

# COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*



*Sunday, May 19, 2024  
5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 20, 2024  
8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.  
6:30 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 21, 2024  
8:30 a.m. to 2:00 p.m.*

# The 2024 Council of Councils Annual Conference

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*This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family Foundation.*

## **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-seven 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 the 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 sites, 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**

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

### **CANADA**

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

### **CHINA**

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

### **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**

Genron NPO

### **MEXICO**

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

### **NIGERIA**

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

### **POLAND**

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

### **RUSSIA**

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

### **SAUDI ARABIA**

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

### **SINGAPORE**

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

### **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 Thirteenth Annual Conference

### Agenda

#### Sunday, May 19, 2024

*Council on Foreign Relations*

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

5:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m.    *Reception, Opening Dinner, and Discussion*  
**A Conversation with Makhtar Diop**

*Welcoming Remarks:*

**Michael Froman**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

*Speaker:*

**Makhtar Diop**, *Managing Director, International Finance Corporation*

*Moderator:*

**Paul Samson**, *President,*

*Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

#### Monday, May 20, 2024

*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.–11:30 a.m.    *Session One*

*Rockefeller-Peterson Room*

### **Geopolitics and the Future of World Order**

9:00 a.m.–9:45 a.m.    *Diagnosing the Problems*

*Guiding questions: What is wrong with the existing world order? Where is it falling short the most? Are these shortcomings new? What issues are ripe for resolution and which appear intractable, and why? Among those ripe for resolution, which should be a priority, and who should take action?*

*Speakers:*

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

**Shao Yuqun**, *Director, Institute for Taiwan, Hongkong, and Macao Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

*Presider:*

**Thomas Gomart**, *Director,*

*French Institute of International Relations (France)*

9:45 a.m.–9:55 a.m.    *Break and Transition to Breakout Discussions*

9:55 a.m.–10:40 a.m. *Breakout Discussions on Specific Prescriptions*

*Guiding questions: Is there enough of a consensus on issues ripe for resolution? What specific actions could help resolve issues considered ripe for resolution? Could we identify steps to contain, forestall worsening of situations not deemed ripe for resolution?*

**Breakout A**

*First Floor Conference Room*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Kuniko Ashizawa**, *Senior Nonresident Fellow, Genron NPO (Japan)*

*Speaker:*

**Tamir Hayman**, *President, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

**Breakout B**

*Richard Haass Room*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Selim Yenel**, *President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

*Speaker:*

**Chaesung Chun**, *Chair, National Security Research Center, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

**Breakout C**

*Eighth Floor*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Fonteh Akum**, *Executive Director, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)*

*Speaker:*

**Stefan Mair**, *Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

10:40 a.m.–10:50 a.m. *Break and Transition from Breakout Discussions*

10:50 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Discussion*

*Rockefeller-Peterson Room*

*Guiding questions: What are the most important issues now and what will be most important ten years from now, and why? What actions can we as think tanks take?*

*Presider:*

**Thomas Gomart**, *Director,*  
*French Institute of International Relations (France)*

11:30 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break* *Second Floor Reception Area*

11:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two (Hot Topic Discussion)* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*  
**The Russia-Ukraine War**

*Guiding questions: What impact is the war in Ukraine having on countries beyond Europe? Will the war become a frozen conflict or can either side still secure a decisive “victory?” Who could and who should mediate a ceasefire? What might a stable peace agreement look like? What are the implications for global order of other countries aiding Russia and Ukraine? Will the war affect groupings such as the expanded BRICS, whose chairmanship Russia holds in 2024?*

*Speakers:*

**Aleksandra Koziol**, *Analyst, European Union Program,*  
*Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

**Lila Roldán Vázquez**, *Secretary General,*  
*Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

*Presider:*

**Harsh V. Pant**, *Vice President for Studies and Foreign Policy,*  
*Observer Research Foundation (India)*

12:30 p.m.–1:00 p.m. *Lunch* *Second Floor Reception Area*

1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Session Three* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*  
**Geopolitics, Diplomacy, and AI**

*Guiding questions: What governmental capacity is needed to execute the diplomacy of managing artificial intelligence? How should governments upskill diplomats and public officials? What are different governments and international organizations doing? Are there lessons from other fields, such as global public health, for ways to build expertise into diplomatic activity?*

*Speakers:*

**Tracey Forrest**, *Research Director for Transformative Technologies, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

**Andrea Renda**, *Director of Research,*  
*Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

*Presider:*

**Francisco de Santibanes**, *President,*  
*Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

2:00 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Coffee Break* *Second Floor Reception Area*

2:15 p.m.–3:15 p.m. *Session Four (Open Discussion)* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*  
**Common Challenges Think Tanks Face**

*Guiding questions: How does public distrust of experts affect the ability of think tanks to inform public debate? Are funders pushing the boundaries between support and intrusion? How are we managing the balance between timeliness and depth, between op-eds and in-depth reports?*

*Presider:*

**Esther Brimmer**, *James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance,*  
*Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

3:15 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Coffee Break* *Second Floor Reception Area*

3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m. *Session Five (Briefing)* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*  
**The 2024 U.S. Presidential Election**

*Speakers:*

**Bruce Mehlman**, *Partner, Mehlman Consulting*  
**Amy Walter**, *Publisher and Editor-in-Chief, The Cook Political Report*

