foundation. How impact – particularly transformative change – can be defined and measured has been another ongoing subject of conversation at the trustee level.

From the outset, the board engaged directly with the four designees, through formal opportunities to present priority requests, site visits, and informal advice and counseling. The grantees interviewed appreciate the care Robina took to learn about their work. One grantee recalled:

I don't think I'd ever met another foundation trustee. It was stimulating. These were very high-powered people. With a larger foundation, with a broader portfolio, it would have been hard, but with a boutique enterprise, they could engage...It aerated the pot. They forced us to articulate our rationale in language that could be understood by non-practitioners.

Within these large institutions, the individuals whose projects were funded described an experience of being discovered, understood, supported and trusted that was inspiring, confirming, and unusual. One grantee summed it up:

They gave their all. It felt like Jim Binger was sitting in the room with them. They were determined to do what he wanted...Their motivation was long-term, and when you think that way, you do things differently.

Another grantee described the benefits of deep partnership:

The board was six intellectually curious people who wanted to bring transformative change to society. I understood that this was an opportunity almost as great as the resources. There were open, direct, free-flowing conversations about our work and what we could do to make a difference. There was realism and flexibility.

Over time, the board evolved a structure where one or more board members served as "lead" trustee for each grantee. The lead trustee spent additional time getting to know the organization and its work. The lead often had substantial knowledge of the designee's field and was able to provide guidance and context on the work to both board and grantee.

With one exception, grantees found the lead trustee model extremely valuable:

The liaison trustee is somebody who has a special familiarity with the organization. That can lead you to be more critical – in constructive ways.

* * *

Doing what the trustee did with us was very enjoyable and liberating. She was clearly a champion. She understood us and seemed to love what we were doing. Robina took a chance on us.

* * *

We established a connection that was more personal. He gave us some good ideas, and he understood that some weren't always practical to execute. The interactions always showed a great deal of open mindedness, flexibility and pragmatism...I thought that having the personal relationship with one trustee who was interested, not obtrusive, and eager to be involved at a deeper level was very valuable.

The Minnesota-based designees particularly appreciated having access to the board's national expertise and connections.

The lead trustee played many of the same roles that a program officer might in a more intensively- staffed foundation. In addition, from the beginning, the board occasionally hired outside consultants with strong subject expertise to review and comment on funding proposals.

Board members saw the value of the lead trustee model. As one put it:

In the end, it was very useful and a strength for us. Often in a discussion, the lead would answer questions the other might have. It worked really quite well. We all realized that the (final funding) decision was the group's.

But they also recognized its limitations:

It's a delicate balance between being an advocate for the organization versus a critical friend. There is strength in the lead trustee role, but it should be a time-limited one. I don't think it's good to hold on to the role for too long.

* * *

I was not as strong of an advocate as I might have been. The potential issue with the linkage of a board member to the grantee is that you become too much of an advocate. I didn't want to fall into that trap.

Upon reflection, the current board believes that the lead trustee model has most value when the lead role is rotated regularly over time.

The grantee experience

Generally, grantees found the process of applying to Robina rigorous, but transparent and reasonable. They appreciated the lack of bureaucratic layers characteristic of larger institutional foundations. They particularly valued the trust that developed over time between foundation and grantee – a trust they have rarely experienced with other donors. They have high regard for the foundation's small staff, feeling they have provided crucial guidance, and clear information that has helped them understand and interpret the board's wishes.

Some of that trust, they believe, happened as a natural result of their designation. "Once we got chosen, we felt the foundation was looking out for us," as one put it. Others noted:

The Foundation could be hard on us. But as they became more experienced, as they understood the work we were doing and its success, they relaxed. I felt an unconditional trust.

* * *

Being a designated entity is a very nice thing for the recipient. It's been great for me. It's allowed me to explore new areas. The freedom of not having to apply continuously, being given trust and room to roam, forcing me to wrestle with impact, have all been invaluable.

There were, of course, challenging moments during the partnerships Robina forged. A few grantees felt they were asked to spend too much time developing proposals that did not move forward:

I thought we put forth some good ideas that they did not support. Quite honestly, I was disappointed.

* * *

We got far down the road with some of our ideas...possibly too far down the road. A mini admonition here: how far do you go on a proposal before you've invested too much time? But, to be fair, they (Robina) never said

“we’re definitely funding this.” Maybe they needed to know what came from a deeper dive.

Two grantees commented on the lack of expertise and valuable subject knowledge that specialist program officers bring to proposal review:

The trustees did not have the background to make these kinds of decisions....(Although) Robina helped us build something that is a real strength....I think we could have accomplished more together. It was a missed opportunity.

Others found the reporting requirements initially onerous, but these were changed following feedback. Grantees wanted more say in negotiating how external assessments would be conducted, and even more communication from Robina. At times they felt the feedback was not clear when the answer was “no.”

Despite these challenges, representatives of the grantee organizations interviewed felt that working with Robina has been an unusual and positive experience:

There was a high degree of attention to process and transparency. This is extremely rare in my experience.

The amount of the funding was monumental for us. Robina was a very significant donor and an outlier by a couple of factors: their willingness to give a large grant over a relatively short period of time, and in the operationally-inclined board members. We benefited from the wisdom of some very smart people.

Most institutional funders are larger, but they have a broader mandate and do not provide this kind of comprehensive support over time, the kind that lets you develop the work. They have a more formal process, and program staff who vet everything. Robina didn’t have those layers. You could talk directly to the decision-makers.

Having advisors from Robina was an amazing strength. They came to be helpful, to advise and push us.

Both grantees and board members shared a sense that being limited life and by designating a small number of recipients, Robina was able to “punch above its weight,” providing the grants of a major national foundation without the staff and infrastructure.

Impact

As noted earlier, this report is not a full-scale evaluation and does not attempt to assess the impact of the Robina Foundation’s work. Based on these interviews and the external assessments of key projects, however, there are several things that can be said about impact.

Virtually every Robina-funded project has, over time, met the outcomes outlined in its initial proposal. The four designated institutions can articulate how the projects they undertook with Robina support changed their institutions and can document broader impact in many cases.

There is strong consensus among board members that the work of two of the designees was transformational for the institution and society, had notable impact, would not have happened without Robina support, and will be sustained over time. They feel that the work of a third designee had a transformational impact on the institution – showing it the way to a new business model - but that shifting political and societal conditions since its inception limited its ability to achieve impact in the short term. In the case of the fourth grantee, trustees feel that the work was transformational and will have considerable impact on the institution and society – but that it was likely that most of the work would have been undertaken without Robina support.

The board regrets that Robina was not successful in addressing one aspect of Binger’s vision: the desire that the grantees, if the right opportunity presented, find a way to work together on a major initiative. While the board broached this idea with designees repeatedly, there was resistance to collaboration in the early years, and trustees felt that a forced collaboration would be disrespectful to grantees and unlikely to yield results. The different sizes, geography, and interests of the institutions made a natural collaboration topic difficult to identify. There is a sense that fulfilling this vision would have required more bandwidth and resources than the foundation had.

Each of the Foundation’s grantees believe that the projects they undertook would not have happened – at least in a timely way – without the Robina’s support:

If Robina had not come along, we would have been able to generate some resources, probably less than ten percent of what we have spent in the past ten years. There would be virtually no field-wide impact.

* * *

We would not ever have thought of doing this work without Robina. It's allowed us to re-imagine our models of care at a critical time. That's the way fee for service is, you scramble for very payment and you can't ever think about a big, seeded investment. There aren't the resources to collect data. This work would not even have gotten started.

* * *

As I began to understand more about fundraising, I began also to understand and appreciate what was distinctive about Robina. You gave adequate and long-term funding. You tended to trust people. There was a kind of trust and assurance (in the continuity of funding) that allowed us to create a much greater program.

A rich and satisfying board experience

Binger's decision to limit the life and designate a small number of grantees lent a focus and urgency that made this board an intriguing challenge to prospective trustees. His invitation to think strategically and futuristically, coupled with the freedom and trust he afforded board members, attracted individuals of national stature and strong experience in philanthropy and civic life.

The Foundation's past and current trustees feel great satisfaction with the experience of service on the board. They feel that Robina provided the opportunity to support important work, and to explore the meaning of transformational impact in a practical context. They are appreciative of the chairs' work to design engaging meetings that use their time well and allow every member to contribute.

In the course of the Foundation's life, board members have formed deep relationships with each other and with the designees. Board meetings have been structured as a mix of site visits, presentations on progress by grantees, and discussion of the grants under consideration. A dinner the night before each board meeting allowed the trustees, who seldom see each other outside quarterly meetings, to get to know each other more personally. As one said:

Trust is key. We have high caliber board members. We get along. We genuinely care about each other and yet are very professional. We still have the ability to maintain independent thinking and collegiality.

Board members particularly appreciate the guidance Binger provided in his founding documents, and the freedom and discretion he afforded them to carry out his vision. They believe that the care and attention given to designing and structuring board meetings allowed a disparate group of individuals to get to know each other and to build trust:

Our time was efficiently used. We really were dialoging. We didn't waste time, the lack of pushing us to resolve worked well. We were all very proud of the projects we funded and the outcomes.

* * *

We have been lucky to have chairs who cared what everyone thought, who managed various tensions and sensitivities well. In my tenure, they've been two people who, by personal or professional background, were skilled at managing conversations about complex subjects.

Board members particularly appreciate the atmosphere of open conversation, civility, and respectful challenge established by the chairs:

There are no shrinking violets. Everyone says what is on their mind., Everyone listens. These are genuine conversations, not everybody staking out positions. That is rarer than it should be. That has made it a lot of fun. People have different experiences, and we take advantage of their knowledge.

* * *

We can come into a meeting knowing what we're likely to do, and the chair will ask us to put that aside for a moment and go back to basics. She makes sure everyone has their say before the final decision. It's the right approach.

Board members also appreciate being compensated for their work and feel that practice has encouraged accountability and making Robina work a priority. In turn, the major engagement of board members reduced the need for additional staff. They took care to periodically review compensation levels, basing them on norms in the field, the number of hours spent by trustees, and their responsibility levels.

There is a sense that, by choosing the limited-life model and focusing on a small number of grantees, Robina was able to attract very experienced board and staff who might not otherwise have served on a foundation board of this size.

Lessons for the field

In reflecting on their experience, board members articulated lessons that may be useful for other donors contemplating a foundation, and for foundation leadership in general.

For donors:

- Think carefully about what matters most to you, what you believe about doing good in the world. Then capture that in founding documents that will provide guidance to the board long after you are gone. A donor who articulates an ideal vision of how the foundation should operate provides its trustees with a great and lasting gift.
- Strive for Jim Binger's balance of control through structure and freedom for trustees. If the foundation's resources are not major, limiting program areas can ensure that the foundation will remain strategic and focused. Designating beneficiaries can encourage strong partnerships between the foundation and its grantees. Limiting the foundation's life span provides the opportunity for deeper immediate impact.
- Think about the implications of these structural decisions for board and staff. If, like Robina for example, you choose to keep staff small, understand that larger demands will be placed on board members, particularly if you also want close partnerships with grantees. Augmenting staff with external consultants can be desirable and may be necessary.
- Give attention to structuring and appointing the board:
 - In addition to conveying specific preferences, founding documents can be used to set the tone and culture of the organization, covering such issues as how the donor wants board members to work together and with grantees. They can also encourage transparency, accountability, and partnership with grantees if those are important to the donor.

- Attention to board processes, setting term limits and selecting trustees who are committed to group process will result in a better experience for trustees.
- Reflect on the commitment board members are being asked to make and compensate them if appropriate, benchmarking against norms in the field.
- Set clear expectations for how impact will be tracked and assessed. Help board members understand what level of risk is acceptable and what impact would be meaningful to you.

For foundation leadership

- It is possible to make major gifts and have significant impact with minimal infrastructure and lean staffing. But deep partnership in these circumstances is only possible if trustees engage significantly or if there is heavy reliance on external consultants. Foundation staff must also welcome and support this level of board engagement.
- Frequent visits with grantees and deep immersion in their work builds trusting relationships that can enhance the impact of funding.
- Clear communications and rapid “Nos” are key to grantee satisfaction.
- Attracting strong experienced trustees requires thought and care to the design of board meetings. Giving trustees the opportunity to focus on significant issues that matter, time to form relationships and get to know one another, and encouraging free and frank discussion are key to trustee satisfaction.
- If trustees are to be personally engaged in the work, consider the lead trustee model, but rotate lead trustees regularly.
- Take time to regularly assess how the board process is working and whether the foundation is honoring the wishes of its founder.
- A culture of civility and partnership that is continually nurtured and reinforced will yield dividends in positive relationships and strong impact. Cultivating trust among board members, staff, and grantees is a key management skill.

Final thoughts

The story told in these interviews is of a committed and thoughtful group of trustees who formed unusually deep and respectful partnerships with a small group of grantees. Robina's success has been based, in large part, on attracting high caliber board members who were challenged by the mix of freedom and responsibility Binger afforded them. These trustees generally did not know each other well when they came together, nor were they family members. Regardless of board membership, donors should be clear about the kind of culture and open exchange they want to see on the boards they are establishing.

Robina's active board was, by all accounts, supported by a tiny but stellar staff, experienced, knowledgeable and secure, who kept things moving, structured extraordinary learning opportunities for the board, and skillfully served as a bridge between the designees and board. Not every foundation executive is comfortable with this kind of board engagement; but this case shows that it can be an effective, productive relationship when staff are seasoned and secure enough to appreciate the value added by an experienced and active board.

While the programs Robina funded covered a wide range and breadth of topics, one of Robina's most unusual aspects is its focus on four pre-designated grantees. Nevertheless, aspects of their partnership model: the careful listening, frequent visits and soundings, engagement beyond check writing, and clear communications, are applicable to other types of foundations, a reminder of what grantees value most. The feeling of being understood – its value, and its rarity in the world of fund raising - was something that surfaced in virtually every grantee interview.

Robina also illustrates how a foundation that lacks the assets and resources of a large national funder can still make the grants and strive for the impact of one, through limiting life and the numbers of grantees. One board member talked about the powerful forcing function of a time limit:

In some ways, we were a typical model, but accelerated. We funded institutions to develop, prove ideas, then endowed them. We can't bring in new things, so naturally we focused on the need to sustain what we've done.

Finally, the Robina experience highlights the importance of trust in philanthropy. Jim Binger laid out a vision, then trusted a board to carry it out, even though he did not know all the members personally. While the trustees were a disparate bunch, they undertook a process together that built deep bonds

of trust and affection among them. When asked what they valued most about Robina, grantees often talked about the trust they felt they earned over time. Being trusted made them bolder and more imaginative in their work, and, they believe, ultimately more effective. Building and sustaining relationships of trust, then, emerges as a key skill in this work, one that can be cultivated among and with trustees, staff, and grantees.

Attachments

Grants List prepared by Robina Foundation

Second Restated Bylaws of Robina Foundation

Guiding Principles

ROBINA FOUNDATION

Total funded and committed grants as of May 2018:
\$160,380,436*

Grants to Robina Foundation's four designated grantees as of May 2018:

Abbott Northwestern Hospital/Allina Health
Total funded and committed grants: \$24,551,454

LifeCourse: \$18,426,454: three grants: 2012 - 2017

With support from Robina, Abbott Northwestern Hospital and Allina Health designed, implemented, and tested a new care model, in the health system and two senior care facilities. Patients with Alzheimer's, Stage III and IV cancer, and heart failure and their families participated in the initiative, which was delivered by a community health worker in partnership with existing healthcare teams. The study, which used a whole-person approach, focused on improving the quality of life of patients and the reduction of costly and unnecessary/unwanted hospitalizations. Research results showed a savings of \$959 per person per month, improved quality of life and care experience, reduced hospital use, and increased hospice length of stay. Following the successful study, Allina Health began to implement LifeCourse within Allina.

Care Guides in the Primary Care Office: \$6,000,000: one grant: 2008 - 2010

Robina support enabled Abbott Northwestern Hospital to test the feasibility of a new primary care model featuring lay "Care Guides" who were trained to counsel and support chronic disease patients to achieve standard care goals as part of their care. During the first phase of the program, the model was tested at an inner-city clinic affiliated with the hospital with patients who had diabetes, heart failure and hypertension. Following completion of the feasibility study, which highlighted improvement in patients' achievement of care goals and a decrease in hospital and emergency department costs, Robina supported trials to evaluate the efficacy of care guides in a wider variety of clinical situations. The success of these trials resulted in adoption of the Care Guide model by Allina Hospitals and Clinics.

Planning Grants: \$125,000: two grants: 2005 and 2006

Council on Foreign Relations

Total funded and committed grants: \$29,950,649

IIGG (International Institutions: Global Governance): \$23,305,357
three grants, including one endowment grant: 2008 - 2018

Robina support fostered the development and implementation of the Council on Foreign Relations' IIGG initiative, designed to inform policy makers about ways to improve the world's management of economic, security, environmental, and human challenges that require international cooperation. IIGG initiatives engage with constituencies in the US and beyond and include the Council of Councils, a newly created association of policy organizations located around the world. The Council of Councils brings together more than 25 national and regional "think tanks" in annual and sustained dialogues. As part of support for IIGG, in 2016, the Foundation endowed a new Chair in Global Governance at the Council to lead the IIGG initiative.

Expanded Diversity Initiative: \$5,898,737: four grants, including one
endowment grant: 2011 - 2016

Robina grants enabled the Council to expand efforts to increase greater participation of talented and underrepresented groups in the American foreign policy community. The Council pursued multiple strategies in this endeavor. These strategies focused on identifying individuals with interest and promise and introducing them to career possibilities, professional networks, and mentorships by supporting the participation of American young people in Humanity in Action's summer programs through funding to the Council and Humanity in Action, expanding the Council's Franklin Williams Internship program, establishing a partnership with the International Career Advancement Program's Alumni Association and launching a jointly sponsored diversity conference, and participating in multiple career fairs targeting underrepresented groups. In 2016, with the understanding that the Council would maintain its support of two Franklin Williams interns, the Foundation provided an endowment grant to permanently expand the Franklin Williams Internship program by the addition of six new internships for undergraduate or graduate students from underrepresented populations.

Online Video Project: \$696,555: one grant: 2011-2012

With the explosion in online video, the Council's lack of video equipment and personnel trained to develop and launch videos hindered the Council's ability to reach elite and mass audiences, including high school and college students. With Robina support, the Council acquired needed video equipment and trained Council experts in the best practices for structuring and conducting video interviews and briefings and developed new expert briefing series.

Planning Grant: \$50,000: one grant: 2006

University of Minnesota Law School

Total funded and committed grants: \$59,671,499

Binger Center for New Americans: \$28,969,510: three grants, including two endowment grants: 2013 - 2016

A multi-year grant approved in 2013 funded the Law School's development of the Center for New Americans to respond to critical legal and social needs of diverse immigrant groups. Following three years of operations during which the Center met agreed-upon benchmarks, Robina endowed the Binger Center for New Americans and established the Binger Professorship in Clinical Law. Through the Binger Center, the Law School works with law firms that provide pro bono legal support, as well as non-profit organizations, to expand legal services to immigrant communities and to pursue test case litigation that leads to improving the laws affecting immigrants. The Center includes a comprehensive immigration clinic for law students and offers students opportunities to gain experience in litigation, policy development and advocacy. The Binger Center's Education and Outreach Program provides comprehensive screenings to noncitizens and trains lawyers and community members to provide pro bono service to immigrants. Significant accomplishments of the Binger Center include the successful litigation of a case before the United States Supreme Court, a class action law suit that secured an order temporarily blocking the deportation of 92 Somali men and women, involvement of law students at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport to assist arriving immigrants affected by the January 2017 executive order related to immigration, education of more than 2000 immigrants about their rights, and more than 6,000 pro bono hours by the Center's law firm partners, an investment exceeding \$2.3 million.

Robina Institute of Criminal Law & Criminal Justice: \$11,857,215: two grants: 2012 - 2017

Robina funding created and supported the Robina Institute of Criminal Law and Criminal Justice, which has enabled the Law School to play a significant role in national and state efforts to rethink the aims and methods of criminal justice systems with the goal of making them more just, effective, and cost-effective. Robina's first multi-year grant supported the Institute's three program areas: Criminal Justice Policy, Criminal Law Theory, and Sentencing Law and Policy.

The Foundation provided a second multi-year grant to jump-start four targeted projects within the Sentencing Law and Policy program area: 1) Criminal History Project, which included the publication of the Criminal History Enhancements Sourcebook, an in-depth examination of criminal history scores and their impact on sentencing and policy; 2) Multi-State Probation Revocation Project to research probation revocation practices nationally and work with specific jurisdictions across the United States to reform their existing revocation practices; 3) Sentencing Guidelines Repository Project, which collected sentencing reform materials from states and created the online Sentencing Guidelines Resource Center to facilitate the exchange of information, expertise and experience on sentencing policy, guidelines, and commissions and to promote the adoption and retention of best

practices in sentencing guidelines systems; 4) Parole Release and Revocation Project, which worked to inform and improve prison release and parole revocation practices nationwide by gathering and publicizing information about current practices and directing law reform work with selected jurisdictions.

Robina Public Interest Scholars Program and Bridge Fellowship Program: \$8,208,375: three grants: 2012 - 2020

Robina funding launched the Law School's Public Interest Scholars Program aimed at attracting top students committed to public interest work to the Law School. The program offers scholarships and a seamless path to public service through summer internships, year-long post-graduate fellowships that help launch students' careers, and loan repayment assistance to make those careers affordable. The program has increased the Law School's reputation as a top public interest law school, attracted strong public interest students, increased the number of students employed in public service, and has encouraged other donors to support law students' public interest careers. Students in the classes of 2012 – 2020 have benefitted from 91 three-year scholarships, 128 summer fellowships and 31 post-graduate, year-long fellowships. A dedicated public interest career counselor provides support to students in the program.

LaPPS (Program on Law, Public Policy, and Society): \$8,061,399: two grants: 2008 - 2012

Robina's multi-year grant funded the development and implementation of the Law School's Program on Law, Public Policy, and Society, which supported public policy research and helped prepare law students to serve as agents of social transformation. For five years LaPPS funding supported two research chairs, a clinical chair, a research fund and annual conferences in LaPPS. Four new capstone courses were created during the five years, and the Law School began to provide student internships in public policy. The Law School's "Law in Practice" course (originally referred to as "Practice and Professionalism"), a required first year course developed with LaPPS funding, is ongoing, as are other elements created during the five years of Robina funding.

