

# COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*

*Friday, May 22, 2020  
8:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. Eastern Time*



# Council of Councils Virtual Conference: COVID-19 and Global Governance

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*This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the Robina 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-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.*

## 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**

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### **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)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

### **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 Virtual Conference  
International Start Times**

**Friday, May 22, 2020**

7:00 a.m.—10:00 a.m. Mexico City

8:00 a.m.—11:00 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

9:00 a.m.—12:00 noon Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

1:00 p.m.—4:00 p.m. London

2:00 p.m.—5:00 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Johannesburg / Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

3:00 p.m.—6:00 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

5:30 p.m.—8:30 p.m. New Delhi

7:00 p.m.—10:00 p.m. Jakarta

8:00 p.m.—11:00 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

9:00 p.m.—12:00 midnight Seoul

10:00 p.m.—1:00 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Virtual Conference  
Agenda**

**Friday, May 22, 2020**

(All times below are in Eastern Time/U.S. and Canada)

8:00 a.m.–8:05 a.m. *Welcoming Remarks:*  
**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)*

8:05 a.m.–9:35 a.m. *Session One*  
**COVID-19's Implications for the Future World Order and International Cooperation**

*Panelists:*

**Chen Dongxiao**, *President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*  
**Richard Haass**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*  
**Volker Perthes**, *Executive Chairman and Director, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

*Presider:*

**Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**, *Chief Executive, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

9:35 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Break*

10:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session Two*  
**COVID-19 and the Future of Global Health Governance**

*Panelists:*

**Carlos Javier Regazzoni**, *Director of the Global Health and Human Security Committee, Argentine Council on Foreign Relations (Argentina)*  
**Robert Yates**, *Executive Director of the Centre for Universal Health, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

*Presider:*

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

# Participant Biographies

### **Riccardo Alcaro**

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors program at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) in Rome. He is also a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program. His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington and was a contributor to the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly publication on the EU, the *European Policy Analyst*. He is the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis* and editor of *The Liberal Order and its Contestations* and *The West and the Global Power Shift*. Alcaro holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

### **Steven Blockmans**

Steven Blockmans is head of European Union (EU) 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 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 European 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 is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways* and the founder and managing editor of *Think Global Health*, an online magazine that examines the ways health shapes economies, societies, and everyday lives around the world. He also directed the first CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force devoted to global health, *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. 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. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Senate, and his work has appeared in publications including the *Atlantic*, *Foreign Affairs*, and the *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.

### **Chen Dongxiao**

Chen Dongxiao is the president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in the studies of the United Nations, Chinese foreign policy, and U.S.-China relations, and has published extensively on UN reform and China's multilateral diplomacy. Chen is also the editor in chief of the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* journal, published by SIIS and World

Scientific Publishing House in Singapore. He is an adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. Chen is a high-level advisor to the Independent Team of Advisors for the UN Economic and Social Council dialogue on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, member of the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, senior advisor on economic diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the International Business Leaders Advisory Council for the Mayor of Shanghai. He is also vice-chairman of the China National Association of International Relations. Chen was recognized as a "Leading Scholar of Shanghai" in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

### **Francisco de Santibañes**

Francisco de Santibañes is secretary-general of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), a global fellow at the Wilson Center, and a professor at Austral University. The author of *Argentina and the World: Steps for Successful Integration* and *The Rebellion of Nations: The Crisis of Liberalism and the Rise of Popular Conservatism*, de Santibañes has also published articles in journals such as *Armed Forces and Society*, *Comparative Strategy*, and *Survival*, and written reports for the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He holds an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and has pursued doctoral studies at the King's College London's Department of War Studies.

### **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 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**

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. He is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Geopolitics and*

*Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia, Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia-Pacific*, coauthored with Sarah Teo. Emmers has written articles for peer-reviewed journals including *Asian Survey*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, and the *Pacific Review*, 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.

### **Michael Fullilove**

Michael Fullilove is executive director of the Lowy Institute, where he served as director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. Previously, he was a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul 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, the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and the Australian press. In 2019, he 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 from the University of New South Wales. Fullilove studied as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, where he received a master's degree and a doctorate in international relations.