*Presider:*

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

4:30 p.m.–6:30 p.m. *Free Time*

6:30 p.m.–10:00 p.m. *Reception, Discussion, and Dinner* **National Archives Museum**  
**U.S. Foreign Policy** *701 Constitution Ave, NW*  
*Washington, DC*

*Speaker:*

**Kurt M. Campbell**, *Deputy Secretary of State, U.S. State Department*

*Presider:*

**Michael Froman**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Remarks:

**David Rubenstein**, *Chair, Council on Foreign Relations* (United States)

**Tuesday, May 21, 2024**

**Council on Foreign Relations**

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

9:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Session Six*

*First Floor Conference Room*

**The Breakdown of the Global Economic Consensus**

9:00 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Diagnosing the Problems*

*Guiding questions: What are the major points of breakdown in the global economic consensus? Are these shortcomings new? Was there ever a global economic consensus? What issues are ripe for resolution, and which appear intractable, and why?*

*Speakers:*

**Yose Rizal Damuri**, *Executive Director,*

*Centre for Strategic and International Studies* (Indonesia)

**Thierry de Montbrial**, *Executive Chair,*

*French Institute of International Relations* (France)

*Presider:*

**Memduh Karakullukçu**, *Former Vice Chair and President,*

*Global Relations Forum* (Turkey)

9:45 a.m.–9:55 a.m. *Break and Transition to Breakout Discussions*

9:55 a.m.–10:40 a.m. *Breakout Discussions on Specific Prescriptions*

*Guiding questions: What are the points for possible agreement? Where does consensus still exist, and how can it be strengthened? What would a new global economic consensus look like from your national or regional perspective? Among the issues ripe for resolution, which should be a priority, and who should take action?*



## **Breakout A**

*First Floor Conference Room*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Paul Samson**, *President,*  
*Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

*Speaker:*

**Yul Sohn**, *President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

## **Breakout B**

*Richard Haass Room*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Dhruva Jaishankar**, *Executive Director,*  
*Observer Research Foundation America (United States)*

*Speaker:*

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

## **Breakout C**

*Eighth Floor*

*Discussion Leader:*

**Chen Dongxiao**, *President,*  
*Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

*Speaker:*

**Matthew Goodman**, *Distinguished Fellow and Director of the*  
*Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies,*  
*Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

10:40 a.m.–10:50 a.m. *Break and Transition from Breakout Discussions*

10:50 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Discussion*

*First Floor Conference Room*

*Guiding questions: What are the most important issues now and what will be most important ten years from now, and why? What does this mean for the institutions of global economic governance? What actions can we as think tanks take?*

*Presider:*

**Memduh Karakullukçu**, *Former Vice Chair and President,*  
*Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

11:30 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

*First Floor Reception Area*

11:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Seven (Hot Topic Discussion)*

*First Floor Conference Room*

**The Israel-Hamas War**

*Guiding questions: What immediate actions could be taken to prevent an all-out conflict between Israel and Hezbollah? What needs to be done to make a ceasefire possible? What are the implications of the conflict in Gaza for Palestinian refugees across the region, especially given the U.S. decision to stop funding for the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) for a year? How can governments and international institutions operationally reestablish a safe and secure environment to provide essential governmental services such as humanitarian relief? Has the conduct of this conflict contributed to instability in other regions of the world?*

*Speakers:*

**Tamir Hayman**, *President, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)*

**Kumar Ramakrishna**, *Dean,*

*Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

*Presider:*

**Ettore Greco**, *Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

12:30 p.m.–1:00 p.m. *Closing Remarks and Lunch*

1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Session Eight (Public Session)*

*Rockefeller-Peterson Room*

**The Strategic Impact of the Global Movement of People**

*Guiding questions: How is the movement of people affecting politics in your country or countries of expertise? Is the primary concern the documented or undocumented movement of people? Regarding the undocumented movement of people, should policymakers focus more on international cooperation to stop human traffickers and smugglers? What is of most concern: loss of the next generation through migration or incentives for high-skilled new arrivals? The undocumented movement of people is a world-wide problem; would strengthening international institutions help? If so, which and how?*

*Speakers:*

**Fonteh Akum**, *Executive Director, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)*

**Sergio Alcocer**, *President, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

**Michael Froman**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

**Stefania Kolarz**, *Analyst, Global Issues Program,*

*Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

*Presider:*

**Katherine Donato**, *Donald G. Herzberg Professor of International Migration,*  
*Georgetown University*

# Participant Biographies

### **Fonteh Akum**

Fonteh Akum is executive director at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). He previously served as head of the Lake Chad Basin program in ISS's regional office in Dakar, Senegal. Prior to joining ISS as a senior researcher in the peace and security research program in 2017, he worked for the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, the UN University for Peace's Africa program, and the International Monetary Fund. Akum's research covers violence, governance, and human security in the Lake Chad Basin. He has a PhD in politics and international studies from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

### **Sergio M. Alcocer**

Sergio M. Alcocer is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI), research professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) Institute of Engineering, and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Alcocer is also the president of México Exponencial, a think tank for the development of public policy and strategies for embracing exponential technologies. He is former undersecretary for North America in the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and undersecretary for strategic planning and technology development at the Mexican Ministry of Energy. Alcocer is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquakes and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. He is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering, a member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, an honorary member and former president of the Mexican Society of Structural Engineering (SMIE), and former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. Alcocer was previously provost, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering at UNAM. He was also a nonexecutive member of the board of Empresas ICA and chair of the board of Iberdrola México. He has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona and was awarded the 2023 National Prize of Civil Engineering. Alcocer received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