Strengthening the Law School's Fundraising : Robina Scholars Match Program, Endowed Scholarship Match Program and Class Agent Pilot Program: \$2,200,000: three grants: 2012 – 2020

To challenge the Law School to secure donor commitments for scholarships, The Robina Scholars Match Program was created with a grant of \$1,250,000 from Robina payable over five years beginning in 2012. As of May 2017, the Law School has been paid or committed \$1,158,380 in new commitments for the Robina-matched scholarships. The matching gift program is a primary talking point for fundraising staff and is an important incentive for new giving to support students at the Law School. In 2017 Robina committed an additional \$500,000 to support the Endowed Scholarship Match Program by providing a 1:2 match for major scholarship support of \$100,000 for scholarships at the Law School. The Foundation's multi-year grant of \$450,000 beginning in 2016 funds the development and implementation of a new Class Agent Pilot Program, which

involves "class agent" alumni volunteers who solicit their peers on behalf of the Law School. Funding for the final years of the grant will be based on an evaluation of the effectiveness of the first three years of the initiative.

Faculty Retention: \$250,000: one grant: 2008

Robina provided funds to support the incoming dean's efforts to strengthen significantly retention packages for key faculty at risk of leaving the Law School. Retention of the faculty through augmented salaries, research accounts, and travel and conference budgets was critical to the curricular and research objectives of the school.

Planning Grants: \$125,000: two grants: 2005 and 2006

Yale University

Total funded and committed grants: \$45,499,709

Robina Foundation Human Rights Fellowship Initiative (Yale Law School): \$22,000,000: seven grants, including two endowment grants: 2008 - 2016

From 2008 through 2016, the Foundation provided annual support for the Robina Foundation Human Rights Fellowship Initiative designed to support human rights leaders at all stages of their careers, from JD scholars to senior-level fellows. The initiative provides scholarships for the academic year, summer fellowships for work with human rights organizations around the world and postgraduate fellowships to students interested in human rights and experienced senior-level fellows who teach at the law school. In 2016, the foundation provided an endowment grant to sustain the initiative and endowed the Binger Clinical Faculty Chair in Human Rights to teach human rights-related courses and clinics and lead the Robina Human Rights Fellowship Initiative. Robina's grant required that Yale Law School augment Robina's endowment funding with an additional \$1 million provided by gifts from alumni and friends and the Law School.

Binger Center for New Theatre (Yale School of Drama): \$21,825,000: three grants, including one endowment grant: 2008 - 2012

Robina Foundation provided four years of annual support for the launch and implementation of the Yale Center for New Theatre. In 2012, following four years of successful operation of the Center, Robina endowed the Binger Center for New Theatre to provide annual commissions of new plays and support these commissions through all stages of development, including residencies, readings, workshops, and full productions. In addition, the Binger Center facilitates playwrights' residencies as lecturers at Yale School of Drama and includes a "Production Enhancement Fund" to support other not-for-profit theaters producing world premieres or second productions of plays commissioned by the Center. The Binger Center's 50 commissions have supported the creation of 10 plays that have had multiple productions in American theaters, including on Broadway. Fifteen theaters have received Production Enhancement Fund grants.

Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition: \$1,424,709: one grant: 2016 – 2019

The Gilder Lehrman Center is dedicated to acquiring and disseminating knowledge concerning all aspects of slavery, including contemporary forms of forced labor and human trafficking. Robina's grant supports the organization and work of the Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery Working Group, increased use of media to provide online curricular resources for teachers and the implementation of a major Teacher Outreach and Africa Teachers' Institute to be held in 2018 and 2019.

Tom Crosby Memorial Gift: \$200,000: one endowment grant: 2013

To honor Crosby, who served as advisor to the Foundation and long-standing board chair, the Foundation established a fund at Yale to provide scholarships for students who demonstrate the values, character and leadership he demonstrated during his life.

Planning Grant: \$50,000: one grant: 2006

*In addition to grants to Robina's designated grantees, Robina provided a small number of grants to organizations aligned with the spirit and vision of Jim Binger in recognition of his professional accomplishments and the work of others to launch and support the Foundation. These grants accounted for less than 0.5% of the Foundation's total grants.

The Robina Foundation Legacy Project Report emphasizes that Robina Foundation operated with a small actively engaged board of directors, very small but experienced staff, and selective use of consultants. The foundation's limited infrastructure resulted in operating and administrative expenses that averaged 2.5% of the Foundation's qualifying distributions.

ROBINA FOUNDATION

Guiding Principles for Robina Grantmaking

Principle: a fundamental truth or proposition that serves as the foundation for a system of belief or behavior or for a chain of reasoning.

The Robina Foundation will:

- 1) work closely with Robina Grantees to hear their ideas and ensure a full partnership with them
- 2) fund programs that fill an important niche with the possibility of substantial achievement, with particular emphasis on impacting people's lives rather than producing abstract ideas
- 3) be willing to go through trial and error processes to get things right and be ready to persist despite criticism
- 4) seek to influence the larger environment in which programs operate and increase the chances of impact and sustainability through partnerships with other funders and substantial matching funds raised by Robina Grantees
- 5) invest in leadership of institutions and individuals
- 6) strive to establish a Robina legacy of impact in areas of need

Programs involving several Robina Grantees are desirable but will not be required.

In addition to programs that address the Foundation's guiding principles, the Robina Board is interested in programs, whether joint or individual, that:

- Advance human rights, justice, fairness and equality
- Make U.S diversity an asset, not a liability
- Ease human suffering
- Prepare the next generation of leaders
- Foster artistic / cultural creativity

November 2014

ROBINA FOUNDATION

TO: Robina Board of Directors

FROM: Penny Hunt

RE: Legacy Report Dissemination

DATE: February 27, 2019

Following is an update on the various ideas for dissemination of Robina's "lessons learned."

Work with the Foundation Center

The Foundation is working on a case study that will include discussion questions and an outline of suggested speaking points for Robina to share insights.

The Case Study:

- Can be used by the Robina Foundation as a launching off point to share insights with others. It can be used to kick off conversation, address common questions, and function as an easy-to-reference resource.
- Will live on GrantCraft, publicly accessible to the broad audience of GrantCraft readers and anyone interested.
- Will include discussion questions for readers to apply learnings to their own philanthropic practice. The Case Study can also incorporate a section for Robina to answer a few top-level questions.
- While pulling from the Legacy Report and speaking broadly on the Foundation's practices, the Case Study will present a cohesive focus and concrete takeaways.

The Foundation Center plans to prepare a draft of the case study by mid-February. Once the draft is prepared, Robina will have the opportunity to review and comment on the draft. The goal is to "publish" the Case Study in late March, assuming we have finalized the Legacy Report. (This timing means that we will have the Case Study before the Minneapolis Foundation program on April 4th described below.)

Our agreement with the Foundation Center calls for them to tag our Legacy Report with a DOI (digital object identifier) when we are ready to publish it. (A DOI is a string of numbers, letters and symbols used to permanently identify an article or document and link to it on the web. This ensures that it will always be discoverable online.) The Report will also be searchable and actively shared through Foundation Center's IssueLab and GrantCraft.

As discussed at the November Board Meeting, we made the second payment on our \$12,000 contract with the Foundation Center.

Minneapolis Foundation Program April 4

 I'm delighted that we identified a date for a program featuring Robina and the newly formed Constellation Fund and that Kathleen, Marianne and Steve can attend. Details of the program will be available closer to the program date.

St. Paul and Minnesota Foundations

To follow up on Steve's conversation with Eric Jolly, head of the St. Paul and Minnesota Foundations, at Mr. Jolly's suggestion, I spoke with Jeremy Wells, Vice President of Philanthropic Services. I explained Robina's work, the preparation of our Legacy Report, our interest in discussing our lessons learned with others involved in philanthropy, etc., and he discussed this with Mr. Jolly. Jeremy reported back to me that Mr. Jolly decided to wait until Robina's Legacy Report is available to determine if a program involving Robina would be of interest to their donors. I will follow up with Jeremy once our Legacy Report is final and available for dissemination.

Work with ACTEC

 I followed up with Ann Burns and Bridget ^{Dorsey} Logstrom Koci, both of whom are ACTEC Fellows (the American College of Trusts and Estate Counsel) about a discussion with ACTEC members at a regional or local meeting.

Bridget, who is the head of the Minnesota ACTEC organization and is involved in the Great Lakes Region organization, is exploring the possibility of Robina's participation in a Great Lakes Region meeting to be held in December in Chicago. She thinks a presentation at that event is a possibility but indicated that it might be hard to get on the agenda due to the general format of the meetings.

 Meanwhile, Ann and Bridget propose that Gray Plant Moody, the law firm where Ann works, host a Minnesota ACTEC breakfast/lunch/happy hour gathering around a Robina presentation. Gray Plant would invite all the Minnesota ACTEC fellows as well as other estate and charitable planning attorneys. They expect that this event would be well attended, if held after tax season.

Program at the Minneapolis Club

The Minneapolis Club's Strategic Planning Committee is developing a focus on "Civic Engagement" for programming at the Club. Kate Gillette, chair of the Program Committee, is participating in the strategic planning process and is talking with the committee about a program involving Robina as part of this process. Kate indicated that she thinks this will be possible, but that it may take "a little longer to develop." She promised to keep me posted on plans.

Minneapolis Star Tribune

Columnist Lori Sturdevant has expressed interest in writing an article on Robina near the end of our work.

Publication of the Legacy Report

This would be available at events and could be mailed to Binger family members, foundation leaders and others in the community who would be interested in Robina's work and would not likely go online to read the report.

ROBINA FOUNDATION

TO: Robina Foundation Board of Directors

FROM: Penny Hunt

RE: Spend Down Case Study

Date: February 19, 2019

Ignore

As mentioned in my cover memo, due to the timing of the submission of the Spend Down Case Study, I have not had the opportunity to review it before Nancy sends the board books. I have a call set up for Thursday morning (February 21) so will provide comments then.

A few quick comments about the Case Study from emails I received from Foundation Center:

Staff working on the Case Study seek our thoughts about the overall shape of the draft as well as specific information needed to complete the study.

The piece, which is centered around trust-building, uses that framework to talk about the Board and Grantee experience. More details are needed about the structure of the grants and the types of assessments conducted, including a sample assessment if possible. With this further detail, Foundation Center can tie the relevancy of the relational trust-building to the actual grant-making. Details of the structure will enable the Case Study to include some advice that may be more relevant to foundations planning to spend down. The ending hasn't been totally fleshed out for this reason.

The "boxes" noted in the draft are inserted as short breaks from the body of the Case Study that provide additional insight that is tangential to the rest of the work and may be helpful to readers. The draft suggests several topics for the boxes.

Robina Foundation: Spend Down Case Study

Overarching story:

Trust enabled effective decision-making amongst the board and allowed for deep engagement with grantees.

Sections:

- Choosing the right people.
- Co-creating with grantees.
- An evolving relationship.
- A pattern of support.

and operating?

There are a lot of decisions to be made when setting up a foundation: Will you have a mission, and if so, what will it say? Should there be staff? How involved will the founder be? Who should be members of the board. the board members be? What kind of grants will the foundation make? For James H. Binger, most of these questions were easy to answer. Binger created the Robina Foundation late in his life, when he had clear vision of the kind of impact he wanted to be created, and who he what wanted to support. He also knew he wouldn't be there to see these changes through, and so intentionally incorporated flexibility into the foundation's structure, **trusting** that the details would get determined along the way.

The Robina Foundation was envisioned as a limited-life foundation from the start. Binger began by enlisting the advice of The Philanthropic Initiative, a charitable advisory firm, to draw up by-laws and recruit board members. Binger designated four disparate grantees to be the recipients of the Robina Foundation's funding: The Council on Foreign Relations, Abbott Northwestern Hospital (later encompassed within Allina Health Care), the University of Minnesota Law School, and Yale University. Prior to his passing, Binger met each of the organizations and indicated his intention that they would receive support from his estate—without specifying the scope, duration, or amount of these gifts.

between

In answering a few critical questions at the start, but allowing some to remain unanswered, Binger weaved in a critical balance of structure and freedom. This decision was perhaps the most critical to informing the work of the foundation and how its board members and staff operated. Direction coupled with trust gave the board enough direction to operate and stay true to the founder's vision, while also providing room to bring in their own wisdom and embrace inevitable change. Most importantly, it set the foundation for a deep trust not only among the board and staff, but also with grantees.

Choosing the right people.

Before the Robina Foundation was activated or staffed, Binger passed away, leaving behind general guidance in the form of the by-laws and a Mission Statement on Charitable Activities. In the statement, he outlined principles for the board's consideration including encouraging innovation and creativity among grantees. He emphasized desire to support forward-thinking projects and initiatives, and "major" or transformational projects as opposed to ongoing operating expenses. He also made clear that resources did not have to be divided evenly among designees, leaving room for his board to make decisions on funding.

Commented [SD1]: Is this available somewhere?

Bylaws

He was intentional about wanting a small and active board, rather than a heavily-staffed organization. As one trustee put it, "He had thought this out and, at the end of the day, he trusted other people. He had confidence that there would be a board and they would figure it out. He found the right balance between prescription and discretion." He also made clear that resources did not have to be divided evenly among designees, leaving room for his board to make decisions on funding.

Leadership and capacity changes after his passing resulted in the reshuffling and recruitment of new board members, most of whom had not met Binger. However, existing trustees used the desired qualities Binger had outlined in selecting new members. These qualities including an inquisitive and critical mind, the ability for long-term strategic thought, creativity, open-mindedness, and respect for unconventional ideas. While they may not have known Binger, these qualities ensured the board would embrace freedom to enact his vision.

Operating as a limited life foundation, the board members of the Robina Foundation started their work with extraordinary sensitivity and fidelity to the founder, Jim Binger's, vision. Their decisions included deep and continuous conversation among the board about "what would Jim want?" While this steadfastness to his intentions remained, over time the board evolved a structure that enabled trustees to embrace their own expertise and deepen their individual partnerships with grantees. Through this evolution and the formation of a "lead" trustee model, the identity of the Robina Foundation has been both a product of the founder's vision, and the intentional work of the board.

Since its inception, Robina has operated with between four and seven board members, and since 2010 has operated with the support of an executive director. This exceptionally lean staffing structure enabled Binger's vision for a more directly engaged board. The executive director was a critical bridge among trustees and to grantees. Interviewees agree that her deft counsel, clear communication, and ability to synthesize different board perspectives helped to make the foundation's unusual structure work and was critical to its success.

[BOX: On leveraging the Executive Director]

Co-creating with grantees:

The board understood their role was to enable transformational change for the designated recipient institutions that would have a deep impact on society. Having only four designated grantees "gave us focus, the mandate to build deep relationships, and to be helpful to the institutions over time," described one trustee.

The board provided a planning grant to each institution to identify a potential project for support.

[Insert statement about what the planning grant asked for.] But a wide-open format and pre-determined commitment to a scope, even one as broad as "effecting transformative change", can have drawbacks. A few grantees reflected that they were asked to spend too much time developing proposals that did not move forward. Doing deep dive explorations into potential projects did ultimately reveal projects both parties were excited about—but required a heavy lift the grantees were not prepared for.

Commented [SD2]: What was engagement between the board and grantees like before the ED was brought on? Who decided they needed an ED / what was the call for change?

Not sure we will want to go into the ED dynamic so much...but an option.

Commented [SD3R2]: In addition, the board also occasionally hired outside consultants with strong subject expertise to review and comment on funding proposals. (also something we could mention if we want in a bit about those involved beyond the board)

Commented [SD4]: Note to self: to say something about pushing grantees further than they want, good /bad? Contradictory to the "let the grantees decide" framework, but constructive.

At first, the grantees returned proposals that did not meet the criteria set forth of being broadly transformative. As one board member noted, "There was an interesting tension between the desire of institutions to fulfill their perennial needs and the desire of the donor to be transformational. These seldom were in alignment. Getting to the best possible outcome within the tension was the work of the board."

Commented [SD5]: All four of them?

The board said no, often multiple times, to designees when the projects they presented did not seem transformative enough. As an early board member recalls, they were perhaps more involved than recipients were used to, which could be frustrating. "There was a lot of discussion, debate, soul searching in our meetings...the recipients had to adjust to something that was worthwhile but out of their comfort zone."

Commented [SD6]: What kind of conversations did the board have with grantees to understand what was transformative to them? I can see this being an issue/question raised by donors reading this that suggests the donor know what is transformative, while the grantees on the ground may not. How was a balance developed of both showing support for the grantees work and respecting their expertise while pushing them to do something new?

They were able to ultimately work through these challenging moments. What finally helped the grantees get to where they needed on the proposals, was the constructive criticism of the board and open flow of the process—free of bureaucratic layers characteristic of many larger institutional foundations.

With feedback, Robina modified reporting requirements that were initially onerous. In hindsight, Robina recognized a few ways they could have created a more supportive environment for their grantees including involving grantees in determining the process before it was set. They recognized that grantees know what sort of assessments and communication works for them, where their strengths and weaknesses are, and the amount of time they can allot to trying something new. Getting their input early can make a huge difference in assuaging any uncertainties from the start.

An evolving relationship.

Trust building is a two-way street, and with the Robina Foundation it required an understanding on both the part of the grantee and the board. The board had to realize the capacities and value in the grantees' work, while the grantees were asked to embrace a less traditional scope and way of work. As one grantee put it, "The Foundation could be hard on us. But as they became more experienced, as they understood the work we were doing and its success, they relaxed. I felt an unconditional trust."

Over time, the board evolved a structure where one or more board members served as "lead" trustee for each grantee in order to develop more deeply invested relationships. The lead trustee spent additional time getting to know the organization and its work, and often came with a deep knowledge of the grantee's field. This in-depth engagement allowed board members to provide guidance and relay context behind the work to the rest of the board as well.

Commented [SD7]: When did this happen? Before or after the planning grants? What led to this development?

Commented [SD8]: Did the lead trustees help grantees decide on their grants goals, or was this model in place after they had already been decided?

Grantees generally found this model to be extremely valuable as they felt like they had "champions" behind their work who also offered constructive criticism. As one grantee explains, "The interactions always showed a great deal of open mindedness, flexibility, pragmatism...I thought that having the personal relationship with one trustee who was interested, not obtrusive, and eager to be involved at a deeper level was very valuable."

The lead trustee played many of the same roles that a program officer might in a more intensively-staffed foundation. For example... Grantees particularly valued the trust that

Commented [SD9]: To back the previous statement, I think an example of something that trustee did would be great to include here.

developed over time between foundation and grantee—a trust they cited having rarely experienced with other donors.

Board members also found the lead trustee model helpful in sharing strategy with one another. As one describes, "Often in a discussion, the lead would answer questions the other might have and this worked quite well. We all realized that the final funding decision was the group's."

They also recognized its limitations: "It's a delicate balance between being an advocate for the organization versus a critical friend. There is strength in the lead trustee role, but it should be a time-limited one." Upon reflection, the current board believes that the lead trustee model has most value when the lead role is rotated regularly over time.

Commented [SD10]: Did this then happen? If so, would be great to talk more about transitioning to this iteration of the lead trustee model.

From the outset, the board engaged deeply and directly with the four designees through formal opportunities, site visits, and informal advice, and counseling. But the lead trustee model offered the leanly-staffed foundation a next-level opportunity to know their grantees. While often ~~x~~ philanthropy boards do not play such an engaged role, establishing a connection that was more personal allowed a special familiarity and openness to develop between board members and beneficiaries.

[BOX: On leveraging partners (ie. lawyers, consultants) in spend down.]

Developing a pattern of support. / Preparing to exit.

As the foundation developed, a pattern of support began to emerge. When the board identified a promising project, they provided support to plan and test the idea, followed by three to five years of implementation and operating support which would be renewed for as long as ten years.

While board members decided initially not to fund endowment requests, they altered that position over time, making several capstone endowment gifts to sustain projects once they had proven themselves. To determine the final phase of their involvement, the Robina Foundation engaged in a "listening tour" of all four institutions to learn about their priority projects.

Measurable process outcomes were built into each grant to determine the long-term impact of their work. Additionally, the board occasionally supported external assessments of projects.

Commented [SD11]: Might include as one additional section or two. Would love to talk more about the structure of the grants, outcomes, assessments, and where do we go from here—just need more details from Robina here.

Virtually every Robina-funded project has over time, met the outcomes outlined in its initial proposal...

Setting clear expectations for how impact was tracked and assessed helped...

Commented [SD12]: More detail about these external assessments and development of measurable outcomes would be great to add here.

Ideas to include in conclusion:

- One of the most critical lessons shared by spend down foundations is to keep your grantees in the loop. Communicating explicitly about your intentions and timeline will help your foundation exit as elegantly as possible, and help your grantees prepare for this transition.

bc of focus.

large grants

- Robina was able to offer a high degree of attention to process and transparency which resulted in a monumental and unique experience for their grantees. Both grantees and board members shared a sense that being limited life and by designating a small number of recipients, Robina was able to create significant impact without the staff and infrastructure of a large organization. Whether spending down or not, funders can play a role in pushing grantees to take a step they otherwise would not think possible. However, acknowledging the capacity, values, and wisdom the grantees have is crucial. Through open dialogue, Robina was able to find the right balance between taking on new risks and meeting their grantees at their needs.
- Whether your foundation is limited in life or not, making similar considerations can drive how you hope to see the foundation run. If the foundation's resources are not major, limiting program areas can ensure that the foundation will remain strategic and focused. Designating beneficiaries from the get-go can encourage strong partnership between the foundation and its grantees. And setting limitations, whether it be the foundation's life span or amount of staff, provides the opportunity for deeper immediate impact.

Board - Imp.
shd be tied to goals.

Use?

Discussion Questions:

- What from the Robina Foundations story resonates with what we have learned from our work with grantees? What about their approach is different from what we have done in the past? What is something we might consider trying based on this approach?
- What challenges do our grantees face related to how they share their needs with us?? What types of support do they need to help overcome these challenges? How can we be in better communication ourselves with them?
- How do our program requirements and strategy enable us to be strategic and focused? In what areas can we invite greater flexibility while still maintaining a direction?
- What does your staff look like? What qualities have been curated among your team and how large is it? What sorts of demands are placed on them and what structure of support is available to them?