### **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 Ifri's Russia/NIS Center. 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, a 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's recent publications include *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.

### **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*. He is the author of several publications on the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and the Balkans.

### **Richard Haass**

Richard Haass is in his seventeenth 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, the State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell, and in various positions in the Defense and State departments during the Carter and Reagan administrations. 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 fourteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *The World: A Brief Introduction*. A Rhodes Scholar, he holds master's and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Oxford University and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees.

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding board member of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the first president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu also serves as the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum and the chairman of the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University's (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 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.

### **Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal**

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been president of the 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.

### **Hervé Lemahieu**

Hervé Lemahieu is director of the Asian power and diplomacy program at the Lowy Institute. His work analyzes and quantifies shifts in the geoeconomics, military balance, and diplomatic networks of Asia. Among other projects, Lemahieu leads the research for the annual Asia Power Index, a data-driven

assessment he developed to map the changing distribution of power in the region, launched by the institute in 2018. He also co-chairs the annual track 1.5 Australia-France Strategic Dialogue. Lemahieu joined Lowy from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, where he was research associate for political economy and security, specializing in Southeast Asia. In an earlier role at Oxford Analytica, he consulted on early warning and geopolitical risk for governments and international organizations. His commentary and analysis have appeared in media outlets and publications including BBC, Bloomberg, CNN, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Straits Times*, *South China Morning Post*, and *Nikkei Asian Review*. Lemahieu has an MSc in global governance and diplomacy from the University of Oxford and an MA in international relations and modern history from the University of St Andrews.

### **Marlos Lima**

Marlos Lima is director for international affairs at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV). He is also a professor of postgraduate courses on strategic planning, public policy, prospective scenarios and future studies, and decision-making under uncertainty. Lima has been involved in many private and public initiatives abroad and in Brazil. He is an economist at the Brazilian School of Economics, a visiting professor at many universities in Latin America, founding member of the Latin American Group for Public Administration (GLAP/IIAS), and a member of the American Academy of Management. Lima holds a master's degree in public administration and a PhD in management from FGV.

### **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 seventy fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. He 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 served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council in 1996 and 1997. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge*, hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*, and cohosts the weekly podcast *The World Next Week*. His 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.

### **Lu Chuanying**

Lu Chuanying is senior fellow and director of research center for cyberspace governance at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. He is the co-founder of Roundtable on Military Cyber Stability and chief editor of *Information Security and Communication Privacy*. He was previously a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Oxford University. He has published several journal and newspaper articles on cyberspace governance and cybersecurity.

### **Ottilia Anna Maunganidze**

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze joined the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 2009, and is currently head of special projects in the office of the executive director, where she explores new areas of work for ISS and helps to inform institutional strategy. Her areas of interest are international criminal justice,

international human rights law, and migration trends and policy. A lawyer, strategist and analyst, before joining the ISS, Maunganidze worked as a junior legal advisor and human rights education officer. She received a master of laws degree in fundamental rights litigation and international human rights law from the University of South Africa.

### **Rohinton P. Medhora**

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), which he joined in 2012. Medhora is a member of *The Lancet* and *Financial Times* Commission on Governing Health Futures 2030, as well as the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, which is co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz. He also serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and the McLuhan Foundation, as well as on the advisory boards of the World Trade Organization Chairs Program and the United Nations University–Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology. Previously, he served on CIGI's former International Board of Governors and was vice president of programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre. He has written extensively on monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, and development economics in professional and nontechnical journals, and edited several books, including *Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries*, which he coedited with José M. Fanelli. He also coedited *Canada-Africa Relations* and *Crisis and Reform*, the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes in the Canada Among Nations book series. Medhora earned his BA, MA, and PhD in economics from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years.

### **Robin Niblett**

Robin Niblett has been director of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) since 2007. He is a nonexecutive director of Fidelity European Values PLC investment trust, has been a special advisor to the United Kingdom House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee since 2015, and a member of the World Economic Forum Global Future Council on International Security since 2016. From 2001 to 2006, he was executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Niblett is an expert on United Kingdom foreign policy, European political and economic security, and transatlantic relations. His commentary and analysis have appeared in *Daily Telegraph*, *Financial Times*, and *Washington Post*, among others. He holds a BA, an MPhil, and a DPhil from the University of Oxford.