### **Kuniko Ashizawa**

Kuniko Ashizawa is senior nonresident fellow at the Genron NPO. She also teaches international relations at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs and American University's School of International Service. Ashizawa's research interests include Japan's foreign policy, regional institution-building in Asia, and global governance. She has published several academic journal articles and book chapters, including in the *International Studies Review*, *Pacific Affairs*, the *Pacific Review*, and the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*. Her book, *Japan, the U.S. and Regional Institution-Building in the New Asia: When Identity Matters*, received the 2015 Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize. Ashizawa has been a visiting fellow at various research institutions, including the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the East-West Center in Washington, and the School of Advanced International Studies's Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. She received her PhD in international relations at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

### **Avishay Ben-Sasson-Gordis**

Avishay Ben-Sasson-Gordis is a lecturer in government at Harvard University and a Lady Davis postdoctoral fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He studies international relations and political theory focusing on civil-military relations and Israeli foreign policy and security. His public-facing work has been featured in *Foreign Affairs*, *Just Security*, *World Politics Review*, and *Haaretz*. He holds a doctorate from Harvard University.

### **Esther Brimmer**

Esther Brimmer is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance at the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR). Her primary areas of interest are international organizations and transatlantic relations. At CFR, she is writing a book on the need for better governance mechanisms to manage expanding human activities in outer space. She previously served as project director for CFR's task force report *Arctic Imperatives: Reinforcing U.S. Strategy on America's Fourth Coast*. From 2017 through 2022, Brimmer was executive director and CEO of NAFSA: Association of International Educators. She previously led U.S. policy in international organizations as the assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs from 2009 to 2013 and served on the policy planning staff from 1999 to 2001. Brimmer was the J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro professor at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She was the first deputy director and director of research at the Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR) at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies from 2001 to 2009. While at CTR, Brimmer was also a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. Brimmer has served in the private sector as a senior advisor at McLarty Associates, and earlier as an associate at McKinsey & Company. Early in her career, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie commission on preventing deadly conflict. Brimmer has published numerous articles and edited eight books on transatlantic relations, Brimmer received her bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

### **Chen Dongxiao**

Chen Dongxiao is senior research fellow and president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). As an adjunct professor at the Shanghai International Studies University, Chen also holds the position of vice chair of the China National Association of International Relations. He specializes in the studies of United Nations, China's foreign policy, and China-U.S. relations. Chen has published extensively on China's diplomacy, major power relationships, UN reform, and global governance. As SIIS president and senior policy adviser to the Chinese government, he has chaired numerous research projects commissioned by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, and has supervised extensive academic publications supported by the China National Foundation of Social Sciences. Chen is the editor-in-chief of the *Global Review* and the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, both the SIIS flagship journals in Chinese and English respectively on China's diplomacy. He is also the founding editor-in-chief of the *SIIS Report*, an English-language think tank report series that aims to exchange ideas and present proposals from the leading Chinese think tanks on common agendas facing the international community. As an eminent policy advisor to the Chinese government, Chen is senior advisor on

economic diplomacy for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and senior advisor to the Mayor of Shanghai's International Business Leaders Advisory Council. Alongside his academic and advisory roles, he is a high-level advisor to the UN Dialogues at the Economic and Social Council's independent team of advisors on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, and a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum's expert and eminent persons, among others. Chen earned his PhD from Fudan University.

### **Chaesung Chun**

Chaesung Chun is chair of the East Asia Institute's (EAI) National Security Center and professor at Seoul National University's department of political science and international relations. He is a member of the advisory committees of South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Republic of Korea Army, and Republic of Korea Navy. He was president of the Korean Association of International Studies, director of Seoul National University's Center for International Studies, and a vice president of Seoul National University's Institute of Peace and Unification Studies. Chun also was a visiting professor at Keio University in Tokyo from 2017 to 2018 and from 2010 to 2011. His major works include *Sovereignty and International Relations: Northeast Asian International Relations Theory: Politics among Incomplete Sovereign States*; *Sovereignty and International Relations: Modern Sovereign States System and the Evolution of the Empire*; and *Is Politics Moral: Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism, East Asian International Relations*. He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and his PhD in international relations theory from Northwestern University.

### **Thierry de Montbrial**

Thierry de Montbrial is executive chair of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is also professor emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign academies. From 1974 to 1992, de Montbrial chaired the Ecole Polytechnique's department of economics. He was the first chair of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993–2001). He created the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as its first director from 1973 to 1979. De Montbrial is the author of more than twenty books, several of them translated into various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System* and *Living in Troubled Times*. He is a grand officer 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—among 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 president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), global fellow at the Wilson Center for International Scholars, and professor at Austral University. He is also author of *Argentina and the World: Keys for a Successful Integration*; *The Rebellion of Nations: Crisis of Liberalism and Rise of Popular Conservatism*; and *From Perpetual Twilight to Strategic Development*. De

Santibañes is also the author of numerous articles published in magazines specialized in Argentina and abroad.