ROBINA FOUNDATION SUNSETTING TIMELINE

Assumption: Termination of Foundation: 12/31/20

<u>Activity</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<u>Grants</u>							
Determine criteria for new grants, deadline for proposals and for decisions	X	X				Board	8/17 – Decision to consider proposals from U of M and YSD 8/18 – Decision re timing of grants to U of M and YSD
Communicate criteria for new grants to Robina Grantees	X	X				Hunt	2/18 – Decision to consider proposals from U of M and YSD for “Innovation Funds”
Approve new grants to UofM and YSD and determine timing, process, payment, etc.		X	X			Board	8/18 – Consideration of proposals and determination of timing, use of illiquid assets 5/19 – Make decision re: grants and timing of payments?
Continue regular cycle of grant reports and grant payments per commitments	X	X	X	X		Gilberg	
Designate a post-dissolution point person to receive grant reports, address concerns, etc. Discuss with Grantees.			X	X(?)		Board	
Determine reporting requirements for endowment grants after Robina sunset. Discuss with Robina Grantees.			X	X(?)		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	
Document requirements in Agreements with Grantees.			X	X		Board, Hunt	

<u>Legacy Project</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Assess results of interviews	X					Marble, Board	
Discuss dissemination / communication of Legacy Project Report	X	X	X			Marble, Smith, Board	
Prepare Legacy Project Report for Board approval	X	X				Marble	
Review & finalize Legacy Project Report		X	X			Marble, Board	5/18 – Consideration of report with attachments 8/18 – Consideration of Foreward and change to Report
Finalize dissemination/communication plan		X	X			Board	Work with Foundation Center and other organizations on dissemination
Prepare Legacy Report Brochure		X	X			Hunt, Gilberg	
Implement dissemination/communication plan, including e.g. events, articles, etc.			X	X(?)		Hunt, Gilberg, Board	

<u>Finances</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Implement/Monitor Sullivan Model D	X	X	X	X		Sullivan, Lewis, Hunt, Gilberg	
Conduct Audit of FY 2016	X					CLA, Gilberg, Hunt	
Implement any recommended procedural changes		X	X	X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Conduct "Agreed Upon Procedures" Audits	X			X		CLA	
Determine if additional audit or "agreed-upon procedures" is needed for 2020		X				Board, Gina	Ask Gina if an audit of Robina's final year is necessary. Per Gina, not needed.
Develop and revise operating budgets for final years, including reserve to pay final expenses/filing fees/accounting fees/legal expenses/post-closing costs Discuss options for managing / paying post-closing costs	X	X	X	X		Gilberg, Hunt, Sullivan, Board	
Determine use of any funds remaining after sunset			X	X		Board	
Take steps to terminate interest in Loring Pasta Bar	X					Hunt, Blatz	Termination finalized 07/28/17
Prepare final financial reports				X		Sullivan, CLA (?)	Ask CLA who should prepare final financial reports.
Prepare and file final Form 990-PF, marked as "FINAL RETURN" – pay any outstanding taxes					X	CLA	

<u>Operations</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Discuss and set closing date		X	X	X		Board	Ongoing
Communicate plans to Robina Grantees and Binger family members			X?	X?		Hunt	When ready
Develop and revise timeline for closing	X	X	X	X		Board	
Identify all legal agreements: review termination language, provide notice of termination as necessary			X	X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Explore move to smaller office		X				Gilberg, Hunt,	Approved by IDS. Executed new lease (9/18) 12/1/18 – Start date of new lease
Move to smaller 4900 IDS office		X					
Extend lease per lease terms (May 2019)			X			Gilberg, Hunt	
Close office				X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Research Directors and Officers insurance coverage and options		X				Gilberg	
Determine whether need to extend D&O Insurance & Statute of Limitations Issues			X	X		Board	
Cancel memberships and subscriptions			X			Gilberg	
Identify recipients of furniture and equipment; transfer as needed		X	X	X		Board, Gilberg, Hunt	
Determine and execute archival plan and document destruction/retention plan			X	X		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	
Terminate email servers				X		Gilberg	

<u>Operations (con't)</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Assign intellectual property owned by Foundation as needed (e.g. domain name, logos, images, etc.)				X		Hunt, Faegre	
Continue regular Board Meetings	X	X	X	X		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	Suggestion: 2018: 4 (2 in person; 2 phone); 2019: 4 (3 phone; 1 in person in Mpls) ? 2020: 4 (3 phone; 1 in person in Mpls)

<u>Legal</u> (statutory requirements to wind up and dissolve MN nonprofit corporation)	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Approve plan of dissolution				X		Faegre / Board	Faegre draft resolution
File Notice of Intent to Dissolve with Sec. of State				X		Faegre	Once filed, Robina activities are limited to winding up the Foundation <i>what does this mean?</i>
File Notice of Intent to Dissolve with MN AG				X		Faegre	Once sent, Robina must wait 45 days before distributing any additional assets, other than to pay creditors.
Determine whether to provide notice to creditors (Faegre recommends)				X		Faegre	If file notice, creditors have 90 days to make claims
Provide notice to creditors: mail/publish notice of intent to dissolve				X		Faegre	Mail known creditors; publish for 4 weeks
Resolve claims: claimants have 90 days to submit.				X		Faegre	
Distribute remaining assets after payment of remaining expenses; transfer remaining assets to charitable organization(s) appropriate for Robina				X		Faegre	
Send Notice to Attorney General				X		Faegre	Notice confirms transfers according to plan
File Articles of Dissolution with MN Sec of State.				X		Faegre	Sec of State will issue a Certificate of Dissolution

ROBINA FOUNDATION SUNSETTING TIMELINE

Assumption: Termination of Foundation: 12/31/20

* Highlight Changes

<u>Activity</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<u>Grants</u>							
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Approve new grants to UofM and YSD and determine timing, process, payment, etc.		X	X			Board	8/18 – Consideration of proposals and determination of timing, use of illiquid assets 5/19 – Make decision re: grants and timing of payments?
Continue regular cycle of grant reports and grant payments per commitments	X	X	X	X		Gilberg	
Designate a post-dissolution point person to receive grant reports, address concerns, etc. Discuss with Grantees.			X	X(?)		Board	
Determine reporting requirements for endowment grants after Robina sunset. Discuss with Robina Grantees.			X	X(?)		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	
Document requirements in Agreements with Grantees.			X	X		Board, Hunt	

<u>Legacy Project</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Assess results of interviews	X					Marble, Board	
Discuss dissemination / communication of Legacy Project Report	X	X	X			Marble, Smith, Board	
Prepare Legacy Project Report for Board approval	X	X				Marble	
Review & finalize Legacy Project Report		X	X			Marble, Board	5/18 – Consideration of report with attachments 8/18 – Consideration of Foreward and change to Report
Finalize dissemination/communication plan		X	X			Board	Work with Foundation Center and other organizations on dissemination
Prepare Legacy Report Brochure		X	X			Hunt, Gilberg	
Implement dissemination/communication plan, including e.g. events, articles, etc.			X	X(?)		Hunt, Gilberg, Board	

<u>Finances</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Implement/Monitor Sullivan Model D	X	X	X	X		Sullivan, Lewis, Hunt, Gilberg	
Conduct Audit of FY 2016	X					CLA, Gilberg, Hunt	
Implement any recommended procedural changes		X	X	X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Conduct "Agreed Upon Procedures" Audits	X			X		CLA	
Determine if additional audit or "agreed-upon procedures" is needed for 2020		X				Board, Gina	Ask Gina if an audit of Robina's final year is necessary. Per Gina, not needed.
Develop and revise operating budgets for final years, including reserve to pay final expenses/filing fees/accounting fees/legal expenses/post-closing costs Discuss options for managing / paying post-closing costs	X	X	X	X		Gilberg, Hunt, Sullivan, Board	
Determine use of any funds remaining after sunset			X	X		Board	
Take steps to terminate interest in Loring Pasta Bar	X					Hunt, Blatz	Termination finalized 07/28/17
Prepare final financial reports				X		Sullivan, CLA (?)	Ask CLA who should prepare final financial reports.
Prepare and file final Form 990-PF, marked as "FINAL RETURN" – pay any outstanding taxes					X	CLA	

<u>Operations</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Discuss and set closing date		X	X	X		Board	Ongoing
Communicate plans to Robina Grantees and Binger family members			X?	X?		Hunt	When ready
Develop and revise timeline for closing	X	X	X	X		Board	
Identify all legal agreements: review termination language, provide notice of termination as necessary			X	X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Explore move to smaller office		X				Gilberg, Hunt,	Approved by IDS. Executed new lease (9/18) 12/1/18 – Start date of new lease
Move to smaller 4900 IDS office		X					
Extend lease per lease terms (May 2019)			X			Gilberg, Hunt	
Close office				X		Gilberg, Hunt	
Research Directors and Officers insurance coverage and options		X				Gilberg	
Determine whether need to extend D&O Insurance & Statute of Limitations Issues			X	X		Board	
Cancel memberships and subscriptions			X			Gilberg	
Identify recipients of furniture and equipment; transfer as needed		X	X	X		Board, Gilberg, Hunt	
Determine and execute archival plan and document destruction/retention plan			X	X		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	
Terminate email servers				X		Gilberg	

<u>Operations (con't)</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>Responsible</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Assign intellectual property owned by Foundation as needed (e.g. domain name, logos, images, etc.)				X		Hunt, Faegre	
Continue regular Board Meetings	X	X	X	X		Board, Hunt, Gilberg	Suggestion: 2018: 4 (2 in person; 2 phone); 2019: 4 (3 phone; 1 in person in Mpls) ? 2020: 4 (3 phone; 1 in person in Mpls)

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Provide notice to creditors: mail/publish notice of intent to dissolve				X		Faegre	Mail known creditors; publish for 4 weeks
Resolve claims: claimants have 90 days to submit.				X		Faegre	
Distribute remaining assets after payment of remaining expenses; transfer remaining assets to charitable organization(s) appropriate for Robina				X		Faegre	
Send Notice to Attorney General				X		Faegre	Notice confirms transfers according to plan
File Articles of Dissolution with MN Sec of State.				X		Faegre	Sec of State will issue a Certificate of Dissolution

The James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance Fund Report

Prepared for: **Robina Foundation**

Project Director: **Stewart M. Patrick**, James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance and Director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program

Reporting Period: **February 1, 2018 to January 31, 2019**

Submission Date: **February 11, 2019**

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is pleased to submit the second annual report of the James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance Fund. To accompany this narrative, a financial statement, as well as an appendix on the chairholder's activities, events, media appearances, and publications during the reporting period, are enclosed.

Overview

During the reporting period, Dr. Stewart Patrick, the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance (IIGG) program, continued to promote his book, *The Sovereignty Wars*; hosted six roundtable meetings; co-organized the Council of Councils (CoC) seventh annual conference in New York and eleventh regional conference in Seoul, South Korea; and provided commentary on U.S. sovereignty, U.S. foreign policy, and international cooperation to multiple audiences. This included discussions on local radio, interviews with national media outlets, and programs at half a dozen universities. He also authored several articles, op-eds, and blogs analyzing Trump administration policies made in the name of sovereignty and assessing how the United States can advance its interests through multilateral cooperation.

Chairholder's Activities

Publications

Following the October 2017 publication of Dr. Patrick's book, *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America with the World*, he continued to publish articles, op-eds, and blogs analyzing actions taken by the Trump administration and other international governments in the name of sovereignty and

assessing how the United States and the world can address transnational challenges through effective multilateral cooperation.

Dr. Patrick's writing on national sovereignty and international cooperation has been recognized for its excellence. *The Sovereignty Wars* was nominated for the American Political Science Association's Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award and the Gladys M. Kammerer Prize. Ali Wyne, a policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, recommended the book as one of the best works on the increasingly challenged position of the United States in world affairs. Mr. Wyne called *The Sovereignty Wars* "a timely and meticulous effort to clarify that concept, whose usage is a matter of both analytical interest and policymaking import," and "skillfully illuminate[s] the complexities of high-level abstractions while rendering them accessible." Dr. Patrick also published several articles and op-eds examining aspects of national sovereignty in *Business Insider* and the *Hill*. In a coauthored piece for *World Politics Review* in September 2018, "Britain's Torturous EU Exit and the Dilemmas of National Sovereignty," Dr. Patrick and Terry Mullan, assistant director of IIGG, used *The Sovereignty Wars* framework to explain how Britain is experiencing the trade-offs inherent in modern national sovereignty.

In addition to his work on national sovereignty, Dr. Patrick published a number of articles on global governance during the reporting period. In July 2018, Dr. Patrick published "The World Order is Starting to Crack" in *Foreign Policy*. This piece details how U.S. allies and adversaries are adapting to Trump in ways that cannot easily be reversed. In December, *Foreign Policy* ranked it the top article on multilateralism in 2018. In January 2019, Dr. Patrick published "The Liberal Order Is Dying: What Comes Next?" in *World Politics Review*. The article analyzes several possible frameworks for international affairs that might succeed the post-1945 system. Dr. Patrick also coauthored a ForeignAffairs.com piece on space governance with CFR Research Associate Kyle Evanoff. The September 2018 article, "The Right Way to Achieve Security in Space," was featured in the newsletters of *Lawfare*, the Observer Research Foundation, *Politico*, *RealClearDefense*, and *RealClearWorld*.

As Trump abdicates U.S. leadership and continues to undermine the democratic international order, prospects for international cooperation look bleak. In response to this, Dr. Patrick's writing over the last year detailed how the nation's governors are going global, and the world is witnessing increased global activism from the fifty U.S. states. In an op-ed published in the *Hill* in July 2018, "As Trump Abandons Globalism, Governors Take to World Stage," Dr. Patrick discusses the implications of state decisions to go global for U.S. foreign policy and international cooperation. The piece garnered attention at the National Governors Association summer meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and was a topic of discussion on the sidelines of the event.

Dr. Patrick also coordinated the publication of the 2017–2018 Council of Councils (CoC) Report Card on International Cooperation, which evaluated multilateral efforts to address ten of the world's most pressing challenges, from countering transnational terrorism to advancing global health. The Report Card surveyed the CoC, a network of twenty-nine foreign policy institutes around the world, to help policymakers prioritize among transnational challenges. The CoC is a CFR initiative previously supported by a Robina Foundation grant to the IIGG program. In a May op-ed for the *Hill*, "Nuclear Annihilation is sum of all Global Fears as Trump Squares Off," Dr. Patrick highlights that the Report Card survey found that no danger weighed as heavily on the minds of leading global thinkers as the specter of nuclear war.

Dr. Patrick continued to research and outline his proposed new book, *Together: How to Survive and Thrive on a Shrinking Planet*. This book is intended to illuminate the unprecedented interconnectedness

of the contemporary world; identify its multiple drivers and dimensions (technological, informational, security, economic, ecological, epidemiological, social, and ethical); assess the numerous practical implications and policy dilemmas this interdependence presents; and identify success stories and promising avenues (including new approaches to cooperation) to mitigate the risks of this new era. Dr. Patrick published several articles on this theme during the reporting period. In December 2018, he coauthored an op-ed, “50 Years After ‘Earthrise,’ We are Racing Toward ‘Earthset,’” on CNN.com with CFR Research Associate Kyle Evanoff. It marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Apollo 8 “Earthrise” photo, which underscored humanity’s common destiny on a fragile planet, noting that it is even more poignant today, as the world confronts the looming catastrophe of climate change. Dr. Patrick also published “Planet Earth Takes Center Stage in 2019 Global Summits” in late December 2018. This CoC Global Memo detailed nine critical global summits in the year ahead and argued that the hectic 2019 summit calendar affirms that ecological matters—that is, humanity’s relationship with the biosphere—are now front and center in world politics.

Dr. Patrick also continued to regularly post articles on his blog, *The Internationalist*. During the reporting period, the blog featured more than fifty posts and was viewed over 150,000 times. In a December 2018 post, “Tilting at Straw Men: Secretary Pompeo’s Ridiculous Brussels Speech,” Dr. Patrick responded to U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s tirade against liberal internationalism, calling his invective flawed on numerous counts. The blog was viewed over fourteen thousand times and was excerpted at length in the *Washington Post*, *UN Dispatch*, and *Defense One*. In another popular post, “The G20 Tango: What to Expect From the Buenos Aires Summit,” Dr. Patrick outlined the challenges and opportunities facing the G20 leaders’ summit in Buenos Aires. The post was featured in the Center for Strategic and International Studies’ *RealClearWorld* newsletter, *Business Insider*, and *SBS Australia*.

Meetings

During the reporting period, Dr. Patrick hosted six meetings of the Roundtable Series on the United States and the Future of Global Governance. The meetings brought together experts and policymakers to discuss a broad range of global governance issues. The first was a discussion on U.S. priorities for UN reform with Mary Catherine Phee, principal deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. The second was a discussion on the economic case for protecting the global environment featuring Dr. Gretchen Daily, Stanford University professor of environmental sciences. The third considered the Trump administration’s nuclear weapons policy. It featured Christopher Ford, assistant secretary of state for international security and nonproliferation at the U.S. Department of State, and Anita Friedt, principal deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance.

The fourth roundtable meeting featured a discussion on U.S. states going global with Scott Pattison, executive director of the National Governors Association. The fifth asked how the global trading system can advance global sustainable development and hosted James Bacchus, distinguished university professor of global affairs at the University of Central Florida and former chairman of the Appellate Body of the World Trade Organization. The final meeting in the series was a discussion on the international dimensions of the U.S. National Biodefense Strategy featuring the lead coordinator of the strategy, Robert Kadlec, assistant secretary for preparedness and response at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and one of the strategy’s main authors, Hillary Carter, director for global health and international development at the National Security Council.

Dr. Patrick also participated as a panelist at a number of private and public events. He discussed America's role in the global order at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy with Warren Hoge, vice president of the International Peace Institute. He spoke on global governance after U.S. withdrawal with Tamar Gutner, associate professor of international relations at American University, at CFR's College and University Educators Workshop. Dr. Patrick discussed whether or not the United States had abandoned its global leadership role at two CFR National Program roundtable meetings: one in Atlanta, moderated by Representative Scott Holcomb of the Georgia House of Representatives, and another in Miami. He was also a featured panelist at the CFR Corporate Program roundtable meeting "Balancing the Risks of Globalization and Fragmentation" with Arvind Rajan, head of global and macro at PGIM. Furthermore, Dr. Patrick participated in a panel discussion, "The Rise of the New City-States," at the International Forum on Diplomatic Training, and presided over a number of CFR meetings, including a CFR State and Local Conference Call entitled "The Evolving Role of State and Local Governments in Foreign Policy."

Dr. Patrick coordinated two meetings of the CoC over the last year. The seventh annual CoC conference was held in New York in May and brought together forty-seven delegates from twenty-two countries to discuss the way forward on trade without U.S. leadership, means to strengthen effective climate change action, the geopolitical implications of technological innovation, and the regional challenge posed by Iran and its global implications. The conference also featured a keynote address from UN Secretary-General António Guterres. Dr. Patrick presided over a session on the common challenges think tanks face in maximizing domestic and international impact, exploring new opportunities, and responding to new threats. He also participated in the launch of the CoC Report Card on International Cooperation. The eleventh regional CoC conference was held in Seoul, South Korea; details on the meetings can be found in the travel section of this report.

Dr. Patrick organized a U.S.-China high-level dialogue video conference with CFR President Richard Haass, which brought together senior foreign policy experts to discuss principles of regional security, political, and economic order, and the future of cooperation on the global commons. After the first videoconference with senior policymakers and experts from China in late 2017, Dr. Patrick developed a draft list of principles for Asia-Pacific security that was shared with the Chinese delegation, who then shared their own principles in response. Dr. Patrick organized a follow-up videoconference with the U.S. participants in April 2018 to discuss the different proposed norms and any further actions.

Dr. Patrick held four sessions of the CFR Study Group on Transformative Technology, which he codirected with Varun Sivaram, then the CFR Philip D. Reed fellow for science and technology. The study group leveraged CFR member expertise in multiple cutting-edge fields, including robotics, machine learning, renewable energy, micro satellites, nanotechnology, lethal weapons systems, genomics, precision medicine, fintech, automation, and blockchain. The purpose of the undertaking was to inform and sharpen CFR's evolving plans to analyze the policy implications of emerging technologies, including the need for new global norms and rules governing their use to address both their unintended consequences and their malicious application. The first meeting, which focused on governing transformative technology, featured remarks from Richard Danzig, senior advisor to the Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory and a consultant to the Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity (IARPA). The second meeting, on U.S. leadership in technological innovation, featured remarks from Greg Allen, director of NASA launch sales and corporate strategy at Blue Origin, and Walter Copan, undersecretary of commerce for standards and technology and director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology. The third and fourth meetings, which occurred in Silicon Valley and San Francisco, solicited input from CFR members and other experts working on harnessing and governing artificial intelligence and synthetic biology.

Travel

In April 2018, Dr. Patrick traveled to New Mexico to give the plenary address “Is Democracy Yielding to Authoritarianism as the Preferred World Governance?” at the University of New Mexico’s National Security Studies program’s spring symposium. Also in April, Dr. Patrick traveled to San Francisco for the fifty-ninth annual International Studies Association convention, where he gave a book talk and participated in a discussion, “With or Without Power in Global Governance.”

In September 2018, Dr. Patrick traveled to Vancouver to give a talk entitled “The Future of the Asia-Pacific Economy and Trans-Pacific Trade” at Simon Fraser University, and another address entitled “Ships Passing in the Night: The U.S., China, and the Future of the Asia-Pacific” at the University of British Columbia Liu Institute for Global Issues. He also gave several book talks, which are detailed in the enclosed appendix.

In October 2018, Dr. Patrick traveled to Seoul, South Korea, to participate in the eleventh CoC regional meeting, “Adapting to a Changing Order in Asia,” which he helped organize with the East Asia Institute. The conference brought together forty-five delegates from twenty countries and included sessions on how to denuclearize North Korea, advance global health in an aging world, balance energy needs with environmental protection in developing Asian economies, and mitigate the rise of techno-nationalism. The conference also featured keynote addresses from Cho Hyun, first vice minister of Foreign Affairs, and Lee Hong-koo, former prime minister of the Republic of Korea. Dr. Patrick also presided over a session on common challenges think tanks face.

In November 2018, Dr. Patrick traveled to Paris for the Paris Peace Forum. He was a featured speaker with both senior think tank staffers and policymakers during the session “Better Policy-Making: Matching Decision-Makers with Think Tankers,” moderated by Thierry de Montbrial, founder and president of the French Institute of International Relations. Dr. Patrick also chaired the session “Smarter Aid in Fragile Contexts,” which featured senior policymakers from the World Bank, OECD, and French Development Agency. He also participated in the Paris Peace Forum Steering Committee, of which he is a member.

Dr. Patrick also traveled to France and China with CFR’s Center for Preventative Action for its workshop series predicated on the belief that China, the European Union, Russia, and the United States not only share a common interest in preventing the world from becoming more dangerous and disorderly, but also that the nature and scope of this task necessitates cooperation among them. At the workshop, “Managing Global Disorder: Prospects for U.S.-China Cooperation,” which was held in March 2018 in Beijing and Shanghai, China, Dr. Patrick was featured on a panel entitled “The Future of Global Governance: Adapting International Norms and Institutions to New Challenges,” with Cui Liru, senior advisor at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations. At the conference, “Managing Global Disorder: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation” in Talloires, France, which was held in July 2018, Dr. Patrick was a featured panelist during the session “The Future of Global Governance: Do We Still Have a Shared Agenda?” with Julia De Clerck Sachsse of the European Union External Action Service. He also moderated a session entitled “Managing Regional Challenges: Africa,” which featured Michelle Gavin, senior fellow for Africa studies at CFR, and Geert Laporte of the European Centre for Development Policy Management.

