

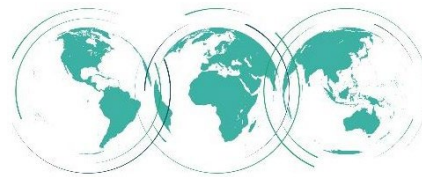
COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
RELATIONS**



COUNCIL OF COUNCILS FOURTEENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



November 5–7, 2023

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Hosted by

Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

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

About FGV

Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV), founded in 1944, is a world-renowned center for quality education and research. FGV was responsible for laying the foundations for a well-grounded Brazilian economy, introducing the first balance-of-payments index, the national account, and several macroeconomic indicators. FGV is known for its reliability and excellence. The solid knowledge of market dynamics and practices, great academic quality, and the international experience of its researchers have allowed FGV to create a diversified and comprehensive set of products designed to meet the needs of its stakeholders, whether in the public or private sectors. FGV operates eleven academic schools and eighty-seven applied research centers in Brazil.

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Global Relations Forum (GIF)

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 Fourteenth Regional Conference
Agenda**

Sunday, November 5, 2023

*Hilton Copacabana Hotel
Av. Atlântica, 1020
Rio de Janeiro - RJ, 22010-000*

6:15 p.m.–9:00 p.m.

Registration, Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion
Brazilian Foreign Policy: Challenges and Priorities

First Floor

Welcoming Remarks:

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

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

Speaker:

Mauro Vieira, *Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Monday, November 6, 2023

*FGV Office
Praia de Botafogo, 190
Rio de Janeiro, RJ - 22250-145*

8:15 a.m.

Shuttle transfer from Hilton hotel to FGV

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.

Session One (Hybrid)

Increasing Conflict and the Future of World Order

Guiding questions: What are the implications of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and Hamas's attacks on Israel from your country or regional perspective? What do you see as the biggest impact of those conflicts on the future of world order? What other conflicts or issues should the world be prioritizing?

Panelists:

Juan Battaleme, *Academic Director,*

Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

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

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

Presider:

James M. Lindsay, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies,*

and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m.

Coffee Break

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

Session Two

Reshoring, Nearshoring, Friendshoring: The Impact on Economic Growth, Innovation, and Global Value Chains

Guiding questions: Reshoring could cut out some countries that previously benefited from being part of global supply chains. How can these countries develop economic

resilience? How can major economic powers ensure middle and emerging economies are not shut out of supply chains? How might reshoring affect people around the world who emerged out of poverty over the past two decades by being part of global supply chains? How can the multilateral system prevent the world from splitting into separate blocs? Are middle and emerging economies being pushed to choose a side? Is reshoring actually occurring, or are value chains shifting to other countries?

Panelists:

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

Tim Sargent, *Distinguished Fellow,*

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Jhanvi Tripathi, *Associate Fellow, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Presider:

Christopher Sabatini, *Senior Research Fellow for Latin America,*

U.S. and the Americas Programme, Chatham House (United Kingdom)

12:15 p.m.–1:15 p.m.

Lunch

1:15 p.m.–2:45 p.m.

Session Three

Is a Green World a Safe World? Insights for New Geopolitical Approaches Toward the Energies of the Future.

Guiding questions: How will the energy transition change contemporary geopolitical competition? Which issues and regions will become the focus of the geopolitics of energy in the future? How can national governments, regional groups, nongovernmental organizations, and international organizations ensure green technology is effectively developed, shared, and diffused across an increasingly fragmented world? How can countries ensure that critical minerals (e.g., lithium, graphite, rare earth elements, etc.) required for clean technology are responsibly sourced? What norms or rules can be established to ensure green subsidies do not undermine a level playing field in global trade, contribute to fragmentation, and impose large fiscal costs? What should be done to support countries heavily dependent on nonrenewable resources?

Panelists:

Alex Benkenstein, *Head of the Climate and Natural Resources Programme, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

Margherita Bianchi, *Head, Energy, Climate, and Resources Programme, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Presider:

Daniel Vargas, *Head, Bioeconomy Observatory, Fundação Getúlio Vargas (Brazil)*

2:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.