### **Yose Rizal Damuri**

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). His research focuses on international trade, regional integration, and the globalization of value chains. He is also interested in examining the political-economic aspects of international economic governance and the multilateral trading system, has authored several academic articles on those subjects, and is currently directing his attention toward the implications of major power rivalries on the global and regional economic landscape. Damuri is active in many East Asian research institutes, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, the Research Institutes Network for the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), and Think 20, the think tank network of Group of Twenty countries. He serves as the co-chair of the Indonesian National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation. Damuri is also active in various Indonesian policy forums, including as the research coordinator of Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated to the development of the services sector in Indonesia. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

### **Amy Dobbin**

Amy Dobbin is the chief operating officer and company secretary at the Lowy Institute. She leads the institute's finance and operational functions, including business development, events, and media and communications. Dobbin was previously a senior policy advisor to Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, responsible for legal, technology, media, and telecommunications policy. She also worked as a commercial lawyer at the global law firm Allens Linklaters, and as an executive with a UK venture firm and an Australian technology company. In 2020, the Australian government appointed Dobbin as an Australian Youth Ambassador for Development, and she completed a posting as legal advisor with the UN Children's Fund in Ghana. She graduated with a degree in arts and law from the University of Sydney and earned a master's degree in business administration from the London Business School.

### **Tracey Forrest**

Tracey Forrest is research director of transformative technologies at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). Her experience spans many areas, including renewable energy and quantum technologies, and has entailed working with multi-sectoral partners to accelerate the transition of products from laboratory curiosities to impactful devices. At CIGI, she leads a network of researchers focused on opportunities and challenges related to the evolving interface of transformative technologies and international governance. Forrest is a professional engineer, adjunct professor at the University of Waterloo, and former board member of several technology and environmentally focused organizations. Over the course of a career in both academia and industry, Forrest has become an authority on bridging emerging technology to high-value applications. She is a member of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities Green Municipal Fund Council, and formerly served as director of the transformative quantum technologies program at the University of Waterloo and advisory board chair of the National Research Council of Canada's Nanotechnology Research Centre. Forrest



completed a bachelor's in applied science degree in environmental (chemical) engineering at the University of Waterloo and a master's degree in energy and environmental economics at the Scuola Mattei. She has also completed professional training in topics such as quantum, data science, and sustainable business strategy at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

### **Michael Froman**

Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He previously served as vice chair and president of strategic growth at Mastercard and chair of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth. He was also a distinguished fellow at CFR from 2017 to 2023. Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from 2013 to 2017. From 2009 to 2013, he served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs, where he was responsible for coordinating policy on international trade, finance, energy, climate change, and development issues, and served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits. Prior to joining the Obama administration, Froman held a number of roles at Citigroup. He was also a senior fellow at CFR and a resident fellow at the German Marshall Fund. In the 1990s, Froman spent seven years in the U.S. government. He served as chief of staff and as deputy assistant secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East at the U.S. Department of Treasury. He also worked at the White House as director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and National Economic Council. Froman received a bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*.

### **Michael Fullilove**

Michael Fullilove has served as the executive director of the Lowy Institute since 2012. He wrote the feasibility study for the Lowy Institute in 2002 and was the director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. He was previously a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an adviser to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, and a lawyer. Fullilove serves on the advisory council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He has authored several prize-winning books and writes widely on Australian and U.S. foreign policy for, among others, the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs* and the *New York Times*. In 2019, Fullilove was appointed a member of the Order of Australia for significant service to international relations. He graduated in arts and law from the University of Sydney and the University of New South Wales, and studied as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford, where he received an MPhil and a PhD in international relations.

### **Laura Gilinski**

Laura Gilinski is a resource development and marketing professional who has served as a director for some of Israel's most distinguished nonprofit organizations, and is currently deputy executive director for resource development at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). Previously, she served as vice president of philanthropic partnerships at Start-Up Nation Central (SNC)—an independent nonprofit organization committed to ensuring the continual growth and positive exposure of the Israeli innovation ecosystem. Prior to working with SNC, Gilinski served as deputy director for

development and international relations at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Gilinski has three decades of experience in communications, public relations, branding, and fundraising in the corporate and nonprofit sectors.

### **Thomas Gomart**

Thomas Gomart has been the director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) since 2015. He is a member of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defence's scientific committee and the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and *Etudes*. Gomart was a member of the French Ministry of Armed Forces' strategic review committee for its *Strategic Review of Defence and National Security 2017*. He has published extensively on Russia, energy and digital issues, think tanks, and country risk. Gomart's most recent book is *L'accélération de l'histoire: Les nœuds géostratégiques d'un monde hors de contrôle*. He received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

### **Matthew P. Goodman**

Matthew P. Goodman is distinguished fellow and director of the Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He leads RealEcon: Reimagining American Economic Leadership, a CFR initiative that explores the U.S. role in the international economy. Prior to joining CFR in September 2023, Goodman was senior vice president for economics and Simon chair in political economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. From 2010 to 2012, he served as director for international economics on the National Security Council staff, helping the U.S. president prepare for global and regional summits, including for the Group of Twenty, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and East Asia Summit. Prior to serving in the White House, Goodman was senior advisor to the undersecretary for economic affairs at the U.S. Department of State. Before joining the Barack Obama administration in 2009, Goodman worked for five years at Albright Stonebridge Group, where he was managing director for Asia. From 2002 to 2004, he served at the White House as director for Asian economic affairs on the National Security Council staff. Prior to that, he spent five years at Goldman Sachs, heading the bank's government affairs operations in Tokyo and London. From 1988 to 1997, he worked as an international economist at the U.S. Treasury Department, including five years as financial attaché at the U.S. embassy in Tokyo. Goodman holds a BSc in economics from the London School of Economics and Political Science and an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