Dr. Patrick made additional trips to Canada and Mexico to promote *The Sovereignty Wars* during the reporting period (these trips are noted in the appendix).

During the reporting period, Dr. Patrick engaged a diverse range of audiences from government, business, civil society, and academia on international cooperation and the deeply contested issue of sovereignty. A substantial amount of outreach activity focused on his understanding of Trump's U.S. foreign policy and international cooperation in an age of "America First." Dr. Patrick briefed Luke Murry in House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy's office prior to Representative McCarthy's meeting with UN Secretary-General António Guterres. After a book talk in Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's principal secretary, Gerald Butts, reached out to Dr. Patrick to discuss *The Sovereignty Wars*. Dr. Patrick also regularly spoke to Justin Vaisse, head of the policy planning staff in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and president of the Paris Peace Forum, on multilateral cooperation. Dr. Patrick also met with Finnish policymakers and Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials on the future of the multilateral system.

Dr. Patrick briefed John Deere's Global Public Affairs Council on global hot spots, along with Steve Sestanovich, George F. Kennan senior fellow for Russian and Eurasian studies at CFR. He also briefed the Asia-Pacific Foundation in Vancouver on trade and political developments in Washington and gave a talk to the board of NAFSA: Association of International Educators on ways that subnational actors can work to maintain international connections in this turbulent era.

Dr. Patrick was interviewed by many media outlets on the Trump administration's foreign policy, international cooperation, and multilateralism. These interviews have given Dr. Patrick the opportunity to engage with local, national, and international audiences. Dr. Patrick was featured in the ABC/KSRO Morning News, *Atlantic*, AP, Bloomberg, BBC, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation News Network, Cheddar, *Christian Science Monitor*, CNBC, CSPAN's Washington Journal, CTV News Channel, ENE News, KCRW Press Play, the *Hill*, *Jyllands-Posten*, *Le Journal du Dimanche*, *Los Angeles Times*, NBC News, NPR, *New York Times*, PBS Newshour, *Politico*, *Quartz*, STL News, Televisa News, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He was also a guest on a number of podcasts, including the Munk School of Global Affairs' Summit Dialogue, Santa Fe Council on International Relations' CIR Speaker podcast, Center for Strategic and International Studies' Cogit Asia podcast, and the CFR podcasts *The President's Inbox* and *The World Next Week*.

Future Activities

Dr. Patrick will continue promotion and outreach efforts to capitalize on the spring 2019 release of a paperback version of *The Sovereignty Wars*. This version will include an updated preface describing the Trump administration's pursuit of misguided policies, based on the mistaken idea that current trends in multilateral cooperation threaten U.S. sovereignty. Dr. Patrick will also research the international implications of the deepening global environmental crisis (not limited to climate change), which is endangering planetary life support systems, and explore the dilemmas posed by transformative technologies, including the need for improved governance to address dual-use dilemmas and unintended consequences. As part of the Roundtable Series on United States and the Future of Global Governance, Dr. Patrick plans to host meetings on the future governance of climate geoengineering, subnational governance helping to meet the Sustainable Development Goals, and prospects for achieving a global pact for the environment.

He will also continue to direct the activities of the IIGG program, including the Council of Councils and a possible roundtable series on the global governance of emerging technology.

Appendix: List of the Chairholder's Activities

Events

- February 7, 2018: participated in a panel discussion, "Debating Doctrine: America's Role in the Global Order" with Warren Hoge, vice president of the International Peace Institute, at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.
- February 26, 2018: cohosted the first session of the CFR study group, "Harnessing and Governing Transformative Technologies: Governing Transformative Technologies to Address Risks and Harness Opportunities," featuring Richard Danzig, senior advisor to the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory and a consultant to the Intelligence Advanced Research Projects Activity.
- March 13, 2018: hosted a roundtable, "U.S. Priorities for UN Reform," featuring Mary Catherine Phee, principal deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau of International Organizations at the U.S. State Department.
- March 14, 2018: served as a panelist at a CFR Corporate roundtable, "Balancing the Risks of Globalization and Fragmentation," with Arvind Rajan, head of global and macro at PGIM.
- March 14, 2018: cohosted the second session of the CFR study group, "Harnessing and Governing Transformative Technologies: U.S. Leadership in Technological Innovation," featuring Walter G. Copan, undersecretary of commerce for standards and technology and director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, and Gregory Allen, adjunct fellow for technology and national security at the Center for New American Security.
- March 19, 2018: participated at CFR's Center for Preventative Action workshop, "Managing Global Disorder: Prospects for U.S.-China Cooperation," and was a featured panelist during a session entitled "The Future of Global Governance: Adapting International Norms and Institutions to New Challenges" with Cui Liru, senior advisor at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations.
- April 3, 2018: gave the plenary address, "Is Democracy Yielding to Authoritarianism as the Preferred World Governance?" at the University of New Mexico's National Security Studies program's spring symposium.
- April 7, 2018: participated as a panelist at the International Studies Association conference during a session entitled "With or Without Power in Global Governance" with Andrew F. Cooper, a professor of political science at the University of Waterloo, and Arthur Stein, professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles.
- April 11, 2018: cohosted the third session of the CFR study group, "Harnessing and Governing Transformative Technologies: Artificial Intelligence," featuring Carol Reiley, cofounder and president of drive.ai, and Paul Saffo, chair of Singularity University.
- April 12, 2018: cohosted the fourth session of the CFR study group, "Harnessing and Governing Transformative Technologies: Synthetic Biology," featuring Genya Dana, head of precision medicine at the World Economic Forum's Center for the Fourth Industrial

Revolution, and Megan Palmer, senior research scholar at the Center for International Security and Cooperation.

- April 12, 2018: organized a videoconference following up on the late 2017 U.S.-China high-level dialogue video conference with U.S. participants in New York and Washington, DC.
- April 19, 2018: participated as a panelist at CFR's 2018 College and University Educators Workshop during a session entitled "Global Governance After U.S. Withdrawal" with Tamar Gutner, associate professor of international relations at American University's School of International Service.
- April 24, 2018: briefed John Deere's Global Public Affairs Council on global hot spots with Steve Sestanovich, George F. Kennan senior fellow for Russian and Eurasian studies at CFR.
- May 7, 2018: presided over a discussion, "Common Challenges Think Tanks Face," at the Council of Councils Seventh Annual Conference.
- May 9, 2018: hosted a roundtable, "Investing in Natural Capital: The Economic Case for Protecting the Global Environment," featuring Gretchen Daily, Stanford University professor of environmental sciences.
- May 22, 2018: participated in a panel discussion, "Has the United States Abandoned Global Leadership?" with Representative Scott Holcomb of the Georgia House of Representatives, at a CFR National roundtable meeting in Atlanta.
- May 23, 2018: participated as a panelist at a CFR National Roundtable in Miami during a session entitled "Has the United States Abandoned Global Leadership?" with Bruce Bagley, professor at the University of Miami.
- May 30, 2018: hosted a roundtable, "The Trump Administration's Nuclear Weapons Policy," with Christopher Ford, assistant secretary of state for international security and nonproliferation at the U.S. Department of State, and Anita Friedt, principal deputy assistant secretary at the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance.
- June 6, 2018: hosted a roundtable, "U.S. States Go Global: A Conversation with the Executive Director of the National Governors Association," with Scott Pattison, executive director of the National Governors Association.
- June 14, 2018: presided over a session entitled "Evaluating Global Efforts to Combat Illicit Financial Flows" during a CFR workshop "Global Governance to Combat Illicit Financial Flows: Measurement, Evaluation, and Innovation." The session featured Michael Findley, professor at the University of Texas, Austin, and Jody Myers, vice president and global head of compliance risk assessment at Western Union.
- July 12, 2018: participated as a panelist at CFR's Center for Preventative Action workshop, "Managing Global Disorder: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation" during a session entitled "The Future of Global Governance: Do We Still have a Shared Agenda?"

- July 13, 2018: moderated a panel discussion at CFR's Center for Preventative Action conference, "Managing Global Disorder: Prospects for Transatlantic Cooperation," entitled "Managing Regional Challenges: Africa" with Michelle Gavin, senior fellow for Africa studies at CFR, and Geert Laporte, deputy director of the European Centre for Development Policy Management.
- September 17, 2018: briefed the Asia-Pacific Foundation on trade and political developments in Washington.
- September 18, 2018: participated as a panelist at an event cosponsored by the South Korean Consulate in Vancouver, Canada on the role of the MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia) grouping of Middle Powers.
- September 18, 2018: gave a talk entitled "The Future of the Asia-Pacific Economy and Trans-Pacific Trade" at Simon Fraser University.
- September 19, 2018: gave the talk, "Ships Passing in the Night: The US, China, and the Future of the Asia-Pacific" at the University of British Columbia Liu Institute for Global Issues.
- September 21, 2018: participated as a panelist at the International Forum on Diplomatic Training conference, "Diplomacy in an Era of Disruption and Discontinuing," during a session entitled "The Rise of the New City-States."
- September 26, 2018: gave a talk to the board of NAFSA: Association of International Educators on ways subnational actors can maintain international connections in this era.
- October 8, 2018: presided over a discussion, "Common Challenges Think Tanks Face," at the Council of Councils Seventh eleventh regional conference in Seoul, South Korea.
- October 25, 2018: led a CFR State and Local Conference Call entitled "The Evolving Role of State and Local Governments in Foreign Policy."
- November 12, 2018: participated in a conversation at the Paris Peace Conference, "Better Policy-Making: Matching Decision-Makers with Think Tankers," with Sebastian Groth, deputy director for policy planning at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Maty Nikkhoo-O'Brien, former executive director of the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs; Oleg Stepanov, director for policy planning at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Henry Wang, president of the Center for China and Globalization.
- November 12, 2018: presided over a talk at the Paris Peace Conference, "Smarter Aid in Fragile Contexts," which featured Franck Bousquet, senior director for fragility, conflict, and violence at the World Bank in France; Sundaa Bridgett-Jones, senior associate director at the Rockefeller Foundation; Jorge Moreira da Silva, director of the development cooperation directorate at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development; and Hélène Ngarnim-Ganga, head of policies and civic transition at the French Development Agency.
- November 29, 2018: hosted a roundtable, "How Can the Global Trading System Advance Global Sustainable Development," with James Bacchus, distinguished university professor of global affairs at the University of Central Florida.

- December 13, 2018: hosted a roundtable, “The International Implications of the National Biodefense Strategy,” with Robert Kadlec, assistant secretary for preparedness and response at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and Hillary Carter, director for global health and international development at the National Security Council.
- December 19, 2018: participated in a panel discussion, “French Series: How to Reform Multilateralism to Support Peace?,” with Ambassador Gerard Araud and Ambassador Victoria Nuland, moderated by Jonathan Tepperman, editor in chief of *Foreign Policy*.

Book Outreach

- February 8, 2018: gave a book talk at Balisille School in Waterloo, Canada
- February 9, 2018: gave a book talk at the University of Toronto
- February 15, 2018: gave a book talk at the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
- February 15, 2018: gave a book talk at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México
- April 3, 2018: gave a book talk at the Santa Fe Council on International Relations
- April 6, 2018: gave a book talk at the International Studies Association convention
- May 22, 2018: gave a book talk at a CFR National meeting in Atlanta
- May 23, 2018: gave a book talk at a CFR National meeting in Miami
- September 17, 2018: gave a book talk at the University of British Columbia

Publications

- Articles by Stewart Patrick (11)
 - “Global Democracy Retreats as Authoritarianism Marches Forth”
 - “Nuclear Annihilation is sum of all Global Fears as Trump Squares Off”
 - “An isolated Trump attends the G7”
 - “As Trump Abandons Globalism, Governors Take to World Stage”
 - “The World Order Is Starting to Crack”
 - “The UN Kofi Annan Left Behind”
 - “The Right Way to Achieve Security in Space” (with Kyle Evanoff)
 - “Britain’s Torturous EU Exit and the Dilemmas of National Sovereignty” (with Terry Mullan)
 - “Trump’s Second Appearance at the UN Could Make America Lose Even More Political Clout on the Global Stage”
 - “50 years after ‘Earthrise,’ we are racing toward ‘Earthset’” (with Kyle Evanoff)
 - “The Liberal Order Is Dying: What Comes Next?”
- Blog Posts (50)

Media Appearances

- Television (6)
- Radio (7)
- Podcasts (7)

Briefings

- Briefings of Government Officials and Prominent Experts (7)

The Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund Report

Prepared for: **Robina Foundation**

Project Director: **Jan Mowder Hughes**, Vice President, Human Resources and Administration

Reporting Period: **July 1, 2017–January 31, 2019**

Submission Date: **February 11, 2019**

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is pleased to submit the first annual report of the Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund. To accompany this narrative, a financial statement, as well as an appendix listing interns' biographies are enclosed.

2017–2019 Robina Franklin Williams Interns

The Robina Franklin Williams internship program seeks to give underrepresented minority students the exposure, knowledge, and skills needed to work in the foreign policy field. During the reporting period, CFR filled **sixteen intern positions** with Robina Franklin Williams interns¹ in the New York and Washington, DC, offices and in different departments across the organization, including the Corporate Program, the Education Program, *Foreign Affairs*, Global Communications and Media Relations, and the David Rockefeller Studies Program. *more diverse*

In the summer of 2017, **Rachael Sullivan** and **Sabriyya Pate** joined CFR as interns in the David Rockefeller Studies Program in the Washington, DC, and New York offices, respectively. **Sullivan** interned in the Africa studies program, where she conducted research on such issues as African Union sanctions, China's involvement in African affairs, and climate change. She also edited book manuscripts and proposals, wrote blog posts, and compiled morning media briefs on the related news. **Pate** interned with the international economics program, where she helped to conduct research on venture capitalists for the senior fellow's book project.

¹ There were fifteen individual Robina Franklin Williams interns, with Ayobami Egunyomi serving as a Robina Franklin Williams intern in both fall 2017 and spring 2018

In the fall of 2017, CFR welcomed three Robina Franklin Williams interns: **Anamaria Lopez** in New York and **Ewodaghe Harrell** and **Ayobami Egunyomi** in Washington, DC, all of whom interned in the David Rockefeller Studies Program. **Lopez** was CFR's international economics and history intern who worked with the senior fellow and director of international economics to conduct archival research on U.S. diplomat Henry Wallace for a book project. **Harrell** was an intern with the global health studies program, where she conducted research and data analysis, wrote blog posts, and helped to edit and fact-check for the senior fellow's book project. **Egunyomi** was CFR's Africa studies intern, where she helped to research for the Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies book project on Nigeria, assisted in editing a podcast on vigilante groups in Africa, and published articles about Nigeria.

In the spring of 2018, CFR hosted three Robina Franklin Williams interns: **Tabatha Anderson**, **Merykokeb Belay**, and **Ayobami Egunyomi** for a second term, all in the David Rockefeller Studies Program in Washington, DC. **Anderson** was CFR's China studies intern and primarily worked on research projects involving the U.S.-China relationship, China's perception of power and the global order, China-Southeast Asia military cooperation, and the Taiwan Travel Act. She also published an article on the *Diplomat* blog, which was shared on CFR's Human Resources Twitter account. **Belay** was CFR's global health studies intern who helped conduct research for the senior fellow focused on Ethiopia, noncommunicable diseases, and migration. She also assembled briefs on the latest related news. **Egunyomi** continued her internship experience with CFR in the Africa studies program, helping to contribute new research on Nigeria.

In the summer of 2018, CFR welcomed two Robina Franklin Williams interns: **Christine Jiha** and **Shamsa Derrick** in the Corporate and Education programs, respectively, in the New York office. **Jiha** joined CFR's Corporate Affairs team as the global business intern, where she helped draft background briefs for corporate member outreach, assisted member relations in identification of opportunities, and researched multinational companies that may be interested in joining as members. **Derrick** worked with the education team on Model Diplomacy—CFR's National Security Council simulation program—developing new Model Diplomacy content, identifying and researching foreign policy topics for new case studies, and contributing to other additions and modifications on various simulation resources.

In the fall of 2018, CFR welcomed three Robina Franklin Williams interns: **Sofia Ruiz** in Washington, DC, and **Christian Dopico** and **Maria Gomez Villalba** in New York. **Ruiz** interned in the Director of Studies' office where she helped prepare memos for podcasts and blog posts and conducted research into issues relating to current events, specifically international economics. **Dopico** interned with the Corporate Affairs team as a global business intern, monitoring news and announcements relating to Corporate Program member companies and conducting research into potential member companies and business executives. He also assisted with drafting reports and briefs, and with Corporate's outreach efforts. **Villalba** interned in Global Communications and Media Relations department, where she helped update and maintain the roster of press contacts in addition to assisting press at on-the-record events. One of the main projects Villalba tackled this semester was creating a comprehensive list of college newspapers across the country to help increase media outreach for CFR.

This spring, CFR welcomed three Robina Franklin Williams interns: **LaTreshia Hamilton**, **Oneika Pryce**, and **Kwolanne Felix**. Hamilton is interning in the David Rockefeller Studies Program in Washington, DC as a women in foreign policy intern. Pryce and Felix are interning in New York with the Education team and *Foreign Affairs* team, respectively. **Hamilton** is assisting with research in a variety of topics, including women's economic empowerment, peace and security, and education. She

is also occasionally drafting blog posts for the *Women Around the World* blog. **Pryce**, whose work is focused on World101—an online modular program that teaches the fundamentals of international relations and foreign policy—is helping with the development of education modules, researching foreign policy topics, and contributing to drafting, editing, and analyzing materials. **Felix** is interning with the *Foreign Affairs* magazine's business team. She is researching market and sales opportunities for the magazine, focusing on higher education and educators. She is also assisting with the business and operational functions of the magazine, including marketing strategies and search engines.

Biographies of the Robina Franklin Williams interns from the reporting period can be found in the appendix of this report.

Intern Professional Development Program

While at CFR, Robina Franklin Williams interns benefit from CFR's Intern Professional Development (IPD) program, organized by the Human Resources department (HR), which offers roughly a dozen skill-based workshops and trainings, career-building and career advice sessions, and interactive education simulations each semester. This program is designed to help interns improve their writing, editing, research, and program planning skills, as well as to help them sharpen their resumes and familiarize themselves with a multitude of foreign policy career paths.

Each semester in the reporting period featured a robust IPD program that included: an introduction by CFR librarians to the organization's databases, resources, and services; an interactive workshop with the director of publications where interns were introduced to and practiced copy editing methods; a session with HR professionals on perfecting a resume; several advice and discussion sessions featuring CFR's visiting military fellows, CFR's director of studies, and junior staff at CFR; and an interactive session that allowed interns to participate in Model Diplomacy simulation. The fall 2018 semester also featured a session in which New York interns user-tested CFR's newest educational product—weekly Quizzes on countries, topics in the news, and foreign policy. Additionally, HR hosted informal lunches, networking opportunities, and a farewell event for all interns each semester through the IPD program.

Participation in Other CFR Events

In addition to the IPD programming described above, Robina Franklin Williams interns also attended a number of general meetings and roundtable events at CFR, which enabled them to learn more about CFR programming and to hear from some of the world's major leaders and experts in international relations. The events attended by Robina Franklin Williams interns in the reporting period include a conversation with Michelle Bachelet, president of Chile; a conversation with Paul Kagame, president of Rwanda; Daughters and Sons event with Sylvia Mathews Burwell, president of American University and former Secretary of Health and Human Services; HBO's *What to Do About... Series: Yemen—A Country in Crisis* featuring two former U.S. Ambassadors to Yemen, Stephen Seche and Gerald Feierstein; as well as roundtables on cyber conflict, diplomacy in the Great Lakes, drought response in Ethiopia, and the future of sustainable finance. Robina Franklin Williams interns also attended staff-wide internal events, like holiday celebrations and brown bag meetings, which provided them the opportunity to network with all CFR staff and other interns.

During the reporting period, CFR launched two Employee Resource Groups (ERGs): Women in the Workplace and Diversity in the Workplace, which were established through the interest and action of CFR employees to foster a diverse and inclusive workplace. Activities within the scope of these ERGs include talent development, discussion forums, supporting recruitment, volunteerism opportunities,

and cross-collaboration across the organization. Robina Franklin Williams interns were invited to participate in the ERG staff events, including a brown bag discussion with Annette Gordon Reed, Harvard University law professor; a non-Council sponsored movie screening of the RBG documentary on Supreme Court Justice Ruth Baider Ginsberg; and ethnic food tours.

During their tenure at CFR, Robina Franklin Williams interns traveled to the CFR office where they were not based (New York interns visited the Washington, DC, office and vice-versa) to attend an event and meet with the members of their respective departments. These trips provided interns with the opportunity to gain a better understanding of CFR's structure and the breadth of its work as a think tank, membership organization, and publisher.

CFR also invited Robina Franklin Williams interns from the fall 2017 and spring 2018 semesters to attend the April 2018 Conference on Diversity in International Affairs and made funding for travel available to these students. They joined over two hundred participants from across the country over two days of programming. The conference featured a keynote address by Jeh Johnson, former U.S. secretary of homeland security, and a series of plenary panels as well as smaller workshops and skill-building sessions. The conference offered twenty-three one-on-one career counseling sessions with professional counselors from universities and professional organizations in Washington, DC, area. These sessions were available by advance registration, and all Robina Franklin Williams interns who attended had a one-on-one session with a career counselor.

Learning Goals and Experience

CFR's Robina Franklin Williams interns are encouraged by their supervisors to set individual professional development goals that will be the focus of the intern's work. Their supervisors also serve as mentors, providing professional advice and career tips in addition to regular feedback on their work.

Some of the professional goals enumerated by Robina Franklin Williams interns during the reporting period included: become familiar with the policy issues surrounding a particular topic; publish written work on a CFR blog; contribute to research; help to plan and staff events; use social media in a professional context; grow accustomed to a think tank's work environment; develop new computer and writing skills and learn how to use new software; and maximize CFR's network by speaking with members and staff about their careers paths.