Coffee Break

3:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m.

Session Four

Beyond Planet Earth: Who Controls Space? Outer Space Contestation and Collaboration.

Guiding questions: What are the major priorities for improving outer space governance? How can international governance structures keep pace with increased human activities in space, including the surging role of new space-faring nations and private commercial actors? How can the private sector, such as private satellite systems, better coordinate with national governments and international institutions to ensure commercial technologies are responsibly deployed and managed? What new international legal rules or changes to existing frameworks are needed to prevent the militarization of outer space? Is there any way to prevent rising geopolitical competition on Earth from leading to destructive actions in this domain? With multiple countries sending lunar missions in coming years, do we need better ways to deconflict access to the Moon? Should bilateral agreements like the Artemis Accords or specific codes of conduct be used as stopgap measures while new universal legal principles, norms, and rules of responsible behavior are negotiated? What would that process look like?

Panelists:

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

Szymon Zareba, *Head, Global Issues Program, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

Presider:

Stefan Mair, *Director,*

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

4:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m.

Shuttle transfer to Hilton hotel to FGV

4:30 p.m.–6:30 p.m.

Free Time

6:30 p.m.–7:00 p.m.

Shuttle transfer from Hilton hotel to dinner and discussion

7:00 p.m.–10:00 p.m.

Reception, Dinner, and Discussion

Geopolitics of Sustainability Standards

Julieta de Serpa
*Praia do Flamengo, 340
Rio de Janeiro - RJ, 22210-065*

Speaker:

Daniel Vargas, *Head, Bioeconomy Observatory, Fundação Getulio Vargas (Brazil)*

Tuesday, November 7, 2023

FGV Office

8:15 a.m.

Shuttle transfer from Hilton hotel to FGV

Praia de Botafogo, 190
Rio de Janeiro, RJ - 22250-145

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.

Session Five

Latin America in Regional and Global Trade Arrangements

Guiding questions: Have existing regional and subregional schemes for integration in Latin America lived up to their potential? What are the underlying economic trends in Latin America, and what do they bode for inclusive growth and social development in the region? What can be done to encourage greater intraregional trade and better integrate its regional frameworks with the multilateral trading system? What are the challenges and opportunities offered by strengthening ties with Europe, under the European Union-Mercosur Association agreement, or with the United States, under the Americas Partnership for Economic Prosperity? How can Latin America navigate the rising tide of deglobalization and contentious geopolitics with some of its most important economic partners?

Panelists:

Patricio Barreiro, Director, Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth (Argentina)

Fernando Masi, Director,

Center for Analysis and Dissemination of the Paraguayan Economy (Paraguay)

Lia Valls, Associate Researcher, Fundação Getulio Vargas (Brazil)

Bartłomiej Znojek, Latin America Analyst,

Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)

Presider:

Francisco de Santibañes, President,

Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m.

Coffee Break

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

Session Six

The Age of Artificial Intelligence: Is Consensus Possible?

Guiding questions: How urgent should nations perceive the risks and threats posed by artificial intelligence (AI)? What are the priority issues the world needs to agree on (e.g., export restrictions, ethics, and algorithms)? Are there any broad principles or standards that countries and technology companies can agree on regarding managing AI development and deployment at the global level? If not, are there any areas of commonality and even guardrails that could be established to at least prevent a dangerous AI race? What is the best forum to discuss the harmonization of AI governance? With the lion's share of AI innovation originating in only the United States and China, what mechanisms can ensure other countries are not left behind? Can AI be

governed like previous technologies or threats (e.g., the International Atomic Energy Agency or Financial Stability Board) or are new governance frameworks required?

Panelists:

Luca Belli, *Head, Center for Technology and Society, Fundação Getulio Vargas (Brazil)*

Héctor Cárdenas, *Board Member, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

Presider:

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

12:15 p.m.

Closing Remarks

12:15 p.m.–1:30 p.m.

Working Lunch

Discussion with Christian Asinelli

Speaker:

Christian Asinelli, *Corporate Vice President, Development Bank of Latin America and the Caribbean*

1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.