### **Ettore Greco**

Ettore Greco is executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He also heads the institute's multilateralism and global governance program. He was previously the director of IAI from 2008 to 2017, worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from 2006 to 2007, and taught at the University of Parma and the University of Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, Greco worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. Between 1993 and 2000, he directed IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to

2006, he was editor of the *International Spectator*. Greco is the author of several publications on the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and arms control.

### **Tamir Hayman**

Tamir Hayman joined the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) as managing director in 2022. Prior to joining INSS, Hayman was chief of the Israeli Defense Forces' (IDF) Intelligence Directorate from 2018 to 2021. During his thirty-four years of IDF service, Hayman held a wide range of command positions in the ground forces including operational combat experience in the security zone in Lebanon and in the Palestinian arena. Hayman joined the IDF general staff in 2015 and served as commander of the National Defense College while also acting as commander of the Northern Corps, where he led the largest training exercise ever carried out by the IDF. His period of service in intelligence was characterized by ongoing tension in Gaza and intense struggles aimed at limiting Iranian entrenchment in Syria and dealing with the Iranian challenge emerging throughout the Shiite axis. Hayman holds a bachelor's degree in political science and economics and a master's degree from the National Defense College.

### **Dhruva Jaishankar**

Dhruva Jaishankar is executive director of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) America, which he founded in 2020. He is also a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute and writes a monthly column on international affairs for the *Hindustan Times*. Between 2012 and 2020, Jaishankar held positions at the Observer Research Foundation, as a fellow at Brookings India, the Brookings Institution, and the German Marshall Fund, and was a visiting fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He has published research on India's relations with the United States, Australia, Europe, Japan, and Southeast Asia; defense and security policy; and globalization, democracy, and technology. Jaishankar's research has appeared in several books, policy reports, and publications including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Survival*. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission and was an IISS-SAIS Merrill Center Young Strategist in 2013 and a Brent Scowcroft Award fellow in 2005. He holds a BA in history and classics from Macalester College and an MA in security studies from Georgetown University.

### **Jiang Lixiao**

Jiang Lixiao is the assistant director of the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). His research focuses on international economic law and international climate governance. Jiang was previously the SIIS foreign affairs officer responsible for international exchanges. He graduated from the East China University of Political Science and Law and the Shanghai International Studies University with a PhD in law.

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (2009–19) and board member (2009–23) of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He is the venture partner at D4 Ventures, a United Kingdom-based technology investment platform; chairs the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting, advising tech companies on global, legal, and political challenges; and serves as the founding partner of the

Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum. Karakullukçu is also the senior advisor at the Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization focused on rebuilding social cohesion through innovative communication practices. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, Karakullukçu served as the founding managing director of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI science park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. 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 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 recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*. He 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. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

### **Stefania Kolarz**

Stefania Kolarz is an analyst for EU law and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the Global Issues programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). Her interests include EU external action, international agreements, and the EU system of legal protection, as well as peace processes in which the OSCE is involved. She holds masters' degrees in law from the University of Wrocław, Poland; in international and European business law from the University of Paris-Dauphine; and in EU diplomacy and international relations from the College of Europe in Bruges; as well as a doctorate in law.

### **Aleksandra Koziol**

Aleksandra Koziol is an analyst on European security in the European Union program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). She focuses on EU foreign, security, and space policy. Her research interests also include Russia and its foreign policy. She lectured at the Jagiellonian University and completed an EU research grant under the Jagiellonian interdisciplinary PhD program and interned at the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex). She holds an MA in international relations and Russian philology and a PhD in political science.

### **James M. Lindsay**

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR's eleven fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. Lindsay's most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Lindsay has been a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Iowa and the University of Texas, and from 1996 to 1997 served as director for global

issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge* and hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*.

### **Stefan Mair**

Stefan Mair is director and executive chair of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). His areas of expertise are German and EU foreign and security policy, geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics, and trade and foreign economic policy. From 2010 to 2020, Mair was a member of the Federation of German Industries' executive board. He joined SWP in 1992 as a research associate, serving as a member of the executive board from 2009 to 2010, research director from 2007 to 2009, and head of the Middle East and Africa research division from 2001 to 2007. Mair earned his PhD from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and was a doctoral scholar in the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

### **Shafiah F. Muhibat**

Shafiah F. Muhibat has been deputy executive director for research at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) since January 2022, previously serving as the head of the international relations department from 2018 to 2021 and deputy head of the department of politics and international relations from 2016 to 2017. She joined CSIS in 2000. Muhibat's research interests include Indo-Pacific regional security, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, maritime security, Indonesia's foreign policy, and development cooperation. She was a senior fellow in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies' maritime security program in 2017, chief editor of the *Indonesian Quarterly* from 2013 to 2016, and a doctoral fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy from 2009 to 2012. Muhibat earned a master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science and a doctorate from the University of Hamburg.