All interns from the reporting period stated in their exit interviews that they had met their objectives and gained a better sense of their individual career goals because of their internship. The following are select testimonials provided by Robina Franklin Williams interns from the reporting period:

"It was an insightful experience that has helped shaped my career trajectory. Every day came with new tasks and challenges, which gave me the opportunity to gain more relevant career skills." —*Ayobami Egunyomi, Fall 2017*

"The archival research skills I developed at CFR helped me get a research position at Columbia University and will be helpful when I'm conducting research projects on my own in the future. I also think having a better understanding of what it's like to work at a place like CFR...has been really valuable as I consider my plans after college." —*Anamaría Lopez, Fall 2017*

"Tom [Thomas Bollyky, Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics and Development] encouraged me to pick my topic to publish a blog [post]. It was great!" —*Merykokeb Belay, Spring 2018*

"Ashley [Tabatha's supervisor] is very skilled in what she does and taught me a lot about the mentality and style of work expected at an institution like CFR. Additionally, she was willing to provide me with professional development assistance (resume/cover letter help, advice on the job hunt) that was crucial to me in this stage of my career... The skills I have learned here have given me the confidence to continue to apply to research-oriented roles in the near future. I also am more interested in publishing more pieces in the future due to my experience preparing a piece here at CFR. Finally, I feel overall more knowledgeable about my field and excited to apply to more China-centric jobs." —*Tabatha Anderson, Spring 2018*

"This internship definitely contributed to my research skills and my networking abilities. I like that we were encouraged to attend Council meetings, and that I was encouraged to reach out to DC staff during my trip. It pushed me out of my comfort zone and was a good exercise in networking." —*Shamsa Derrick, Summer 2018*

"Because I plan on entering a career in government, I am glad to have improved my writing and researching abilities. Additionally, sharpening my critical thinking skills and expanding my knowledge areas was important to me as I plan to enter into graduate studies, where these abilities are important."
—*Sofia Ruiz, Fall 2018*

Application Process

CFR's HR department received more than **one thousand applications** from summer 2017 to spring 2019 **for the sixteen** Robina Franklin Williams internship positions. CFR also considered diverse candidates from the general internship pool of close to nine thousand applicants over the same period. Those chosen as interns went through a rigorous selection process that consisted of a review of each candidate's academic credentials and prior experience along with interviews conducted by two or more members of CFR's mid-level or senior staff. Robina Franklin Williams intern applicants were also required to complete two essay questions on the importance of diversity in international relations.

Promotion

CFR's HR department continued to promote the Robina Franklin Williams internship program through several avenues, including on CFR's award-winning website, CFR.org, with historically black colleges and universities, through CFR departments that organize outreach and networking events with educators and students; and on CFR's social media accounts. The Robina Franklin Williams internship program was also promoted at the 2018 Conference on Diversity in International Affairs as well as with Global Access Pipeline and the International Career Advancement Program and their affiliates.

CFR also sent representatives to the following career fairs to promote the Robina Franklin Williams internship program, along with the general internship program and entry-level positions at both CFR locations:

- American University Job and Internship Fair
- Arizona State University Career Fair
- Atlanta University Career Consortium Fair
- Barnard College Career Fair
- City College of New York Fair
- Columbia University Career Fair
- Fordham University Career Fair
- George Washington University Career Fair
- Georgetown University Career Fair
- Hampton University Career Fair
- Harvard College Career Fair
- Hofstra University Career Fair
- Howard University Career Fair
- HBCU Career Fair
- Johns Hopkins SAIS Career Fair
- Manhattan College Career Fair
- Princeton University Career Fair
- Rutgers University, Newark Career Fair
- Seton Hall University Career Fair
- St. John's University Career Fair
- The Macaulay Honors College at Hunter College

These career fairs were chosen for several reasons, including their proximity to New York or Washington, DC; the level of diversity of student bodies; and their reputations for strong programs in international relations, political science, or related fields. In addition to attending the fairs, in fall 2018 CFR had information sessions at public colleges around New York City, which are some of the most diverse in the nation. The colleges included Hunter College, City College of New York, Baruch College, and John Jay College of Criminal Justice. There were twenty to thirty students in attendance in these ninety minute long sessions of CFR presentation and Q&A.

Appendix: Robina Franklin Williams Intern Biographies

Rachael Sullivan, Africa Studies, Summer 2017

At the time of her internship, *Rachael Sullivan* was entering her second year of her Master's in Public Administration at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. She holds a BA in international affairs from the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. Rachael previously interned at the Security Force Monitor Project, Human Rights Institute, Columbia Law School, the New Mexico State Senate with Senator Tim Keller, the U.S. Department of State, Y-USA, and was a congressional intern for Representative Martin Heinrich.

Sabriyya Pate, International Economics, Summer 2017

At the time of her internship, *Sabriyya Pate* was a rising junior at Duke University majoring in public policy studies and minoring in political science. Prior to CFR, Sabriyya was a research assistant in Duke's political science department, a resident assistant with Duke University Housing and Residential Life, and a policy and research intern for the Hate Crimes Working Group, Lawyers for Human Rights in South Africa. She was also a researcher at the Nigerian Ministry of Health.

Anamaria Lopez, International Economics, History, Fall 2017

At the time of her internship, *Anamaria Lopez* was a junior at Columbia University majoring in Economics. Anamaria previously interned at the Center for a New Economy and the Institute for New Economic Thinking. She was also a research assistant with the Columbia Business School, the Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.

Ewodaghe Harrell, Global Health, Fall 2017

At the time of her internship, *Ewodaghe Harrell* had recently graduated from Brown University with a Master's in Public Health. She also holds a BA in political science and modern languages from Union College. Ewodaghe previously interned for the National Kidney Foundation, Bloomberg Philanthropies, and the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

Ayobami Egunyomi, Africa Studies, Fall 2017

At the time of her internship, *Ayobami Egunyomi* was a recent graduate of Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis with a BA in international relations and French and a 4.0 grade point average. Ayobami was the program coordinator at IUPUI IT Academy and studied French in Benin and France.

Tabatha Anderson, China Studies, Spring 2018

At the time of her internship, *Tabatha Anderson* was a senior at the University of Maryland majoring in Chinese and government & politics and concentrating in international relations. She has also interned with the U.S. Department of State and was an Ambassadors Walter and Leonore Annenberg Fellow and a Global Fellow at the University of Maryland. She has also studied abroad in Taiwan and China.

Meryokeb Belay, Global Health, Spring 2018

At the time of her internship, *Meryokeb Belay* was a recent graduate of Manchester University in North Manchester, Indiana receiving a BS in biology and minor in international studies, peace studies. Prior to CFR, she interned with the Center for International Reproductive Health Training and worked on campus in the department of biology at Manchester University.

Christine Jiha, Corporate, Global Business, Summer 2018

At the time of her internship, *Christine Jiha* was a rising junior at the George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs majoring in international affairs with a concentration in

international development and international economics. Prior to CFR, Christine interned for UNICEF USA in summer 2017. She is involved in many activities at her university, including University Tees and Sigma Delta Tau's philanthropy and community service.

Shamsa Derrick, Education, Model Diplomacy, Summer 2018

At the time of her internship, *Shamsa Derrick* was a rising junior at Yale University where she was majoring in political science and ethnicity, race, and migration. Prior to CFR, Shamsa interned with MADRE in New York; Project Rousseau in Copenhagen, Denmark; and was a College Aide at Yale University's Hopper College.

Christian Dopico, Corporate, Global Business, Fall 2018

At the time of his internship, *Christian Dopico* was a senior at Fordham University majoring in business economics and minoring in urban studies. Prior to CFR, Christian was a financial representative intern at Northwestern Mutual. He has also worked at the New York City Council as a Constituent Services Liaison and held various positions on Fordham's campus.

Sofia Ruiz, Director of Studies, Fall 2018

At the time of her internship, *Sofia Ruiz* was a sophomore at Johns Hopkins University majoring in political science and international studies. Prior to her internship at CFR, Sofia was a student worker in Johns Hopkins' Private Events Office. She also worked as a teacher's assistant at an art camp in Orinda, Calif. She is active on campus, and is involved in Model UN, the Political Science Steering Committee, and European Horizons.

Maria Gomez Villalba, Global Communications and Media Relations, Fall 2018

At the time of her internship, *Maria Gomez Villalba* was a sophomore at Fordham University majoring in international political economy with a global business concentration, and minoring in marketing. Prior to her internship at CFR, Maria was a seasonal sales associate at Nordstrom. She is active on Fordham's campus and is involved in Fashion for Philanthropy and the Rose Hill Society, in which she meets with prospective students.

LaTreshia Hamilton, Women in Foreign Policy Program, Spring 2019

LaTreshia Hamilton is a graduate student at the James A. Baker, III Institute for Public Policy and the School of Social Sciences at Rice University. She has a Juris Doctorate from Loyola University New Orleans College of Law and a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology from Texas Tech University. Prior to interning with CFR, LaTreshia was a law clerk in the Harris County Civil District Court in Houston. She has also served as a legislative aide in the Senate of Texas and Texas House of Representatives.

Oneika Pryce, Education, World 101, Spring 2019

Oneika Pryce is a senior majoring in international studies at The City College of New York, where she is also a Colin Powell- Partners for Change Fellow. Prior to interning with CFR, Oneika spent the summer in Puerto Rico as part of the CUNY Service Corps to aid in post-disaster rebuilding efforts. She also interned with IFCO/ Pastors for Peace and the National Disability Rights Network, and was a project leader for the New York Public Interest Research Group.

Kwolanne Felix, Foreign Affairs, Business, Publishing Spring 2019

Kwolanne Felix is a freshman majoring in history with a concentration in social and cultural anthropology at Columbia University. Prior to interning with CFR, Kwolanne interned with the All Womxn Project, an organization dedicated to girls and womxn empowerment. She is also the First Year Representative to the Queer and Trans Advisory Board of Multicultural Affairs and the Executive Board Freshman Representative to the Questbridge Network at Columbia University.

Financial Report for the James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance Fund and the Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund

As of December 31, 2018

Endowment Fund Name	Pledged	Received/ Invested	Return on Investment	Endowment Fund Balance	Draw (FY19)
James H. Binger Chair in Global Governance Fund	\$5,000,000	\$3,333,333*	\$242,200	\$3,575,533	\$50,700
Robina Franklin Williams Internship Fund	\$1,320,000	\$1,320,000	\$171,300	\$1,491,300	\$37,600

** does not include the final payment of \$1,666,666 received on January 30, 2019*



The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery Resistance, and Abolition

AT THE WHITNEY AND BETTY MACMILLAN CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES

Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition
MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies, Yale University
Robina Foundation Annual Report Year 3 and 4 (2018-2019)

February 2019

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INTRODUCTION

The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition is pleased to provide a report on the activities supported by a generous four-year grant from the Robina Foundation.

BACKGROUND

In December 2015, the Robina Foundation awarded the Gilder Lehrman Center (GLC) a four-year grant totaling \$1,424,709. This report includes an update on projects undertaken during Award Year 3 (2018) and projections for how the GLC will complete the projects for the final year of funding, Award Year 4 (2019). The general project areas of the Center covered by Robina Foundation funding include Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery (HTMDS); New Media and Communications Initiatives; Teacher Outreach, including a three-year international Africa Teachers' Institute; and the annual Gilder Lehrman Center-Yale Public History Institute.

GOALS

The primary goal of the Gilder Lehrman Center is to promote rigorous scholarship and outreach concerning all aspects of slavery, its long destruction, and its many living legacies across all borders and all time. As the first and foremost center in the world for the study of slavery, the Center serves as a hub for research, public education, and international academic networking. With support from the Robina Foundation, the goal of the Center is to expand its institutional leadership in the public understanding of and accountability for the profound social injustices caused by historical and modern forms of forced labor.

OBJECTIVES

- Raise the profile of the Gilder Lehrman Center within Yale University and nationally;
- Create knowledge about the history and legacy of slavery through a robust research fellowship program;
- Develop an international network to provide scholarly foundations for activists and policymakers working toward the abolition of contemporary forced labor and human trafficking;
- Promote international interaction between secondary school educators and the Center; and
- Produce and circulate academically grounded educational materials for public schools and general audiences.

PROGRESS TOWARD GOALS

Administration

- Full-time staff hired: Michelle Zacks, Associate Director; Thomas Thurston, Director of Education; Daniel Vieira, Media Project Manager
- Part-time staff: Melissa McGrath, Administrative Assistant; student assistants Sophia Catsambi and Camila Guiza-Chavez

A brief summary regarding each project area for Award Year 3 (2018) follows. Refer to the Work Plan below (pages 8 through 12) for the goals and intended outcomes of Gilder Lehrman Center activities in the four project areas for Award Year 4 (2019).

Program Area 1. Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery (HTMDS)

- **The GLC-Robina Modern Slavery postdoctoral fellowship** was granted to one Senior Fellow in 2018-2019: Ambassador Luis C.deBaca (ret.). As a prosecutor in the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, C.deBaca was a coordinator of the Involuntary Servitude and Slavery (ISS) program. The work of this program led to the creation of the U.S. Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the U.N. "Palermo" Protocol. Amb. C.deBaca also held a cabinet-level position in the Obama administration as the Director of the US Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.

Projects that Amb. C.deBaca is working on during his tenure with the Gilder Lehrman Center include:

Teaching: "Modern Slavery and the Thirteenth Amendment in American Law" (Undergraduate seminar; Spring 2019)

Book manuscript: "The 13th Amendment and the History of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act"

Public programs: Brown bag lunch presentation; panel discussion; GLC Annual Conference participant (November 2018)

Oral history project: Conducting interviews with approximately ten former prosecutors in the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division ISS Program; developing a GLC archive to house the interview recordings and transcripts, along with other relevant primary sources pertaining to the prosecution of contemporary coerced labor and human trafficking

GLC Strategic Advisory Group member. To assist with GLC long-term planning, Amb. C.deBaca is working with GLC Director David Blight, Yale administrators, and GLC consultants to identify new funding sources and potential donors; coordinating with other Yale units (School of Management, Law School, and School of Public Health) to position the GLC as a hub for university-wide efforts to address modern slavery; and networking with governmental and nonprofit agencies engaged in combatting modern slavery to highlight the Center's efforts.

- **Modern Slavery Working Group**

Third meeting: On April 20-21, 2018, this international group of scholars convened in New Haven to workshop chapters of their edited volume and outline steps for completion; complete planning of the GLC Annual Conference; and complete paired podcast recordings

Fourth meeting: On November 1-2, 2018, the GLC Modern Slavery Working Group formed the core participants in the 20th Annual GLC Conference, "Fighting Modern Slavery: What Works?" Approximately thirty internationally renowned scholars, organized into six panels and a keynote lecture, shared research-based reflections on effective strategies for combatting exploitative practices in the global economy. Approximately 150 people attended the conference. All panels were livestreamed. Conference schedule and videos of each panel are available here: <https://glc.yale.edu/events/conferences/2018-annual-conference/schedule>

Paired podcast recordings: Seven audio interviews, each a conversation between two Working Group members sharing points of commonality and differences in each other's work, have been produced and posted to the GLC Modern Slavery Working Group website:

<https://modernslavery.yale.edu/digital-resources/podcasts>

Short videos. Two new short films have been produced:

About Us: GLC Director David Blight and historian Jessica Pliley discuss the origins, mission, and accomplishments of the GLC Modern Slavery Working Group: <https://modernslavery.yale.edu/about-us>

David Blight and Jessica Pliley discuss themes in Human Trafficking and Sex Work scholarship: <https://modernslavery.yale.edu/digital-resources/video>

Program Area 2. New Media and Communications Initiatives

- use?*
- **Staffing:** Funding from the Robina Foundation enabled the GLC to create a new Media Project Manager position. Daniel Vieira was hired for a two-year position from 2016-2018. Mr. Vieira has initiated the video-recording, livestreaming, and photography of all GLC public events; produced and planned short films; and developed the GLC podcast series of audio interviews with each GLC visiting fellow and affiliated scholars. Mr. Vieira's work is central to the core missions of the GLC. Beginning in 2019, with Robina funding for this position at an end, the MacMillan Center at Yale has agreed to provide short-term bridge funding for Mr. Vieira's salary while the GLC develops its long-term funding strategies.
 - **GLC website:** Updates to the website include revision of the architecture; placing the News Feed as the central pivotal point of the site; redesign of the calendar for increased accessibility; and more robust event pages, including press coverage and video and other digital media.
 - **Satellite web pages:** To enhance the appearance and functionality of GLC digital resources, Mr. Vieira created the following satellite pages:
 - Modern Slavery Working Group site: <https://modernslavery.yale.edu/>
 - Slavery and Its Legacies podcast series site: <https://slaveryanditslegacies.yale.edu/>
 - "Shared Histories" Africa Institute workshop series site (in process, with the assistance of Yale Printing and Publishing Services)
 - **Slavery and Its Legacies** podcast series: during 2018, 19 podcast episodes were recorded; 14 episodes were edited and posted
 - **Slavery and Abolition** portal: This GLC sponsored website, which facilitates primary source research within Yale collections, has been made more accessible and its links have been updated: <https://slavery.yale.edu/>
 - **Digital Humanities (DH) Symposium:** On May 4, 2018, "The Study of Slavery and Abolition in the Digital Age." At this symposium, the GLC Digital Humanities Postdoctoral Fellow Dr. Joseph Yannielli and his students presented a prototype of the "Runaway New England" website. Presenters from four other digital projects presented the status of their work. Audience discussion produced ideas for refining and disseminating the results of these projects. An informal dinner discussion among all of the presenters allowed the project developers to network, share ideas, and troubleshoot particular problems.

Program Area 3. Teacher Outreach and Africa Teachers' Institute

- January-December 2018: Approximately thirty secondary school teachers from the New Haven metropolitan area participated in a series of five professional development workshops led by GLC Director of Education Thomas Thurston. The workshops addressed historical and cultural connections between the United States, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and the Sudan.
- During 2018, Mr. Thurston made seven classroom visits to regional teachers taking part in the international Africa Institute: "Shared Histories: Teaching Post-Conflict Reconstruction in South Africa, Sierra Leone, and the United States," a three-year series of weeklong, international institutes involving cohorts of 10 teachers from each of the African countries and twenty from the United States.
- From June 18-22, 2018, the GLC continued its partnerships with two New Haven high schools (Amity and Wilbur Cross) to institute a summer workshop for high school students. Called "Exploring Justice," the program combines classroom activities with field trips to provide 40

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students with opportunities to engage with the work of local social justice organizations as well as the criminal justice system. In addition to Mr. Thurston, GLC-affiliated Yale graduate students Amanda Hall and Connor Williams assisted with the program.

- From June 17-30, 2018, Mr. Thurston served as the organizer for "The Long Civil Rights Movement," a National Endowment for the Humanities Teachers Institute hosted by the MacMillan Center at Yale University and sponsored by South Central Connecticut's Area Cooperative Educational Services (ACES).
- From February 2-12, 2018, Mr. Thurston took a planning trip to Sierra Leone in preparation for that country's "Shared Histories" workshop. While in Sierra Leone, he met with the principal Sierra Leone project partner, Professor Joe Alie at Fourah Bay College; Oliver Harding, Library Director, Fourah Bay College Library; Albert Moore, director, National Archives; and the U.S. Embassy Public Affairs Officer. He also toured several of the sites where field trips will be conducted, including the Sierra Leone Peace Museum, the Sierra Leone National Museum, Bunce Island, and the Yakala ruins, a fortified city in northern Sierra Leone which was constructed to resist slavers in the region. Mr. Thurston also visited several of the participating schools and teachers in order to identify lodging, classroom facilities, and video conferencing centers in Freetown.
- July 7-15, 2018, Johannesburg, South Africa: Ten U.S. and ten South African teachers met for their international institute (taught by Professor Daniel Magaziner, Yale University). Media Project Manager Daniel Vieira accompanied Mr. Thurston to document the institute through video and audio recordings, collection of ambient sound and images, and interviewing of participants. Lectures and discussions at the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg were led by Prof. Magaziner along with several guest lecturers, including Seth Mazibuko, a youth and student leadership organizer. Mr. Mazibuko was the youngest member of the South African Students' Organization, which planned and led the Soweto uprising. Participants also visited several classrooms; engaged in afternoon field trips to Johannesburg, Pretoria and Soweto; and attended evening musical, theatrical, and sports performances. Since the workshops, the teachers have been collaborating on classroom projects through various internet platforms.
- December 26, 2018-January 6, 2019, Freetown, Sierra Leone: GLC staff members Thurston and Vieira traveled with a group of ten U.S. teachers to join the ten Sierra Leonean teachers for their international workshop (taught by Prof. Joe Alie, University of Sierra Leone, and Prof. Joseph Opala, emeritus, James Madison University). Lectures and discussion sessions were held at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, complemented by field trips to sites throughout the country. The Sierra Leonean and the U.S. teachers shared model lesson plans and began developing collaborative projects. Mr. Vieira documented the institute through video and audio recordings, collection of ambient sound and images, and interviewing of participants.

Program Area 4. Gilder Lehrman Center-Yale Public History Institute

* June 20-22, 2018: With support from the Robina Foundation and the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, the GLC hosted a small working group to review the past six years of the Yale Public History Institute and make plans for the future. Richard Rabinowitz and Lynda Kaplan (both of the American History Workshop) facilitated the working group. Participants included:

- GLC Director and Yale Professor of History David W. Blight
- GLC Associate Director Michelle Zacks
- Cassie Chinn, Deputy Executive Director, Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience

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- Cynthia Copeland, President, Institute for the Preservation of Seneca Village History
- Benjamin Filene, Chief Curator, North Carolina Museum of History
- Jan Ramirez, Chief Curator, National September 11 Memorial Museum
- Fath Davis Ruffins, Curator, Division of Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History
- Malgorzata Rymasz-Pawlowska, Director, Graduate Program in Public History and Asst. Professor, Department of History, American University
- Jessica Sack, Director of Education, Yale University Art Gallery
- Deborah Schwartz, President, Brooklyn Historical Society
- Gretchen Sorin, Director & Distinguished Professor, Cooperstown Graduate Program
- David Thelen, Emeritus Professor of History, Indiana University-Bloomington
- Noelle Trent, Director of Interpretation, Collections, and Education, National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis

Staff members from the Minnesota Historical Society were invited but unable to attend. The group suggested organizing the upcoming PHIs by inviting small teams from selected institutions, each of which will have the opportunity to workshop a proposed public history project. Three to four “difficult history” thematic areas will be chosen as a focus for particular days throughout the week. The program would begin with a Sunday evening dinner, brief keynote lecture, introduction to the goals of the program, and participants’ introduction of themselves and their proposed project. Each day of the PHI would begin with brief lectures, followed by presentations of case studies from institutions that have successfully engaged with a “difficult history” topic relevant to their community. In the afternoon, experienced public history practitioners will present a tools and methods workshop, followed by a workshop focused on a proposed project from each participant institution.

PROJECT TIMING AND COMPLETION

Program Area I. Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery (HTMDS)

The Robina Foundation provided funding for three Modern Slavery Postdoctoral Fellows beginning in Year 2 (June 2017) and continuing in Year 3 (2018) and Year 4 (2019). These correspond with Academic Year 2016-2017: Prof. Tammy Ingram; AY2017-2018: Prof. Gunther Peck; and AY2018-2019: Amb. Luis C.deBaca (ret.). With Robina funding for the Modern Slavery Fellowships at an end, Yale’s MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies has renewed and will cover the costs for Amb. C.deBaca’s Senior Fellowship position for an additional two years. As we pursue long-term funding, the GLC will offer one additional fellowship for AY2019-2020 using general operating funds.