### **Verónica Ortiz Ortega**

Verónica Ortiz Ortega has been executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Affairs (COMEXI) since October 2019. She is also a member of the National Consulting committee for the Mexican Institute of Finance Executives and the Private Sector Economic Studies Center (CEESP/CCE). Since 2013, she has been an independent political analyst for domestic and international corporations and audiences. Ortiz also writes a bi-weekly editorial for *El Heraldo de México* and cohosts the series "Incursionando" on the Mexican Congress public network with journalist Leonardo Curzio. From 2008 to 2012, she was a consulting partner with GEA, Grupo de Economistas y Asociados. Ortiz started her legal practice in the international firm Baker & McKenzie, and then

joined the legal office of the president, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Mexican Banking and Securities Commission. She earned a law degree from the Universidad Panamericana and pursued graduate courses on law and society at Oxford University.

### **Stewart M. Patrick**

Stewart M. Patrick is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). From 2005 to 2008, he was a research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed research and policymaking at the intersection of security and development. Patrick has also served on the U.S. State Department's policy planning staff, where he was responsible for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, he was a research associate at New York University's Center on International Cooperation. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. The author of *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America With the World*, Patrick has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. He also writes the *Internationalist* blog for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received two MAs and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

### **Volker Perthes**

Volker Perthes is the executive chairman and director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), a position he has held since 2005. From 2015 to 2018, he served first as UN Assistant Secretary General, then as senior advisor to the UN special envoy for Syria and Chairperson of the Cease-Fire Task Force for Syria on behalf of the United Nations. He has authored numerous books and articles and is a frequent commentator, in German and international media, on German and European foreign and security policy, international relations and geopolitics, and regional dynamics in the Middle East. He holds a PhD from Duisburg University.

### **Carlos Javier Regazzoni**

Carlos Javier Regazzoni is consultant member of the Argentine Council for International Relations on global health issues, as well as a medical doctor and politician. Regazzoni joined the City of Buenos Aires as deputy minister in the Ministry of Social Development and was later appointed as CEO of the city health-care system for public servants in the city of Buenos Aires. From 2011 to 2015, he was the undersecretary of economic and financial management and resource management of the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires. He is also the former chief executive director of the National Institute of Social Services for Retirees and Pensioners, the largest state-owned medical insurance agency in Latin America for retired people, reporting directly to the president of the country. He is currently an independent consultant in public health and pharmaceuticals public policies. In 2017, he was elected city counselor in one of the largest municipalities in Argentina. He has earned several awards because of his investigations on sustainable health care for old age and on the impact of university education on the workforce. Regazzoni is author of two books on public health and education and editor of other four on health and public administration. He was an Argentine Eisenhower fellow and was in the Latin America Development Leadership Program at Harvard Kennedy School. After

graduating as a doctor in 1992, Regazzoni earned a biostatistics diploma and a PhD in biomedical sciences from the University of Buenos Aires, and a diploma in philosophy from Austral University.

### **Andrés Rozental**

Andrés Rozental was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. He is president of his consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Mexico and Latin America. He is 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 is a senior policy adviser to Chatham House and sits on the International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council. Rozental holds non-executive board positions in several multinational companies. He is the lead non-executive board member at HSBC Mexico and chairs the bank's Remuneration and Succession committee as well as being on the Audit and Risk committee. He also currently holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, Ingredion, Almex, and Wintershall DEA in Mexico. The author of four books on Mexican foreign policy, Rozental 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.