### **Niu Haibin**

Niu Haibin is an associate research fellow and director of the Institute for Foreign Policy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He is also vice secretary-general of the Chinese Association for Latin American Studies. Niu's expertise includes China's foreign policy, China-Latin America relations, and the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). He was previously a visiting scholar in Brazil, Germany, Peru, South Africa, and the United States. Niu received his PhD in international relations from Fudan University.

### **Harsh V. Pant**

Harsh V. Pant is vice president for studies and foreign policy at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi. He is also a professor of international relations at King's College London and honorary director of Delhi University's Delhi School of Transnational Affairs. Pant's current research focuses on Asian security issues. He writes regularly for various Indian and international media outlets including the *Japan Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *National* (United Arab Emirates), *Hindustan Times*, and the *Telegraph*. Pant's most recent books include *India and Global Governance: A Rising Power and Its Discontents*; *Politics and Geopolitics: Decoding India's Neighbourhood Challenge*; and *America and the Indo-Pacific: Trump and Beyond*.

### **Kumar Ramakrishna**

Kumar Ramakrishna is professor of national security studies, provost's chair in national security studies, research advisor to the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, and dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). From 2020 to 2022, he was head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research and associate dean for policy studies at RSIS; he also headed RSIS's national security studies program from 2016 to 2020 and the Centre of Excellence for National Security from 2006 to 2015. A historian by training, Ramakrishna is a frequent speaker and media commentator on counterterrorism and has written in numerous international journals. His recent research has focused on understanding, preventing, and countering violent extremism in Southeast Asia. Ramakrishna's latest book is *Extremist Islam: Recognition and Response in Southeast Asia*. He is also the author of *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–1958* and *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalisation in Indonesia*, which was featured as one of the top 150 books on terrorism and counterterrorism in the journal *Perspectives on Terrorism*. He earned a bachelor's in political science from the National University of Singapore, a master's in defence studies from the University of New South Wales, and a doctorate in history from Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London.

### **Andrea Renda**

Andrea Renda is director of research at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), the oldest and biggest think tank in Brussels, where he also leads the research team on global governance, regulation, innovation, and the digital economy. He is adjunct professor of digital and artificial intelligence (AI) policy at the European University Institute's Florence School of Transnational Governance and at the College of Europe in Bruges. He is the co-chair of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development working group on AI risk and accountability and is the codirector of the Brookings-CEPS Forum for International Cooperation on AI. Renda provides regular advice to EU institutions, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank. He is a board member at Canonical, the company producing Ubuntu, a widely used open-source operating system.

### **Lila Roldán Vázquez**

Lila Roldán Vázquez is secretary-general of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), where she also directs the Eurasian studies committee. She held numerous important positions in the Argentine Foreign Ministry, including ambassador to Ukraine, undersecretary of Latin American affairs, director general of foreign policy, director of politics for the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), general coordinator of the South America directorate, member of the special working group on the Malvinas Islands, head of political departments at Argentine Embassies in Mexico and Spain, and deputy consul general in Rio de Janeiro. Vázquez was also accredited as a representative of the Argentine government to various regional and international organizations and conferences and negotiated the political pillar of the Mercosur-EU Agreement. She was previously a professor of public international law at the National University of Buenos Aires. Vázquez holds master's degree in European community law from the Complutense University of Madrid.

### **Andrés Rozental**

Andrés Rozental is president of the consulting firm Rozental and Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). He is also active in nongovernmental organizations and projects relating to global governance, migration policy, climate change, Latin American politics, and promoting democracy. He was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, including serving as ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–97), deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83). Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He sits on London's International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council and is a member of the Interamerican Dialogue in Washington. Rozental holds nonexecutive board positions in several multinational companies. He holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, and Ingredion in Mexico. Rozental is the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. He holds a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas and a master's degree in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

### **Paul Samson**

Paul Samson is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He previously served in assistant deputy minister roles with Global Affairs Canada and Finance Canada, and was associate deputy minister at Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. Among other positions, Samson served on the board of directors at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and as Canada's finance deputy at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. He was co-chair of the Group of Twenty framework working group on the global economy during five different presidencies. Earlier in his career, he worked with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at Green Cross International in Geneva and held fellowships with Pacific Northwest Labs and the Peace Research Institute Oslo. Samson was also a research fellow at the Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Samson holds a BA from the University of British Columbia and an MA and PhD in international relations from the Graduate Institute, Geneva. He completed postdoctoral studies in global environment assessment at Harvard University.

### **Cornelia Schmidt-Liermann**

Cornelia Schmidt-Liermann is director of the European affairs committee at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and director of the Airport Police Control in the Argentine National Ministry of Security. She served in the National Congress from 2011 to 2019 and was president of the foreign affairs committee in the Chamber of Deputies from 2017 to 2019. She holds a bachelor's of science and letters from the Goethe-Institut and a law degree from the University of Buenos Aires.

### **Shao Yuqun**

Shao Yuqun is director of the Institute for Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau Studies and a senior fellow at the Center for American Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). She also serves as vice president of the Shanghai Association of American Studies and vice president of the Shanghai Cross-Strait Studies Association. Shao's main research areas are U.S. foreign policy and

China-U.S. relations. She joined SIIS in 2003 and worked as a visiting fellow at the German Development Institute in 2007 and the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2010. She earned her PhD in international relations at Fudan University.