Program Area II. New Media Communications

Short film and curricular materials on voting suppression: After extension consultation about potential collaborations, the Gilder Lehrman Center and Duke University colleagues decided to produce two complementary, independent projects. The Center’s colleagues at Duke intend to produce a short film exploring efforts to expand and contract the electoral franchise in tandem with issues surrounding white supremacy and Confederate monuments within North Carolina. The GLC will continue to develop curricular materials based on the November 2016 GLC panel discussion “The Right to Vote: Protection or Suppression Since 1965.” As a core component of these materials, the GLC is developing a proposal for a graphic narrative exploring the contemporary national crises of voting suppression within the context of the long history of post-Civil War restrictions of full citizenship for African Americans. To develop this proposal, the GLC is working with freelance author Jake Halpern, co-

recipient of the 2018 Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Cartooning for the *New York Times* graphic serial, "Welcome to the New World," which tells the story of a Syrian refugee family's journey to the United States. The GLC proposes to use \$15,000 of Robina funds as seed money for this project. Mr. Halpern proposes pitching the idea to the *New York Times* or the *New Yorker* as a digital project, with the GLC retaining rights to print format, which would be distributed to secondary school teachers and students.

Program Area III. Teacher Outreach and Africa Teachers' Institute

The third phase of this institute will take place at Yale University during summer 2019. The ten teachers from South Africa and ten from Sierra Leone will travel to New Haven during June and July 2019 to engage with their U.S. counterparts in workshops focused on Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Details are provided in the Work Plan.

Program Area IV. GLC Yale Public History Institute

The Yale PHI 2019 is scheduled for June 9-14, 2019. The program structure is being refined through follow-up planning meetings between the GLC, the American History Workshop, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture. Participant lists are in formation and invitations will be issued in February 2019. The Robina Foundation's contributions toward funding for this program extended from Years 1 through 3 (2016—2018). NMAAHC funding continues and long-term additional funding for this program is being sought.

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FINANCIAL REPORT

Financial Report								
MacMillan Center: Gilder Lehrman Center								
Robina Foundation								
12/31/2018								
	YR1 + YR2 + YR3 budget	YR1 actuals through 12/31/16	YR2 actuals through 12/31/17	YR3 actuals through 12/31/18	Balance carry into YR4	YR 4 budget	Projected expenses in YR4	Projected balance by 12/31/19
Teacher Workshops and Outreach	351,629.25	67,861.09	105,404.66	195,220.70	-16,857.20	150,848.00	231,293.12	-97,302.32
Yale Public History Institute	96,000.00	13,977.36	24,010.55	13,078.62	44,933.47		0.00	44,933.47
Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery Initiatives	264,000.00	84.00	107,053.22	132,242.35	24,620.43		41,060.23	-16,439.80
Media Production and Online Initiatives	256,400.00	34,894.56	68,516.54	98,376.92	54,611.98		24,462.84	30,149.14
Additional Staff Resources	120,000.00	8,084.05	26,633.20	36,906.80	48,375.95		9,716.44	38,659.51
Program total	1,088,029.25	124,901.06	331,618.17	475,825.39	155,684.63	150,848.00	306,532.63	0.00
Indirect costs	163,204.39	18,735.25	49,742.99	71,374.16	23,351.99	22,627.20	45,979.19	0.00
Total Expenditures	1,251,233.64	143,636.31	381,361.16	547,199.55	179,036.62	173,475.20	352,511.82	0.00

Explanation of Projected Expenditures

Teacher Workshops and Outreach: Includes expenditures from the Africa Institute-Sierra Leone Workshop (Dec. 2018-Jan. 2019); projected expenses for the two Africa Institutes in June-July 2019; funding for 2019 professional development workshops for teachers in the New Haven metropolitan area; and a portion of GLC Director of Education's salary. The negative final balance in this line item will be met by unspent funds from the other project areas.

Yale Public History Institute: The original budget included 3 years of funding for PHI (2016-2018). No Robina funding will be used for PHI in 2019.

Human Trafficking/Modern Slavery: Expenditures include a portion of Amb. C.deBaca's salary for 2019, and a small amount of follow-up work for the Modern Slavery Working Group.

Media Production: Includes \$15,000 seed money for the voting suppression graphic narrative project; small equipment and transcribing expenditures; and a small portion of GLC Media Project Manager's salary.

Additional Staff Resources: Includes small portion of GLC Administrative Assistant's salary.

UPDATED WORK PLAN, YEARS 3 AND 4

Program Area I: Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery (HTMDS)						
Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion
Advance and deepen knowledge about contemporary forms of coerced labor	Establish cohort of GLC Fellows in Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery (HTMDS) Annually: one Fellow funded through Robina; one through GLC general operating budget	Fall 2018-Spring 2019: Recruited 1 full-year GLC Robina fellow in Modern Slavery: Amb. Luis C.deBaca (ret.)	Aug. 2018	Scholarly community; NGO sector; undergraduate students	GLC long-term planning: networking within the university and within governmental and nonprofit agencies to establish the Center as a hub of scholarly efforts working against modern slavery & human trafficking	May 2019; 2-year MacMillan Ctr. renewal: 2019-2021
					C.deBaca Course: "Modern Slavery and the 13 th Amendment in American Law" (undergraduate seminar, History Dept.)	Spring 2019
					Further undergraduate seminars, cross-listed with History Dept. and Law School; possible graduate level course; mentoring of student groups	Spring 2020; Spring 2021
					C.deBaca manuscript in process: "Slavery in a Time of Freedom: Confronting Human Trafficking in the Modern Era"	Draft expected Dec. 2020
					Planning and participating in GLC public programming: brown bag presentations; panel discussions; conference organizing; podcast recording	Spring 2021
					Oral history project with Dept. of Justice Involuntary Servitude & Slavery prosecutors	Spring 2021
		Fall 2019-Spring 2020: Recruit 1 full-year postdoctoral fellow using GLC operating funds	Aug. 2019	Scholarly community; NGO sector; students	Teach one undergraduate course; work on a publication; record podcast interview; engage in GLC public programming;	May 2020

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Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition at Yale University
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Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion
Build field of scholarly research on human trafficking and modern slavery internationally; train and equip leaders working to secure human rights against harms caused by contemporary forced labor	Develop ties with individual scholars and academic research centers; create research-based guidelines, analysis, and policy recommendations	GLC Modern Slavery Working Group Comprised of thirteen scholars from four countries and from political science, history, rhetoric and literature, sociology, law, and business Co-chairs: - Genevieve LeBaron (Professor, Dept. of Politics, Univ. of Sheffield, UK); - Jessica Pliley (Associate Professor, Dept. of History, Texas State Univ.)	Summer 2016	Research groups across the globe; broad scholarly community; NGO community; engaged members of the public	• New web-based resources: bibliographies, blog, syllabi • Interdisciplinary, collaborative projects among working group members • 20th Annual GLC Conference, "Fighting Modern Slavery: What Works?" (Nov. 2018): Transcriptions of panel videos and report summarizing conference findings planned • Edited volume: <i>Fighting Modern Slavery: Tales from the Field</i>. Featuring the Working Group scholars, this book focuses on research-based evaluations of what works and what does not in combatting human trafficking and forced labor.	Ongoing Ongoing Fall 2019 April 2018: Chapter drafts workshopped at 3rd WG meeting; Fall 2019: Planned submission of book to Yale Univ. Press

Program Area II: New Media – Communications

Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion date
Bridge academic research and general public	Share GLC resources with broad community through digital platforms	GLC podcast series, <i>Slavery & Its Legacies</i> . Short audio interviews with GLC visiting fellows and affiliated scholars about their work	Sept. 2016	General public; university students & faculty	Listen: https://slaveryanditslegacies.yale.edu/ • 36 episodes launched • Approximately 50,000 plays reported (on iTunes, Soundcloud, YouTube) • Local community and public radio stations will be contacted for increased distribution possibilities	Ongoing

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Program Area III: Africa Teachers' Institute and Teacher Outreach						
Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion date
Enhance the intellectual lives of teachers on two continents; create models for teaching national trauma & its aftermaths; encourage international communication between students	Develop multiyear program: "Shared Histories: Teaching Post-Conflict Reconstruction in South Africa, Sierra Leone, and the United States,"	Four week-long institutes with a cohort of ten teachers from South Africa and Sierra Leone and twenty from the United States, focused on learning and teaching about apartheid, slavery, and civil war	Sept. 2016 (planning)	Secondary school teachers & students-international	- Interactive web platform - Electronic networks for international exchange - Curricular materials and teaching modules - Video journals, visual documentation, and written reports	Dec. 2019
		Visits from African teachers to the U.S. Instructor of record: Prof. Keisha Blain	Summer 2019		- Travel and lodging logistics and syllabus in development - Readings, discussions, and field trips to regional sites will focus on the history of Jim Crow and the Long Civil Rights Movement - U.S. teachers planning meals and social gatherings in addition to syllabus	July 2019
		Sierra Leone teachers meet with their U.S. counterparts	June 14-22, 2019			
		South African teachers meet with their U.S. counterparts	June 28-July 6, 2019	Regional secondary school administrators & teachers; general public	Two day symposium featuring U.S. teachers and students sharing results of the TransAtlantic collaborations; keynote by activist Seth Mazibuko	Spring 2020
		"TransAtlantic Classroom Collaborations" Symposium at Yale	2018 (planning; solicitation of funding)			

Program Area III: Africa Teachers' Institute and Teacher Outreach (cont'd)						
Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion date
Enhance the intellectual lives of teachers; improve effectiveness of classroom teaching difficult issues	Professional development for regional middle and high school teachers	Monthly workshops including visiting guest lectures, documents for classroom use, discussion	Jan. 2019	Secondary school teachers & students	- Intellectual enrichment - Enhanced teaching methodologies and resources - Engagement of teachers and students with contemporary social and political crises	Dec. 2019
Foster social awareness and community participation among area high school students	Direct engagement between local students, organizations & institutions	"Exploring Justice"- Weeklong student seminars: speakers, discussion, field trips, participation in local events	June 2019	45-50 New Haven area high school students each year	- Teachers use students' summer experience as basis for independent projects in following school year - Community service credits	Projects-ongoing

Program Area IV: GLC Yale Public History Institute (PHI)						
Goal	Strategy	Actions	Start date	Target audience	Outcome/Dissemination	Completion date
Bridge academic research and the knowledge of practitioners to enhance the field of public history; integrate experience and innovation	Develop models for public history knowledge & interpretation	GLC- Yale Public History Institute 2019: weeklong summer seminar to explore innovative ways to interpret "difficult history" for the broader public, led by eminent public historians and scholars	Nov. 2018 (planning)	Practicing public historians; staff at cultural institutions; graduate students; public history audiences	- Professional networks for public historians - Enhanced historical knowledge and interpretation skills - Exhibits and programming grounded in scholarly excellence Working Group structured by themes central to the public interpretation of history, including: shared narratives vs. community self-expression; questions of authority and cultural appropriation; technology vs. the "real thing"	June 2019

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, May 5, 2019
6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 6, 2019
8:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.
6:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 7, 2019
8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.*

The 2019 Council of Councils Annual Conference

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the Robina Foundation. The annual session on global health, Session Three: Confronting the Challenges of a Rapidly Urbanizing World, is made possible by the generous support of Bloomberg Philanthropies (www.bloomberg.org).

Council of Councils Mission Statement

The defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-eight major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles within members' countries.

Participants are welcome to disclose ideas from CoC meetings, and may attribute that information to the CoC, but may not reveal the identity, country, or affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On- and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media websites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

BRAZIL

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CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

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FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

JAPAN

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Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

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Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

SAUDI ARABIA

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

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SOUTH AFRICA

Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Eighth Annual Conference

Sunday, May 5, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Reception, Discussion, and Opening Dinner*

The Evolving U.S. Domestic Political Landscape and Its Implications for International Cooperation

Speakers:

Michèle Flournoy, *Cofounder and Managing Partner, WestExec Advisors; Former Undersecretary for Policy, U.S. Department of Defense*

Edward R. Royce, *Policy Director, Brownstein Hyatt Farber Schreck; Former U.S. Representative from California (R) and Former Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs*

Moderator:

James M. Lindsay, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Welcoming Remarks:

Richard N. Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Monday, May 6, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

What Should the Future World Order Look Like?

Guiding Questions: What is wrong with the existing world order? Where is it falling short the most? Can it be salvaged or incrementally reformed, or should it be transformed more comprehensively? What new global norms, rules, and institutions should take priority? How should it be buttressed? How do we get there from where we are today?

Facilitator:

Samir Saran, *President, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Opening Remarks:

Michael Fullilove, *Executive Director, Lowy Institute (Australia)*

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

Second Floor Reception Area

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Managing Global Catastrophic Risk: Nuclear Weapons

Guiding Questions: What challenges do changing global power dynamics and new technologies—ballistic missile defense systems, anti-satellite weapons, and hypersonic missiles—pose to the classic model of arms control and the nuclear deterrence

landscape? How can countries adapt to these changes and cooperate to manage the risks of escalation and prevent a new nuclear arms race? As the norms against nuclear weapons proliferation erode and insecurity increases, what new policies or frameworks can reestablish nuclear stability and reduce and eventually eliminate the risk of nuclear weapons use?

Facilitator:

Gilead Sher, Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations,
Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Opening Remarks:

Wu Chunsi, Director of the Institute of International Strategic Studies,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

12:15 p.m.–12:45 p.m. Lunch

First Floor Reception Area

12:45 p.m.–1:45 p.m. Public Session

First Floor Conference Room

A Century of Think Tanks

Panelists:

Thierry de Montbrial, Executive Chairman,
French Institute of International Relations (France)

Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

Robin Niblett, Director, Chatham House (United Kingdom)

Moderator:

Karen Donfried, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

1:45 p.m.–2:00 p.m. Coffee Break

Second Floor Reception Area

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. Session Three

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Confronting the Challenges of a Rapidly Urbanizing World

Guiding Questions: What are the environmental and health challenges emerging from a rapidly urbanizing world? What approaches and interventions are proving effective in addressing these challenges? What more should multilateral and bilateral donors be doing to help lower-income nations adapt to this changing environmental and health landscape? What is the role of the private sector in confronting these challenges?

Facilitator:

Alyssa Ayres, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Opening Remarks:

Thomas J. Bollyky, Senior Fellow for Global Health, Economics, and Development
and Director of the Global Health Program,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

3:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m.

(Optional)

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Remarks on the Paris Peace Forum

Speaker:

Justin Vaïsse, Director General and Founder, Paris Peace Forum

4:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m.

Free Time

6:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m.

Reception, Discussion, and Dinner

Council on Foreign Relations

A Conversation With Elliott Abrams

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

Speaker:

Elliott Abrams, U.S. Special Representative for Venezuela,
U.S. Department of State

Moderator:

Andrés Rozental, Founding President, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations
(Mexico)

Tuesday, May 7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

8:00 a.m.–8:30 a.m.

Registration and Light Breakfast

8:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m.

Public Session

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch

Panelists:

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Sunjoy Joshi, Chairman and Chief Executive,
Observer Research Foundation (India)

Moderator:

Mara Liasson, National Political Correspondent, National Public Radio

9:45 a.m.–10:00 a.m.

Coffee Break

First Floor Reception Area

10:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m.

Session Four

First Floor Conference Room

How Do We Ensure Freedom Has a Future?

Guiding Questions: What is the global trend with respect to human freedom? What effect are globalization and technological innovation having on human rights and democracy? What should be the role of the multilateral system in advancing universal conceptions of human rights?

Facilitator:

Memduh Karakullukçu, Vice Chairman and President,
Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

Opening Remarks:

Sook Jong Lee, Senior Fellow, East Asia Institute (South Korea)

11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Lunch*

Eighth Floor

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Session Five*

First Floor Conference Room

Global Governance Working Papers: Multilateral Responses to a Planetary Environmental Crisis

Panelists:

Susanne Droege, Senior Fellow, Global Issues Division,

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Oliver Geden, Head of the European Union/Europe Research Division,

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Maria Panezi, Research Fellow,

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Facilitator:

Stewart M. Patrick, James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance and
Director of the International Institutions and Global Governance Program,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

1:30 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Coffee Break*

First Floor Reception Area

1:45 p.m.–2:45 p.m. *Session Six*

First Floor Conference Room

Multilateral Conflict Management: Yemen

Guiding Questions: How can the United Nations' attempts at mediation move forward, particularly given the stalled implementation of the UN-brokered Stockholm Agreement? What lessons can be learned for future mediation efforts? What political and security conditions need to be established to diminish the incentives of supporting the growing proxy war?

Facilitator:

Volker Perthes, Executive Chairman and Director,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Opening Remarks:

Patrycja Sasnal, *Deputy Head of Research and Head of the Middle East and North Africa Program, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

2:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.

Closing Remarks and Wrap-Up

First Floor Conference Room

Speaker:

Richard N. Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Participant Biographies

Alyssa Ayres

Alyssa Ayres is senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations. Ayres served as U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia from 2010 to 2013, and has more than twenty-five years of experience in India and South Asia spanning the government, nonprofit, and private sectors. She served as project director for two bipartisan task forces on U.S.-India relations, coedited three books on India and Indian foreign policy, and wrote a book about nationalism in Pakistan, *Speaking Like a State*. Her latest book, *Our Time Has Come: How India Is Making Its Place in the World*, is about India's rise. She holds an AB from Harvard College and an MA and PhD from the University of Chicago.

Steven Blockmans

Belgium Steven Blockmans is the head of European Union foreign policy at the Centre for European Policy Studies and professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam. Blockmans has advised governments in wider Europe and Asia on their relations with the EU. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as More Union in European Defence and Regroup and Reform: Towards a More Responsive and Effective European Union. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the neighborhood policy in context of the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy. He is an editor of fifteen academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

Thomas J. Bollyky

Thomas J. Bollyky is director of the global health program and senior fellow for global health, economics, and development at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is also an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University. Bollyky directed the first CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force devoted to global health, titled *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. He is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways*. Prior to joining CFR, Bollyky was a fellow at the Center for Global Development and director of intellectual property and pharmaceutical policy at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. He was also a Fulbright scholar to South Africa, where he worked as a staff attorney at the AIDS Law Project, and an attorney at Debevoise & Plimpton LLP. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Senate, and his work has appeared in many publications, including *Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *New York Times*. He has served as a consultant to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as a temporary legal advisor to the World Health Organization. In 2013, the World Economic Forum named Bollyky as one of its global leaders under forty. Bollyky received a BA in biology and history from Columbia University and a JD from Stanford Law School.

Mariana Campero

Mexico Mariana Campero is chief executive officer of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Previously, she was vice president of Zemi Communications LLC, a strategic consulting firm that focuses on cross-border communication and strategy for blue-chip corporations and governments in Latin America. Campero was also senior director at Llorente y Cuenca and global coordinator of the AMO Partnership, a global alliance of strategic communications consultancies. She founded Toi & Moi, was a founding partner of Fit-Me in Mexico, and is a member of the advisory council of Citibanamex and a TV commentator. She holds a BBA from the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México and an MA from Columbia University.

Thierry de Montbrial

France Thierry de Montbrial is executive chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), which he founded in 1979, and professor emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he

launched the World Policy Conference. A member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques at the Institut de France since 1992, he is also a member of several other foreign academies. The first chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research, serving from 1993 to 2001, de Montbrial also chaired the department of economics at the Ecole Polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. Earlier, he created the Policy Planning Staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as its first director, from 1973 to 1979. The author of more than twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System* and *Living in Troubled Times*, he is a commander of the Legion of Honor, a grand officer of the National Order of Merit, and a recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun—Gold and Silver Star in Japan in 2009—as well as other state honors. A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, de Montbrial holds a PhD in mathematical economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is an executive committee member of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the World Economic Forum. He also teaches at the Diplomatic Academy of Argentina. He is the author of *Argentina and the World: Steps for Successful Integration*. His second book, *The Rebellion of Nations: the Crisis of Liberalism and the Rise of Popular Conservatism*, will be published in 2019. De Santibañes has written articles for *Armed Forces and Society*, *Comparative Strategy*, and *Archivos del Presente*, and reports for the Center for Strategic and International Studies and CARI. He holds an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and has pursued doctoral studies at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. Argentina

Susanne Droege

Susanne Droege is a senior fellow in the Global Issues Division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), where she specializes in energy, climate, and international economics. She advises the German government, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the UN Environment Program, and the World Trade Organization on climate policy issues. Her work experience encompasses trade and the environment, including economic policy instruments. Her research focuses on emissions trading and countries' climate policy strategies, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change negotiations, security policy implications of climate change, and trade policy implications of nationally determined contributions and the Paris Agreement. Droege teaches university classes in environmental and resource economics. A member of several advisory boards, she has held various positions in German research institutions. She holds an undergraduate diploma from the Free University of Berlin and the University of Warwick and a doctorate from the Leipzig Graduate School of Management. Germany

Anton du Plessis

Anton du Plessis is executive director of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and has worked on human security, international criminal justice, and rule of law issues in more than twenty African countries, with a focus on delivering training and technical assistance to senior law enforcement and criminal justice officials. He is an admitted advocate of the High Court of South Africa with more than fourteen years of legal and management experience. He has been a consultant and expert advisor to various UN entities and other intergovernmental organizations, including the UN Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate and the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. Du Plessis is a World Economic Forum (WEF) Young Global Leader (2014–20) and vice chair of WEF's Global Agenda Council on Terrorism. Before assuming his current positions, he served as head of the Transnational Threats and International Crimes Division, which he founded in 2008 at ISS. Previously, he was a criminal justice and South Africa

counterterrorism legal expert for the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and before that he was head of the crime and justice program at ISS. Du Plessis has also worked as a senior state advocate at the National Prosecuting Authority of South Africa where he specialized in the prosecution of serious and violent offences. He has published numerous articles, book chapters, and training guides and is the coauthor of *Counter-Terrorism Law and Practice*. Du Plessis holds three law degrees, both undergraduate and graduate.

Ralf Emmers

Singapore
Ralf Emmers is dean and president's chair in International Relations at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. His research interests include security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. The author or editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF*, *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, and *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, Emmers has written articles for many peer-reviewed journals, including *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *Global Change*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes. He completed his MSc and PhD in the international relations department of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Italy
Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) and a professor at LUISS University's School of Government. Appointed as Italy's member of the European Commission in 2014, he served as a diplomat from 1972 to 2013 as permanent representative of Italy to the European Union, chief of staff to the Italian minister of foreign affairs, and director general for European integration at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served at the United Nations and in Algeria, China, and France and was also diplomatic counselor to the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers. Nelli Feroci was previously a fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and a visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs. He holds a doctorate in international law from the University of Pisa and a postdoctoral specialization in international relations from SIOS in Rome.

Michael Fullilove

Australia
Michael Fullilove is executive director of the Lowy Institute, serving as director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. He has also been a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul John Keating of Australia, and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He has written several books and writes widely on Australian and U.S. foreign policy for, among others, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *New York Times*, and the Australian press. He graduated in arts and law from the University of Sydney and the University of New South Wales, with dual university medals. Fullilove studied as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, where he received a master's degree and a doctorate in international relations.