### **Luis Rubio**

Luis Rubio is chairman of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI) and Mexico Evalúa. He also serves on the boards of two hedge funds and Coca-Cola FEMSA. He has served on the board of directors of the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico City and is a member of the Trilateral Commission and Halifax International Security Forum's agenda working group. Before joining México Evalúa, Rubio was planning director of Citibank in Mexico and served as an advisor to Mexico's secretary of the treasury. Rubio has published on political, economic, and international subjects. He is a contributing editor of *Reforma* and his analyses and opinions often appear in the United States, Mexico, and Europe in publications such as the *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, NPR, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He is also a frequent speaker at major international conferences. He is author or editor of fifty books, including *Unmasked: Lopez Obrador and The End of Make-Believe*, *A World of Opportunities*, and *A Mexican Utopia: the Rule of Law Is Possible*. Rubio is the winner of the 1985 Association of Professional Researchers for Advancement book award, the 1993 Dag Hammarskjöld Medal, and the 1998 National Journalism Award for op-ed pieces. He holds a diploma in financial management and MMBA and an MA and PhD in political science from Brandeis University.

### **Abdulaziz Sager**

Abdulaziz Sager is the founder and chairman and the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia with a well-established worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe. In addition to having authored and edited numerous publications, Sager

frequently contributes as a commentator on major international media channels such as Al Arabiya, France 24, and the BBC. He has been involved in and also chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He holds a BA in economics and administration from King Abdulaziz University, an MA in international relations from the University of Kent, and a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University.

### **Samir Saran**

Samir Saran is president of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), one of Asia's most influential think tanks. Working with the board, he provides strategic direction and leadership to ORF's multiple centers on fundraising, research projects, platform design, and outreach initiatives. He also spearheads ORF's efforts to foster new international partnerships and globalize its platforms. He curates the *Raisina Dialogue*, India's annual flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on cybersecurity and internet governance, is a commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, and is a member of the World Economic Forum's regional stewardship board and Global Future Council on Cybersecurity. He holds a BTech in electrical and electronics engineering from Manipal Institute of Technology, an MSc in media studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD from Anglia Ruskin University's Global Sustainability Institute.

### **Patrycja Sasnal**

Patrycja Sasnal is head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, where she is also a senior fellow for the Middle East. She is a member of the European Council on Foreign Relations' council, the European working group on Egypt, and the Polish Ombudsman office's expert commission on migration. She was previously an associate researcher at the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, and a Fulbright Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. She specializes in Middle Eastern studies, migration, and political philosophy. Her latest book is *Arendt, Fanon and Political Violence in Islam*. Sasnal holds a PhD in political science.

### **Gilead Sher**

Gilead Sher heads the Center for Applied Negotiations and is a senior researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies. Sher is also the Brochstein fellow in Middle East peace and security at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, chairs the executive board of Sapir Academic College, is a senior partner at the law firm Gilead Sher & Co., and serves on several corporate executive boards and public councils. Sher is an Israeli Defense Forces colonel who served in reserve service as an armored corps brigade commander and a deputy division commander. He was recently a visiting professor and Israel studies fellow at Georgetown University. In 2016, he was a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School and in 2001 he was a guest lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Previously, he was chief of staff and policy coordinator to former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, a senior negotiator at the Camp David summit and Taba talks, and a delegate to the 1994–95 Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement negotiations. He is the author of *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001* and coeditor of *Negotiating in Times of Conflict* and *Spoiling and Coping with Spoilers*. Sher holds an LL.B from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

### **Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

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### **Jusuf Wanandi**

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### **Amos Yadlin**

Amos Yadlin has been the director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies, Israel's leading strategic think tank, since November 2011. Yadlin was designated minister of defense of the Zionist Union Party in the March 2015 elections. For over forty years, he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with nine years as a member of the IDF general staff. From 2006 to 2010, he served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence and from 2004 to 2006, as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, Yadlin earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases and served as head of the Israeli Air Force's planning department. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz, which destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an MPA from Harvard University.

### **Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç**

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Selim Yenel has been the president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. He served as first deputy secretary general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (2019), undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs (2017–18), ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union (2011–17), deputy under-secretary for Bilateral Political Affairs and Public Diplomacy (2009–11), and ambassador to Vienna (2005–09). He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations (1999–2005), served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels (1994–99), to the United Nations in New York (1988–92), to the Turkish Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan (1984–86), and to the OECD in Paris (1981–84).

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