### **Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal**

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been president of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. Previously, he served as FGV's vice president from 1997 to 2000, general director of its Graduate School of Economics (EPGE) from 1994 to 1997, and director of its School of Business from 1992 to 1994. He began his work at the foundation as a professor in the EPGE. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and 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.

### **Leigh Morris Sloane**

Leigh Morris Sloane is managing director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)-Americas. In this role, she manages the operations and activities for the Washington office and works closely with her IISS colleagues in Berlin, London, Manama, and Singapore to ensure that constituents based in the Americas connect with the institute's world-leading research and convening power. Morris Sloane has over twenty-five years of experience in international affairs at the nexus of research, higher education, and policymaking. Prior to joining IISS, she served as chief of staff at the Brookings Institution, where she managed the executive secretariat and the president's activities. Previously, she served as executive director of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs. She has also managed the Council on Foreign Relations' congress and U.S. foreign policy program and helped establish the Middle East Initiative at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Additionally, Morris Sloane serves as treasurer of the board of directors for the Public Policy and International Affairs Program, which works to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in public service. She holds a BA from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and an MA from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

### **Yul Sohn**

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Underwood International College at Yonsei University. He served as the president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019, dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016, and president of the Association for Contemporary Japan in 2012. Before joining Yonsei University, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and was a visiting scholar at the University of Tokyo; Waseda University; the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and the University of California, Berkeley. He was also a senior fellow of the Fulbright Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Japan Foundation, and Waseda University's Institute for Advanced Studies. Sohn has served on several government advisory committees, including the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the South Korean Ministry of Trade, the Korean National Diplomatic Academy, the Northeast Asian History Foundation, and the Korea Foundation. Sohn has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian



political economics, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His most recent publications including *Concept War: Major Power Competition Over Spatial Domination*; *Global Political Economic Order After COVID-19*, coauthored with Seungjoo Lee; and *Japan and Asia's Contested Order*, coauthored with T.J. Pempel. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

### **Philips J. Vermonte**

Philips J. Vermonte is a senior fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He is also the dean of Indonesian International Islamic University's School of Social Sciences, an international university established by President Joko Widodo. He previously served as executive director of CSIS from 2016 to 2022 and chair of the Indonesian Pollsters Association (Persepi) from 2016 to 2020 and from 2020 to 2024. His research interests include comparative politics, voting behavior, electoral politics, and political parties in Indonesia. Vermonte joined CSIS in 2001. He earned his master's degree in international studies from the University of Adelaide and his doctorate in political science from Northern Illinois University, where he was a Fulbright Scholar.

### **Xue Lei**

Xue Lei is a research fellow at the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He researches China's role in major multilateral international organizations and global economic governance, including the newly established multilateral development banks; China-U.S. economic and trade relations; and the development-security nexus and peacebuilding in fragile and conflict-affected states. He was a visiting scholar at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs in 2011, the Quaker United Nations Office in 2013, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2016. He holds a PhD in international law from the East China University of Political Science and Law.

### **Selim Yenel**

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF) since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. Yenel served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in 2019, undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs from 2017 to 2018, ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union from 2011 to 2017, deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy from 2009 to 2011, and ambassador to Vienna, Austria, from 2005 to 2009. He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara, Turkey, until the opening of accession negotiations, from 1999 to 2005, and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels from 1994 to 1999, the United Nations in New York from 1988 to 1992, the Turkish Embassy in Kabul from 1984 to 1986, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development from 1981 to 1984. Yenel recently published a book in Turkish, *The European Union's Turkey Challenge*.

# Keynote Speaker Biographies

## **Makhtar Diop**

Makhtar Diop is the managing director of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private sector arm of the World Bank Group. He is responsible for advancing economic opportunity in emerging and developing markets through private sector development. His priorities include tackling climate change and food insecurity, creating opportunities for women, and connecting emerging markets with the digital economy. A collaborative and creative leader, Diop strives to bring new and diverse voices into the global development conversation. He has served in leadership positions in both the public and private sectors throughout his distinguished career, giving him unique insights into global development. He joined the World Bank Group in 2001, where he held various positions, most recently as vice president for infrastructure and vice president for Africa. An economist by training, Diop started his career in the banking industry before joining the International Monetary Fund. He also served as minister of economy and finance for his home country of Senegal. A recognized thought leader in the fields of economics and social development, Diop has been named one of the one hundred most influential Africans in the world. He holds degrees in economics from the University of Warwick and University of Nottingham in England.

## **Kurt M. Campbell**

Kurt M. Campbell was sworn in as the twenty-second U.S. deputy secretary of state on February 12, 2024. Prior to assuming this position, Campbell served as deputy assistant to the president and coordinator for Indo-Pacific affairs on the National Security Council. He was previously founding chair and chief executive officer of the Asia Group, LLC, a strategic advisory and capital management group. From 2009 to 2013, Campbell served as the assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. Earlier, he was the CEO and cofounder of the Center for a New American Security and concurrently served as the director of the Aspen Strategy Group and chair of the editorial board of the *Washington Quarterly*. Among the other positions he has held during his distinguished career, Campbell served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific affairs, White House fellow at the Treasury Department, and as director of the democracy office at the National Security Council during the Bill Clinton administration. He was an associate professor of public policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government and served in the U.S. Navy Reserves. Campbell is the author or editor of ten books, including *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*; *Difficult Transitions: Why Presidents Fail in Foreign Policy at the Outset of Power*; and *Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security*. Campbell is the recipient of numerous awards, including the secretary of state's distinguished service award. He received his BA from the University of California, San Diego, and his doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a distinguished Marshall scholar.