Oliver Geden

Germany
Oliver Geden is head of the European Union/Europe Research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and a research associate at the University of Oxford's Institute for Science, Innovation and Society. His work focuses on European and global climate policy, including the governance of carbon dioxide removal and solar radiation management. Geden has been a visiting scholar at the Max Planck Institute for Meteorology, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, and the University of California, Berkeley, among others. During his time at SWP, he has been seconded to the policy planning units

of both the German Federal Foreign Office and German Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy. Geden is the lead author for the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. He holds a PhD from Humbolt University Berlin.

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini is president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and former minister of foreign affairs of the Argentine Republic. He previously served as a member of the National Congress, minister of economy for Buenos Aires, and undersecretary of the treasury and secretary of defense. A member of the advisory council at Konex Foundation and the grand jury for the Konex Foundation Awards, he also runs the foreign affairs chapter of the Political Action Network Foundation. Rodríguez Giavarini also chairs the executive board of his consulting group specializing in national, regional, and international political economics as well as the boards of many private universities. He is vice president of the National Academy of Education in Argentina and the treasurer of the board of directors at the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. Rodríguez Giavarini has spoken at several seminars and conferences in Argentina and abroad and has published numerous essays and articles in national and international newspapers and magazines. A professor honoris causa at Soka University in Japan, he has received decorations from sixteen countries. Rodríguez Giavarini received his degree in economics from the University of Buenos Aires, to which he later returned as professor of macroeconomics.

Argentine

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and the director and founder of the Russia/NIS Center at IFRI. Before joining IFRI, Gomart was an assistant professor at the Sorbonne and a cadet officer. He has focused on the former Soviet Union as well as wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. He was previously a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. Gomart recently published *Notre Intérêt National*, edited with Thierry de Montbrial; "Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?" edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon, and *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitiques*. A member of the Strategic Review Committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017, he is also a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique Etrangère*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

France

Young-Sun Ha

Young-Sun Ha is chairman of the board of trustees of the East Asia Institute and a professor emeritus at Seoul National University's department of political science and international relations. A member of the senior advisory group for the inter-Korean summit preparation committee, he also served as a member of the Presidential National Security Advisory Group, co-chairman of the Joint Research Project for a New Era for Korea-Japan Relations, president of the Korean Association of Peace Studies, and research fellow at Princeton University's Center for International Security Studies and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Ha's recent books and edited volumes include *Complex World Politics*, *U.S.-China Competition in the Architecture of a Regional Order in the Asia-Pacific*, and *Young Pioneers in Korean History*. He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and his PhD from the University of Washington.

South Korea

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is in his sixteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent

independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations. He has served as the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush and as the State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell. He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of thirteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds master's and doctor of philosophy degrees from Oxford University.

Penny Hunt

Penny Hunt has since 2009 been executive director of the Robina Foundation, a private organization based in Minneapolis that provides grants to four major institutions: Abbott Northwestern Hospital/Allina Health, the Council on Foreign Relations, the University of Minnesota Law School, and Yale University. The Robina Foundation is a unique, time-limited foundation that seeks to benefit social issues of importance by encouraging innovation and financially supporting the transformative projects of its partners. Unique in the foundation world, the Robina Foundation is a time-limited foundation, seeking to have a transformative, long-term impact on grantees and issues of importance through major grants. She earned a BA from Carleton College, was a Fulbright scholar in Lyon, France, holds an MA from Duke University, and received a JD from the William Mitchell College of Law.

Sunjoy Joshi

Indian
Sunjoy Joshi is chairman and chief executive of the Observer Research Foundation and vice president of the Mountain Children's Foundation, a nonprofit organization that works with disadvantaged children in the Himalayas. He focuses on energy, the environment, nontraditional security threats, and the challenges to growth and employment that emerging economies face amid unprecedented technological disruptions worldwide. Previously, he was a member of the Indian Administrative Service, where he worked on development and economic policies. Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and a distinguished visitor to Stanford University's program on energy and sustainable development. He holds an MA in English literature from Allahabad University and an MA in development studies from the University of East Anglia.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Turkey
Memduh Karakullukçu is vice chairman and president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). His policy work includes global energy dynamics, European energy security, global economic and financial governance, and the economic prospects of the Middle East and North Africa region. He is co-chair of GRF's international task force on the future of the Iran nuclear deal and the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum. Previously, he was the founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Teknokent, an innovation community of more than one hundred technology companies. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has also served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO. Under Kudo's leadership, Genron NPO has conducted various research programs, including evaluations of government performance and analyses of party pledges made during general elections. With its Northeast Asia regional program, Kudo has developed crucial track two dialogues, such as the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, to tackle pressing regional issues. In 2017, Kudo launched the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform that invites ten international think tanks to exchange views on global issues and propose recommendations to strengthen the liberal order and democracy. The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders was established in 2016 as a venue for open and free debate among intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries. The forum is a collaborative effort to bolster democracy and address challenges the democratic system faces, with a goal of jointly identifying common issues and presenting potential solutions. Prior to founding Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University. Japan

Sergey Kulik

Sergey Kulik is director for international studies at the Institute of Contemporary Development as well as a member of both the academic council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy. He previously served as director of the department for relations with the European Union, deputy director of the foreign policy and information policy departments of the Russian presidential administration, director of the Arms Control Center at the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies, and project leader at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Russia

Evan A. Laksmana

Evan A. Laksmana is a senior researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Indonesia. He has held fellowships and visiting positions at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Lowy Institute, Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, the National Bureau of Asian Research, and Sydney University's Southeast Asia Centre. His scholarly research has appeared in *Asian Politics and Policy*, *Asian Security*, and *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, among others. His policy research has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Washington Post*, and others. He has also written for the Brookings Institution, Lowy Institute, and RAND Corporation, among other organizations. Laksmana is a PhD candidate in political science and Fulbright scholar at Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been the president of Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. Previously, he served as FGV vice president from 1997 to 2000, general director of its Graduate School of Economics (EPGE) from 1994 to 1997, and director of FGV Business from 1992 to 1994, having begun his work at the foundation as a professor in the EPGE. A member of the National Academy of Engineering, he was awarded Brazil's Grand Cross of the National Order of Scientific Merit as well as several military awards. Simonsen Leal studied civil engineering at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and received a PhD in economics from Princeton University, where he was a Fulbright scholar. Brazil

Sook Jong Lee

Sook Jong Lee is a senior fellow at the East Asia Institute, where she served as president from 2008 to 2018. A professor of public administration at Sungkyunkwan University, she directs the university's East Asia South Korea

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Keynote Speaker Biographies

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The 2019 Council of Councils Annual Conference *Background Memos*

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Session One

*What Should the Future World
Order Look Like?*

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Background Memo

Middle Powers in the International Order

Council of Councils Annual Conference

May 5–7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC

Michael Fullilove, Lowy Institute

The Fraying of the Order

The United States emerged from World War II in a commanding position. America's economy made up nearly half the global economy; America's scientists alone had mastered the atom. In the years that followed, the United States drew like-minded Western countries around it in order to contain the Soviet Union. Violent conflicts broke out at the peripheries of the international system, but not at the center. Washington built a new kind of order defined by shared norms such as democratic government and economic liberalism, and embedded in alliances, agreements, and multilateral institutions. As historian John Lewis Gaddis observed, the United States established hegemony over half the world not by conquest, but by consent.

Then, in 1991, America's only rival conceded defeat and the world switched from a bipolar system to a unipolar one. The hegemony over the West that the United States achieved during the Cold War became the new world order. The only option presented to China and Russia was to become stakeholders in that enterprise—if they promised to be responsible stakeholders. A liberal international order settled over the earth. Or so it was thought.

Now, a quarter of a century on, the contests between nation-states and between ideologies have resumed. Cooperation between great powers is declining, not increasing. Unipolarity has given way to multipolarity. Geopolitics has returned. Every day, the liberal international order becomes less liberal, less international, and less orderly.

One reason for this trend is the diffusion of power across the international system. For most of the twentieth century, the world was mainly run by the West. During the British Empire era, a quarter of the globe was painted red. Throughout the Pax Americana, the United States was the dominant global power.

There is reason to be skeptical of the more lurid claims about the decline of the United States. America has enduring strengths, including favorable geography, healthy demographics, a formidable military, and an entrepreneurial economy. But it is undeniable that as other nations rise, America's margin of superiority over them shrinks.

Meanwhile, the rest of the West looks set to retire from the global stage—and not only because most Western countries have aging populations. For decades, Europe has spurned power politics in favor of forming an ever

more perfect, peaceful union. The failures in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as Europe's recent economic debacles and political wobbles, have encouraged this trend toward parochialism. Now, when European leaders come upon an unpleasant scene—such as a neighbor set upon by an aggressor—they, like the priest and the Levite in the parable of the Good Samaritan, prefer to pass by on the other side.

Even the United Kingdom has lowered its international ambitions in recent years, stepping back from the foreign policy front line and cutting the budgets of its armed forces, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the BBC World Service. And that was before Brexit! The United Kingdom won't have much time in the next decade to think about the rest of the world.

Japan is a notable exception to this trend as it emerges from its postwar hibernation. But, in general, Western countries are stepping down. By contrast, in each of the three most significant global theaters—Asia, Europe, and the Middle East—strong challengers to the liberal order are stepping up.

The world today is wholly altered from the one created by the World War II generation. It is too early to say the old order is finished—but it is certainly fraying.

How Should the World Order Change?

Revolutions require crisis. In the absence of a global crisis, changes to the world order are likely to be incremental. Eight principles could inform a larger, more creative foreign policy for middle powers, such as those represented in the Council of Councils to help reform the international order in the President Donald J. Trump era.

First, middle powers need to maintain their strong relationships with the United States. In the long run China and Russia, not the United States, pose the greatest challenge to the existing order.

Second, in dealings with Trump, middle powers should stand up for themselves and their values. They should avoid the example of British Prime Minister Theresa May, who displayed unseemly enthusiasm in her early approaches to the president. Like everything else in life, the Trump presidency will pass. Leaders should keep three pieces of advice in mind: don't do something you will regret later. Retain your self-respect. Maintain your independent bearing.

* **Third**, middle powers should call out challengers to the international order—whether they reside in the White House or in Zhongnanhai. Too much is at stake for middle powers to keep their heads permanently below the parapet.

Standing up to Washington when required gives middle powers credibility when they need to stand up to Beijing. They should practice what they preach.

* **Fourth**, middle powers should be exemplars in following international rules and observing international agreements. Middle powers benefit enormously from an international order in which the rules of the road are well established and widely observed. They should, in the words of Ralf Beste, former head of policy planning at the German Federal Foreign Office, “ruthlessly play by the rules.”

One related example is the Paris Agreement. The experts have said what global warming will mean for countries such as Australia: more bushfires, worse heat waves, more droughts and more rains, rising sea levels, and falling agricultural production. It is in the interests of middle powers to play their part in helping the world to

avoid the kind of dangerous warming predicted in the latest report by the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Accordingly, middle powers should bolster the Paris Agreement and move to strengthen collective action on climate.

* Fifth, middle powers should reinforce their connections to other countries that matter to them. For Australia, this means doing more with regional powers such as India, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, and Vietnam—but also like-minded extra-regional powers such as France and the United Kingdom.

This is easy to say, of course, and hard to do. Middle powers should aim to build such relationships out. For example, it is important that Australia and Japan conclude an agreement to strengthen defense ties.

French President Emmanuel Macron is to be applauded for his notion of greater cooperation among Australia, France, and India. These three democracies have overlapping interests. Working more closely with each other will open up new avenues of action.

Sixth, middle powers should work with other capitals to support global deals until the fever in Washington has passed. Canberra, Australia is commendable for working with Ottawa and Tokyo to keep the Trans-Pacific Partnership afloat. The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership is a liberal development in a world that is increasingly illiberal.

Seventh, middle powers should help stand up a new concert of middle powers—countries that have an interest in supporting the international order and capabilities to help do so. It is past time to institutionalize a group of like-minded middle powers—a “coalition of the responsible.” In an essay in *Foreign Affairs*, Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay suggest that a “Group of Nine” of middle powers could meet annually at a leader or ministerial level, or form an informal caucus within existing institutions such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization.

* Finally, and perhaps most important, middle powers need to bolster their national capabilities so that they are better positioned to shape their external environment and buttress the international system. If middle powers want the United States to be a responsible partner, then they must be responsible partners too. Middle powers should contribute to international security by investing seriously in defense capabilities.

Middle powers need to rediscover their ambition and revive their history of creative diplomacy. We are all beneficiaries of the international order. From time to time, we must serve in its bodyguard.

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Session Two

Managing Global Catastrophic Risk: Nuclear Weapons



Background Memo

Managing Global Catastrophic Risk: Nuclear Weapons

Council of Councils Annual Conference

May 5–7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC

Wu Chunsi, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

The classic model of arms control and nuclear deterrence faces three primary challenges in the current stage of world affairs.

First, the norms that have framed strategic and global stability among major powers are now in danger. For example, some actors are again exploring the possibility of launching limited nuclear wars. Additionally, it has been publicly argued that countries such as North Korea have the right to possess nuclear weapons. Others appear overconfident in the ability of world leaders to control the scale and destruction of nuclear exchanges. Perhaps this ignorance of the real danger nuclear weapons pose is the result of the long peace and easy life that many in recent history have experienced. Although some might not consider *taboo* a good word, it would be good for mankind if nuclear taboos were to remain in place.

Second, the classic model of arms control faces a challenge from new technologies. This challenge comes not just from new technologies such as ballistic missile defense, anti-satellite weapons, and hypersonic missiles, but also from the new information age the world is entering. The wide use of cyber technology creates new questions on how to maintain nuclear safety and global security. In addition to concerns over nuclear terrorism and irresponsible countries, traditional nuclear powers now have to reconsider the reliability of their nuclear weapon command and control systems. Therefore, in this new information age, discussions on nuclear stability should include elements from cyberspace and outer space.

Third, relationships between the major powers are changing rapidly. Many uncertainties exist in this readjustment. For instance, the old model of managing U.S.-China relations is not as effective as it was, and a new model of interactions has not been established. Therefore, the overall stability of U.S.-China relations is in doubt, which in turn further complicates the process of managing U.S.-China nuclear relations.

In addition, the U.S.-China nuclear relationship is different than that between the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War. U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, to some degree, were proportionate. In comparison, China's nuclear arsenal is much smaller than that of the United States. Consequently, China's involvement in nuclear arms control negotiations is different from that of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, China has clearly indicated that it does not intend to participate in an arms race with the United States. Thus, the classic model of nuclear competition and arms control, built on the experience of U.S.-Soviet competition in the Cold War, does not apply to U.S.-China nuclear relations.

These new challenges to the classic model of arms control and nuclear deterrence require fresh thinking on how to manage emerging strategic instability of great power relations.

First, managing the current strategic relationship of major powers does not require starting from scratch. Over the past seventy years, a basic foundation for controlling nuclear risks and advocating global stability has developed. Although the international regime of nuclear nonproliferation has many loopholes and is unsatisfactory, the value of maintaining the system is substantial. The global consensus against nuclear proliferation and nuclear war is the best instrument to press major powers to behave responsibly. This system should not be radically overthrown or discarded because of its flaws, but instead upgraded or evolved.

The priority in the near future should be to shape the geopolitical environment in which major countries reconfirm their commitments opposing nuclear proliferation and to prudentially control and manage ties with other countries through arms agreements. For example, international concerns that the management of the North Korean nuclear problem might revert to the "old track" are increasing in frequency. International actors should play a more active role in keeping the attention of major powers on this issue.

Major powers should also commit themselves to maintaining global strategic stability. Given the deepening suspicion in U.S.-China relations and the existing imbalance in their nuclear capabilities, China does not believe it is the time for it and the United States to start a bilateral negotiation on nuclear arms control. However, multilateral platforms in which China can actively participate do exist, including the mechanism under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons for the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Such platforms can become at least the initial forum in which nuclear powers can carry out their dialogues on strategic stability.

When major powers begin discussing strategic stability, it would be meaningful to encourage nuclear powers to reaffirm unilateral policy and bilateral interactions conducive to strategic stability. For example, in the Clinton administration, the United States and China agreed to negotiate on standing down long-range missiles targeting each other's cities. In another case, American and Chinese nuclear experts coedited a book on nuclear terminology, through which the two sides could better understand the other's nuclear strategy and increase mutual trust. Resuming where previous cooperation stopped might help create an appropriate atmosphere for major powers to negotiate their strategic relationship in depth.

Potential for great progress exists, even if nuclear powers can agree on only some principles in regard to maintaining strategic stability, such as preventing nuclear wars and opposing nuclear proliferation.

A difficult but core issue for nuclear powers is how the emergence of cyber technology affects nuclear stability, because its influence on command and control systems of nuclear arsenals is significant. However, cyber itself is a difficult area to negotiate. Furthermore, experts in cyber and nuclear areas are not the same group of people. The question of how to bridge these two spheres is therefore worthy of further exploration.

On the whole, it is clear that nuclear risks are increasing as important norms controlling nuclear proliferation and use erode. Major powers have not taken full responsibility for preventing nuclear risks. They also remain immersed in great power and geopolitical competition. In the meantime, major think tanks such as those in the Council of Councils can take on the role of setting the agenda and designing a road map to address nuclear challenges. For example, experts could publish a report or document urging major countries to carry out nuclear dialogues and work out a path forward for the great powers. Second, they could organize track 2 or track 1.5 dialogues on nuclear issues when the conditions for formal and official dialogues are not ripe. Third, and more important, real concerns remain that hinder major powers from kicking off nuclear dialogues among

themselves. This will require experts to invest more time and energy on the new questions emerging in the nuclear area and provide intellectual support for the major powers' nuclear dialogues in the new context of the information age.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



Session Three

Confronting the Challenges of a Rapidly Urbanizing World



Background Memo

Confronting the Challenges of a Rapidly Urbanizing World¹

Council of Councils Annual Conference

May 5–7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC

Thomas J. Bollyky, Council on Foreign Relations

Urban history reached a turning point in 2017. For the first time, more than half the people in low- and middle-income countries lived in cities. But as urbanization continues to accelerate, particularly in poorer nations, the world will need to work to make those cities livable and healthful for their inhabitants.

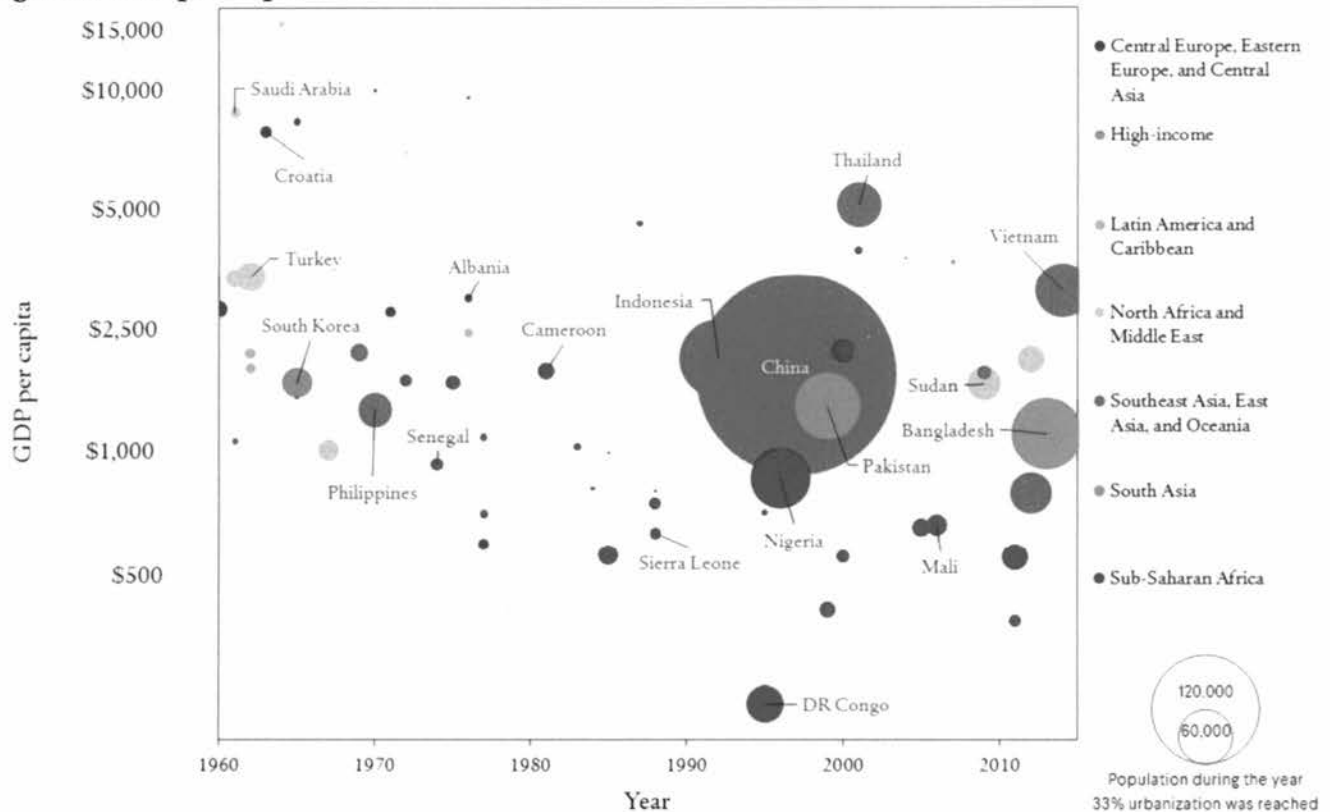
Most of the shift in urbanization to lower-income nations has occurred in the last sixty years (see figure 1).² In 1960, no country with a per capita income below \$1,250 was more than one-third urbanized. Only six nations with per capita incomes under \$2,500 reached that threshold, all in Latin America. By 2016, in fifty-seven of the poorest countries—many of those in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa—more than one-third of the population lived in cities.

Urbanization in lower-income nations is occurring at record rates. Between 1950 and 2010, the urban populations of Africa and Asia expanded as much as those in Europe did between 1800 and 1910, but in half the time. Indeed, the growth of urban populations is outpacing city infrastructure in the fastest-urbanizing nations, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.³ The availability of piped water in cities in the region fell by 10 percent between 1990 and 2015, and only four in ten new city residents had access to improved sanitation as defined by the World Health Organization.⁴ The construction of adequate housing and paved roads is likewise not keeping up with urbanization in many poor cities.

One worrisome consequence of population growth outstripping urban infrastructure has been the expansion of slums, overcrowded areas with inadequate housing and public services. The United Nations estimates that 881 million people lived in slums in lower-income nations in 2014, roughly one in every eight people worldwide.⁵ In Africa and South Asia, a majority of city residents live in slums. Almost the entire urban population (96 percent) of the Central African Republic lives in similar circumstances.⁶ By 2030, the population of slum dwellers is expected to reach two billion globally.

Evidence is mixed on whether cities can continue to conquer disease as poor nations rapidly urbanize. The slums in lower-income nations today are considerably healthier than were the nineteenth-century cities of the United States and Europe, where between two hundred and three hundred out of every one thousand children under five died.⁷ Health data on modern slums is limited, however, and much progress is reported in averages that could mask disparities. There is some indication that the health benefits of urban life are not equally distributed to the poor residents of cities like Cairo, Egypt; Dhaka, Bangladesh; and Nairobi, Kenya.⁸

Figure 1. GDP per Capita at 33 Percent Urbanization



Sources: World Development Indicators, World Bank; UN World Urbanization Prospects.

Note: Population is measured in thousands. The y-axis scale is not uniform to improve readability.

The challenges ahead are significant. Poor, crowded cities with limited health systems are ideal incubators for outbreaks of emerging infections, like the Ebola epidemics in West Africa in 2014 and the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2018. Such cities today are often larger and denser than were Athens, Greece, and the other urban centers of antiquity, which means that diseases are more likely to spread and more likely to affect more people. Outbreaks that occur in today's cities can spread internationally faster and more easily with the increased speed and volume of global trade and travel.

Pollution is also a threat. Air pollution is the fourth-leading health risk globally, responsible for killing an estimated 6.1 million people prematurely in 2016.⁹ Sixteen of the world's twenty most polluted cities are in South Asia.

Many of the cities most exposed to coastal flooding from climate change and suffering water shortages—both of which carry health consequences—are in poor and emerging economies. These cities are located along coasts or in river deltas, which had been beneficial for farming and commerce but now exacerbate the risks of flooding, and therefore of waterborne diseases, for large, poor, and informally housed populations. Many of these cities are also running dry. For example, roughly 90 percent of Dhaka's water supplies comes from ground reserves that are being rapidly depleted by the demands of its sixteen million inhabitants.

Policy Prescriptions

No quick or ready-made fix exists for creating sustainable urban infrastructure in sprawling, already-built poor world cities, but instituting incentives can help. Many residents of cities in developing countries,

especially those living in slums, do not have clear property titles to their homes. Establishing easily enforceable land rights can promote investment in formal housing, free workers to move to find jobs and get access to city services, and establish the foundation for a property tax system. With the resulting resources and empowerment from national governments, city governments could be more free to do more to improve their business environments, ease bureaucratic constraints on small and midsize enterprises, and attract private infrastructure investment. Municipal governments could also prove more capable than national authorities in responding to the demographic pressures and the health and environmental challenges that poor cities face. A World Bank study of African cities providing the best water services to the poor found that mayors were behind several of the success stories, including those of Durban, South Africa, and Nyeri, Kenya.¹⁰

The role for bilateral or multilateral institutions in addressing international urban challenges will differ from those in the past. Foreign aid initiatives have succeeded in delivering food, cash, drugs, and other technologies to the world's poor, but donors cannot manage urban health-care systems, build city infrastructure, or enforce sensible regulations on land use or air pollution in other countries. But that does not mean that foreign aid officials, policymakers, private industry, and intergovernmental institutions cannot assist the governments of lower-income nations in their difficult tasks.

Goal eleven of the UN Sustainable Development Goals is to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.” The indicators include reducing urban air pollution and the proportion of the urban population living in slums, informal settlements, or inadequate housing.¹¹ Weak municipal governments and financing constraints for adequate infrastructure and services are some of the most significant obstacles to successful urbanization in lower-income nations, especially in Africa.

Supporting municipal governance could start with facilitating the information sharing, data collection, and research that city officials, advocates, and activists need to advance locally inspired change. This effort should include providing the resources and technical support that local researchers and governments need to test their best ideas and working with those local actors to identify implementable, evidence-based programs. Outsiders can, where appropriate, also provide useful services by supporting social reformers in pressing their governments for the adoption of better policies and by monitoring, evaluating, and publishing the results to hold local governments and donors accountable.

Recent efforts to encourage private investors to put their money toward building infrastructure and electricity generation, such as the Barack Obama administration's Power Africa initiative, can make it easier for factories and entrepreneurs to open businesses and hire more young workers in cities. Another potential area of intervention for regional and multilateral organizations involves loan guarantees, risk insurance, and other methods of de-risking and cofinancing the upgrading of municipal infrastructure projects.

The majority of the world's population already lives in urban areas. The population of city dwellers globally is projected to grow by 2.5 billion by 2050, with nearly 90 percent in lower-income nations in Africa and Asia. Urbanization in lower-income nations could offer billions of people both better access to jobs and health-care services and a gateway to the world economy. To reap those benefits, those nations will have to confront the looming health, environmental, and infrastructure challenges of urban life.

Notes

1. This background memorandum is adapted from the CFR interactive report [The Future of Global Health Is Urban Health](#), published January 31, 2019.

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 3. Remi Jedwab and Dietrich Volrath, "Urbanization Without Growth in Historical Perspective," *Explorations in Economic History* 58 (October 2015): 1–21, doi.org/10.1016/j.eeh.2015.09.002.
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 8. Majid Ezzati, Christopher J. Webster, Yvonne G. Doyle, and Gabriel M. Leung, "Cities for Global Health," *British Medical Journal* 363, no. k3794 (October 2018): 1–7, doi.org/10.1136/bmj.k3794; Blessing U. Mberu, Tilahun Nigatu Haregu, Catherine Kyobutungi, and Alex C. Ezech, "Health and Health-Related Indicators in Slum, Rural, and Urban Communities: A Comparative Analysis," *Global Health Action* 9, no. 33163 (December 2016): 1–13, doi.org/10.3402/gha.v9.33163.
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COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



Session Four

*How Do We Ensure Freedom Has a
Future?*



Background Memo

The Global Decline of Democracy and Weakened Human Freedom

Council of Councils Annual Conference

May 5–7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC

Sook Jong Lee, East Asia Institute

Over the last decade, literature warning of the crisis, decline, or de-consolidation of democracy in the world has grown in number and scope. According to Freedom House’s “Freedom in the World 2018” report, “Democracy faced its most serious crisis in decades in 2017 as its basic tenets—including guarantees of free and fair elections, the rights of minorities, freedom of the press, and the rule of law—came under attack around the world.”¹ Seventy-one countries suffered net declines in political rights and civil liberties; only thirty-five registered gains. This marked the twelfth consecutive year of decline in global freedom. As a result, forty-five countries today are considered “free,” thirty are “partly free,” and twenty-five are “not free.” Only 39 percent of the global population live freely; 24 percent and 37 percent live in societies that are partly free and not free, respectively. Freedom House’s 2019 report continues to highlight the decline of freedom of expression accompanied by the serious threat to press freedom and infringement of rights of migrants and refugees.²

The Economist Intelligence Unit’s (EIU) “Democracy Index 2017” report recorded the worst decline in global democracy in years; some 89 countries experienced a decline in their total democracy index score compared with 2016, more than three times the number that recorded an improvement.³ Among 167 countries surveyed, only 19 (4.5 percent of the total populations of countries surveyed) can boast a “full democracy;” 57 countries have a “flawed democracy;” 39 are under a “hybrid regime;” and 52 have an “authoritarian regime.” A year later, the EIU’s “Democracy Index 2018” reported a pause in the retreat of global democracy.⁴ Just 42 countries experienced a decline; encouragingly, 48 improved. However, the continued crackdown on civil liberties and free press caused the report’s rating of civil liberties to fall.⁵

Freedom of expression, civic liberties, norms of protecting minority rights, and the rule of law are the crucial elements of liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is drastically declining in established democracies as authoritarian states increase their violations of these liberal elements. Once triumphant, liberal democracy has begun to experience the inherent contradiction between its two pillars: ^①individual rights and ^②popular rule. Anti-globalization and political digitization are pulling these two pillars apart. Individual freedom goes beyond freedom of expression. The shootings at the Jewish synagogue in Pittsburgh and the Muslim mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, and the recent suicide bombings at Christian churches in Sri Lanka threaten freedom of worship. As seen in Sri Lanka, massive casualty terrorist attacks against a religious minority quickly develop into an internal security matter, and the securitization of society can limit free activities.

The Challenge of Anti-Globalist Populism in Established Democracies

Economic difficulties and migrant and refugee inflows have sparked anxiety in liberal democracies. Many believe these problems are caused by globalization. Unruly global capital and rapid financial integration bore the blame for the U.S.-led financial crisis of 2008 and the eurozone crisis of 2012. The European refugee crisis of 2014 and 2015 and subsequent migratory movements are believed to have resulted from increasing freedom of cross-national movement. Externally, anti-globalist forces favor recovering national sovereignty over major economic and social decisions from the cumbersome governance of transnational bodies such as the European Union (EU). When anti-globalist forces turn their attention to domestic sociocultural affairs, right-wing identity politics tend to flourish. Within the frame of *us* (the “legitimate” majority) vs. *them* (the “polluting” minority groups), hate speech and violence against ethnic and religious minority groups have become common. When populists have power and are able to introduce policy measures against migrants and refugees, violations of human rights become more widespread.

Another visible phenomenon is the rise of populist parties, which gained votes and parliamentary seats in Austria, France, Germany, and the Netherlands during 2017. Although they were kept out of government in all but Austria, their success in their respective elections helped weaken established parties on both the right and the left. In Germany and the Netherlands, mainstream parties have struggled to create stable governing coalitions. In the United States, anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim violence has risen. U.S. President Donald J. Trump’s anti-immigrant posture, including the border wall against migrants and his lukewarm condemnation of racist actions, is not helping protect the freedom and rights of minorities.

Anti-globalist populism is undermining freedom in two ways. First, rejecting the equality and legitimacy of certain ethnic and religious minority groups is counter to the pluralist values of liberal democracy. If national identity is heavily defined by shared ancestry, language, and religion, the human rights of established settlers and newly admitted migrants will be infringed upon. Second, multilateral norms and rules protecting migrants and refugees are also weakened by anti-globalist populism. Governments facing mass migrant groups not only tend to apply the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refugee status narrowly, but also neglect their duty to support people on the move by slowing down the legal process or providing limited medical and educational services.

The decline of liberal democracy in established Western democracies has dire consequences. First, fewer government leaders are taking the initiative to promote human rights and freedom through multilateral governance. The retrenchment of the United States is responsible for weakening both resources and normative international support. Accordingly, authoritarian states are emboldened to oppress freedom of the press at home and execute democracy activists internally and even externally, such as in the murder of Jamal Khashoggi.

Digital Technology’s Double-Edged Challenge to Human Rights and Democracy

The internet and social media serve many beneficial functions in advancing public goods such as development, education, and public health. Digitization helps aid free access to information and foster connectivity among people. Furthermore, the availability of big data and artificial intelligence machine learning is expected to as-

sist digital innovation for public goods. While no one knows exactly how human life will change after the technological singularity—the irreversible point of technological innovation in artificial intelligence that will change human civilization as we know it—comes about, the most optimistic views anticipate the liberation of humanity from hard or tedious labor so that people can pursue meaningful and creative lives.

The relationship between technology and democracy can be examined in two directions. One is a vertical relationship between the state and people, the other a horizontal one among people. Since the last quarter of the twentieth century, the arrival of information technology has been celebrated as facilitating human rights and democracy in both directions. Digital technology is expected to liberate citizens from authoritarian state control as the state is no longer able to monopolize information. It helps people participate in the governing process, making governments more responsive and accountable. Digital technology also promotes social equality and power devolution by transferring knowledge and decision-making power from elites to ordinary citizens.

This optimistic view on the relationship between digital technology and democracy is challenged by the dark side of political digitization. Many authoritarian states are smart enough to use technology to maintain their rule. Firewalls can be used to block or monitor information inflows from the outside world. Authoritarian states usually employ tactics such as securitizing free flows of information and restricting freedom of expression. Digitally developed authoritarian states are even using big data—equipped artificial intelligence to identify and surveil minority groups and political activists. For example, China is using facial-recognition technology to control the Uighur minority population. Taking advantage of online anonymity, Russia was able to intervene in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. This internal and external exploitation of technology by authoritarian states is shrinking civic space and freedom of expression. Digital technology is also harming horizontal democracy. Due to the availability of cheap smart phones, communication is instant and ubiquitous. The technology speeds up social and political communication among a greater number of people. Individual privacy is encroached upon and character assassination is frequent because news goes viral instantly, without a proper vetting process. Now, deepfake videos are warning us that lenses can lie. When combined with fake or exaggerated news, digital technology can act as an amplifying medium for populism. Recently in India, fake news on social media led to people being lynched. Similarly, digital populism in Myanmar has helped spread violence against the Rohingya ethnic minority. Because cyberspace creates echo chambers, digital tools are serving political factionalism and polarization.

The Role of the Multilateral System in Protecting and Advancing Universal Conceptions of Human Rights

The UN General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 in Paris is a milestone document that established a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations. The UNHCR and the UN Human Rights Council, which replaced the UNHCR in 2006, have been the hub of the UN human rights system. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) now works to promote and protect human rights; ad hoc tribunals and courts were formed to reinforce the expansion of conventions and international laws. The UN system has played a central role in global human rights governance, and the EU has developed the most advanced regional governance on human rights.

The United Nations and other multilateral organizations, however, are slow to respond to new human rights and freedom issues. To counter frequent human right violations, the responsibility to protect doctrine (R2P) needs to be expanded to allow international actors to intervene more effectively. To mitigate and respond to

threats to human freedom posed by technology, new governance, especially the creation of new principles both at the national and multinational levels, should be established. In terms of personal data protection, it was the European Union that first adopted the Data Protection Directive in 1995 to regulate the processing of personal data. The new EU General Data Protection Regulation provides further protection and exemptions for media companies. In 2014, the European Court of Justice legally solidified the “right to be forgotten” as a human right when they ruled against Google Spain in their case with the Spanish Data Protection Agency and Mario Costeja González. The court did not specify the exact scope of Google’s new responsibilities, however, leaving the company to figure out how to make removal requests work. Because these new threats are so diffused and fragmented with technological components, conventional multilateral and national governmental organizations and international nongovernmental organizations are not well equipped to handle them. Current and future challenges to freedom and human rights require far more innovative policy options beyond the conventional public-private partnership. Regulating fake news is a more urgent issue because it can form biased public opinions and alter election results. Big tech companies’ involvement is critical to mitigate the harmful effects of technology upon human freedom and democracy. The French government’s recent approach to Google to find effective moderating processes to regulate platforms is an encouraging move.

Notes

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2. “Freedom in the World 2019: Democracy in Retreat,” Freedom House, accessed April 16, 2019, <http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2019>.
3. “Democracy Index 2017 – Economist Intelligence Unit,” *Economist*, accessed April 16, 2019, <http://eiu.com/democracy2017>.
4. “EIU Democracy Index 2018 – World Democracy Report,” *Economist*, accessed April 16, 2019, <http://eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>.
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COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



Session Six

Multilateral Conflict Management: Yemen



Background Memo

Multilateral Conflict Management: Yemen

Council of Councils Annual Conference
May 5–7, 2019
Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC

Patrycja Sasnal, Polish Institute of International Affairs

UN Mediation

The Stockholm Agreement of December 2018 fell into a holding pattern in January 2019. But in mid-April it was reinvigorated by a pledge from the Houthis and the Yemeni government to go ahead with the redeployments from Hodeidah, Yemen. This was the first and a necessary step for the agreement to be implemented.

The process stalled because—in short—the Stockholm Agreement had come too early, before the United Nations could work out the details of the steps planned in the agreement and deploy its monitoring mission. The truce in Hodeidah was reached in haste and included obscure ground rules to which the parties did not agree. Hence they each started accusing the other of breaking the truce and the agreement. The Houthis, on whom the burden of the first move rested, used the loopholes in the agreement to argue that they had handed over checkpoints to “local security forces” in Yemen’s three Red Sea ports of Hodeidah, Ras Isa, and Salif. In reality, however, they handed the checkpoints over to themselves. The next step was for both sides to “remove any military manifestations from the city.” The Redeployment Coordination Committee (RCC, consisting of equal numbers of representatives from the Houthis and Yemeni government and headed by a UN general,) was responsible for overseeing the truce and redeployments). The overall goal was to demilitarize the Red Sea trade corridor and facilitate the inflow of goods (including food and medicine), thereby improving the living conditions of a starving and ill nation. Seventy thousand people have been killed, hundreds of thousands injured, three million displaced, and more than two thirds of the population of twenty-eight million are in need of humanitarian aid, including more than eight million suffering from malnutrition.

Mediation efforts can move forward only after the Hodeidah Agreement—one of three components of the Stockholm Agreement—is implemented. However, because the time frame for the agreement was unrealistic (three weeks from the signing of the Stockholm Agreement) and the process interrupted, the United Nations had to accelerate the details of the redeployments, which were missing from the agreement. A detailed redeployment plan was prepared by UN Lieutenant General Michael Anker Løllegaard, chair of the RCC and Head of the United Nations Mission in support of the Hodeidah Agreement (UNMHA, established by with SC resolution 2452), who took over from Major General Patrick Cammert in this position on 31 January 2019. In two months’ time, General Løllegaard managed to prepare the plan and persuade the parties to agree

to it. The pressure on the Houthis also helped advance the process—the tactic of not letting the RCC enter Houthi-controlled territory backfired as they learned that they could not mislead the United Nations.

Lessons Learned

Take the political opportunity the moment it manifests. The Stockholm Agreement exemplifies how action for peace at a politically ripe time brings benefits even in the most complex of conflicts. The agreement came into being because the sponsors of the warring parties and the parties themselves (including the United States, Saudi Arabia, the Houthis, and the Yemeni government) came under increased international or internal pressure, and because the UN staff and several UN Security Council member states, including Sweden and the United Kingdom, were determined to make it happen.

Define crucial words in the Stockholm Agreement and make a detailed but realistic timetable for its implementation. The Stockholm Agreement does not include a cease-fire definition. It fails to list technical details that would set the scope and duration of a cease-fire, and does not define what activity will be seen as a breach. The Hodeidah Agreement is short and ostentatiously unspecific, except where it outlines the United Nations' obligations. The time frame—three weeks for its implementation—is unrealistic for any conflict, let alone for one as complex as the war in Yemen. Detailing the first step of the Hodeidah Agreement was particularly important considering that it was to be made by the Houthis, a party known to have violated the Peace and National Partnership Agreement in 2014—after it overran Sanaa and refused to withdraw to the mountains—by using deficiencies in the agreement's wording.

The United Nations is capable of resolving conflicts (when UN Security Council permanent members do not obstruct the process). An apt group of people is working on the Yemeni conflict at the United Nations: Martin Griffiths, the UN special envoy for Yemen, General Lollesgaard, and Lise Grande, the UN humanitarian coordinator in Yemen. This team, however, will only be effective with a mandate agreed upon by the Security Council.

International public opinion plays a role in conflict resolution. International public opinion has turned out to be a significant actor in the Yemeni conflict. In particular, the Western public's outrage over the American, British, and French governments' military support or cooperation with the Emirati and Saudi governments leading an offensive in Yemen has added to the pressure to find a viable policy option. The Houthis, too, have tried to use public opinion to their advantage, which convoluted the situation on the ground. Yet, Cammert and Lollesgaard have proven efficient at transmitting factual information to the United Nations, which for now has deprived the Houthis of their propaganda tool.

The United States is a party in the conflict in Yemen. The United States has been involved in Yemen for a long time in various ways, including its controversial use of drones. The Donald J. Trump administration supported the Saudi offensive in Yemen politically and logistically. For the past four years, the operation has proven to be not only a military failure, given the disproportionate advantage of the Saudi-led coalition, but also a humanitarian one. The United Nations estimates that more than 60 percent of civilian deaths in the war in Yemen have been caused by the coalition. On top of that, in October 2018 Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi journalist working for the *Washington Post*, was brutally killed in the Saudi consulate in Turkey—a murder unequivocally linked to the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia by mainstream media. These three factors led the United States to rethink the costs of support to the Saudis. It was ultimately a personal action of James Mattis, then U.S. secre-

tary of defense, that changed Saudi Arabia's mind in December 2018 and made it push the Yemeni government to an agreement. However, because the current makeup of the Trump administration is even more focused on countering Iran and President Trump vetoed the congressional resolution to halt U.S. aid to the Saudi-led coalition, a moderated American stance on Yemen could not hold.

Long conflicts outside the West, in which the West is involved in supporting a side, increase anti-Western sentiment and the global north–global south divide. Such involvement makes claims about Western double standards credible. It also hampers north-south understanding, which surfaced recently in the debate after the fire at Notre-Dame in Paris. Al-Jazeera ran an op-ed criticizing Western hypocrisy of grieving over a fire while showing indifference to the suffering of children in Yemen.

Curtailing the Growing Proxy War

The warring parties came to the negotiating table when several conditions coincided. First, Saudi Arabia, the sponsor and supporter of Yemen's government, came under increased pressure over its campaign in Yemen after the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. Second, the Houthis feared the Saudi-led coalition's offensive on their strongholds. Third, the world became increasingly aware of the dire humanitarian situation in Yemen. Fourth, the Trump administration wanted to placate Congress (and public opinion), which was outraged over Saudi foreign and domestic policies. It is evident, then, that concerted international and domestic pressure on the countries that support warring parties and the parties themselves is essential.

The proxy character of the war is disproportionate: Saudi Arabia, backed by the United States, has a direct influence on the government in Yemen; Iran, targeted by the United States, does not have a similarly strong leverage on the Houthis. The political implications of this situation are twofold. First, it suffices to dissuade Saudi Arabia (and its allies) from increased involvement in Yemen to reduce the intensity of a proxy war. The United States, if willing, can provide necessary leverage. Second, the influence on Houthis is trickier: it can be exerted by the European Union (EU), Iran, and Oman, each of which retains contacts with the group. The EU, unlike the United States, has reasonable relations with both warring parties and their sponsors, and it is seen as relatively neutral. At a time when international law and the United Nations have fewer international backers, a greater responsibility rests on the EU.

Yet only the United Nations can devise and oversee the advancement of negotiations. Freedom of travel and access of UN staff ensure that both the United Nations and international media receive accurate information that is difficult to tamper with for both the warring parties and their sponsors. By taking the leading role in the Stockholm Agreement (which is a continuation of UN efforts that stalled in 2016) the United Nations also took on the responsibility for implementing the agreement and ensuring that the war in Yemen does not flare up anew. It will have to expand the UNMHA mandate if the agreement is to be implemented in its entirety and a political process is to ensue. For that to happen, a consensus is needed at the Security Council. In December 2018, that consensus was close to being derailed, not by China or Russia, but by the United States and its disputes with the United Kingdom over the reference language in the resolutions.

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