## **Bruce Mehlman**

Bruce Mehlman is partner at Mehlman Consulting and has over two decades experience in public policy, business, and the law, and helps leaders and organizations understand, anticipate, and navigate political risk. His quarterly infographic analyses are consistently picked up by national media and eagerly consumed by tens of thousands of readers around the world. Mehlman is often featured on CNBC, Fox News, Fox Business, and Hearst to discuss policy and political trends and their implications. Mehlman previously served as assistant secretary of commerce for technology policy under U.S.

President George W. Bush. He also worked as a senior leadership aide in the House of Representatives, general counsel to a national political party committee, and policy counsel to Cisco Systems. Mehlman is an adjunct professor and board member of the Washington Campus and frequently lectures MBA candidates on effective business-government relations. He also serves on the advisory boards of start-up companies including FiscalNote, iLearningEngines, and Virtru, in addition to serving on the boards of the Center for Democracy & Technology and the State Science & Technology Institute. Mehlman received a BA from Princeton University and a JD from the University of Virginia Law School, where he served on the *Virginia Law Review*.

### **David M. Rubenstein**

David M. Rubenstein is cofounder and cochairman of the Carlyle Group, one of the world's largest private investment firms. He served as chief counsel to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments before becoming the deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy during the Jimmy Carter administration. Rubenstein also practiced law in both New York City and Washington, DC. He is chair of the boards of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Economic Club of Washington; a fellow of the Harvard Corporation; a trustee of the National Gallery of Art, the University of Chicago, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, Johns Hopkins Medicine, the Institute for Advanced Study, the National Constitution Center, the Brookings Institution, and the World Economic Forum; and a director of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, among other board seats. He is an original signer of the Giving Pledge; the host of *The David Rubenstein Show* and *Bloomberg Wealth with David Rubenstein*; and the author of *The American Story* and *How to Lead*. Rubenstein is a graduate of Duke University and the University of Chicago Law School.

### **Amy Walter**

Amy Walter is publisher and editor-in-chief of the *Cook Political Report* with Amy Walter, where she provides analysis of the issues, trends, and events that shape the political environment. For more than twenty-five years, Walter has built a reputation as an accurate, objective, and insightful political analyst with unparalleled access to campaign insiders and decision-makers. A contributor to PBS *NewsHour*, she provides weekly political analysis for the popular "Politics Monday" segment and is a featured contributor for its Election and Convention special coverage events. She is also a regular Sunday panelist on NBC's *Meet the Press* and CNN's *Inside Politics* and appears frequently on *Special Report with Bret Baier* on Fox News. From 2017 until early 2021, Walter was the host of the weekly nationally syndicated program *Politics with Amy Walter on The Takeaway* from WNYC and PRX. She's also the former political director of ABC News. Walter was an inaugural fellow at the University of Chicago's Institute of Politics, where she now serves on its board of advisors. She graduated from Colby College, earned an honorary degree as a doctor of letters, and serves as a trustee to its board.

# Observer Biographies

### **Andrea Bittnerová**

Andrea Bittnerová is senior events and external relations manager in the membership services and communications and marketing unit at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). Apart from overseeing all events happening at CEPS and its membership network, she is responsible for organizing CEPS' annual flagship event, the Ideas Lab. Bittnerová is an experienced project and event manager, with a rich background in civil society organizations focused on youth and education. She has over ten years of experience in volunteering and working in the youth and education sector, holding various positions in European and international civil society organizations. In 2021, Bittnerová was selected as a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's cohort of the first-ever youth advisory board, Youthwise. Her main areas of interest include youth participation, skills development, volunteering, informal education, and intercultural learning. In the past nine years, Bittnerová has also led or co-organized small- and medium-sized international events, covering areas including logistics, agendas, team coordination, and liaising with speakers. She has been involved with a variety of stakeholders, including businesses; academics; representatives of the European Commission; ambassadors; local, regional and national authorities; and civil society organizations.

### **Julia Katsovich**

Julia Katsovich is a research associate for global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Prior to joining CFR, she worked as a staff assistant intern at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars' Science and Technology Innovation Program. She also worked as a congressional intern in the Washington, DC and Hartford, Connecticut offices of U.S. Senator Richard Blumenthal. Katsovich holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Connecticut.

### **Terrence Mullan**

Terrence Mullan is associate director of the Council of Councils (CoC) at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He was previously assistant director and program coordinator for CFR's International Institutions and Global Governance program. From 2011 to 2016, he was manager of the president's office at the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, the national trade association representing the leading producers and marketers of distilled spirits. He previously worked in the offices of Senator Roland W. Burris as a legislative aide and Senator Paul G. Kirk Jr. as a legislative correspondent. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frederic Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. His research has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Defense One*, *The Hill*, *World Politics Review*, and CNN.com. Mullan earned a BBA in international business and economics from George Washington University, an MA in international commerce and policy from George Mason University, and studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is a CFR term member.