Public Session

The Future of the World Order: Perspectives from the BRICS, the West, and Beyond

Panelists:

Alex Benkenstein, *Head of the Climate and Natural Resources Programme, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Head, Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

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

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

Presider:

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

2:45 p.m.

Shuttle transfer from FGV to Hilton hotel

Participant Biographies

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, holds the president's chair for international relations and security studies, heads the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, and is associate dean for external engagement at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University. Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in the Asia-Pacific, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security, conflict prevention, and global governance. She has led a number of global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. Anthony has served as the secretary-general of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008 and is a member of the International Climate Security Expert Network. She was vice president at large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and was member of ISA's Global South Task Force from 2018 to 2021. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony was a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and served as its chair in 2016. She is also a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. From 2011 to 2012, she was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat. Anthony has published extensively on a broad range of security issues in the Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest books include *COVID-19 and Atrocity Prevention in East Asia*, *Nuclear Governance in the Asia-Pacific*, and *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*.

Patricio Barreiro

Patricio Barreiro is director of institutional development and international cooperation at the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies Promoting Equity and Growth (CIPPEC). Barreiro has been working on issues of institutional development since 2014. Previously, he was communications and fundraising manager at Dr. Ricardo Gutiérrez Children's Hospital in Buenos Aires. Prior to that, Barreiro worked in information technology consulting as head of communications and new business for Latin America and the United States. In 2003, he began his career as a consulting lawyer and trained in business administration. Barreiro graduated with degrees in law and journalism, specializing in institutional communications, innovative marketing, and fundraising strategies.

Juan Battaleme

Juan Battaleme is academic director of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He specializes in national security and defense, and is professor at several undergraduate and graduate universities in Argentina, including the University of Buenos Aires, the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina University (UCEMA), Austral University, the Naval War College, and the Air War College. Battaleme was a Fulbright Scholar, a National Defense University fellow, and a Chevening Scholar. He is a doctoral candidate in organizations management at UCEMA, and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Margherita Bianchi

Margherita Bianchi is head of the energy, climate, and resources research program at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI), where she currently coordinates research projects related to Italian,

European, and international energy and climate policy development. Her research interests include climate and energy governance and the EU external engagement and foreign policy. She previously worked at the European Parliament, the Italian Group of Seven presidency's task force, and the UN Environment Program. She has lectured at several Italian universities and frequently provides expert insights to international and Italian news outlets. Bianchi holds a bachelor's degree in political science and international relations from the Catholic University of Milan, a master's degree in European affairs from the Luiss School of Government in Rome, and master's degree in EU law from the Institute of European Studies in Brussels.

Luca Belli

Lucca Belli is professor of digital governance and regulation at Fundação Getulio Vargas's (FGV) law school, where he directs the Center for Technology and Society and the CyberBRICS project. Belli is also editor of the *International Data Privacy Law Journal*, published by Oxford University Press. He is currently a member of the board of the Alliance for Affordable Internet and director of the Computers, Privacy and Data Protection conference in Latin America. He is the author of more than fifty publications on law and technology, and his works have been cited by numerous media outlets, including the *Economist*, the *Financial Times*, *Forbes*, *Le Monde*, BBC, *China Today*, the *Beijing Review*, the *Hill*, *O Globo*, *Folha de São Paulo*, *El Pais*, and *La Stampa*. Belli holds a PhD in public law from Panthéon-Assas University Paris.

Alex Benkenstein

Alex Benkenstein is the head of the governance of Africa's resources programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), which he joined in November 2010. His work at SAIIA has focused on resource governance-related issues, particularly in the fields of fisheries, ocean governance, and mining. Through his work at SAIIA, Benkenstein has collaborated with several partners in the public and private sector, such as the World Gold Council's Standards for Conflict-Free Gold, the Southern African Development Community's Think Tank Forum on Climate Change, the New Partnership For Africa's Development Agency, and the Benguela Current Commission. He was appointed as head of research for the Regency Foundation Network, where his work focused on climate change, particularly corporate-social-responsibility responses to emerging issues surrounding climate change. Prior to that, he was a researcher for the South African consultancy Managing for Excellence, where he completed projects for various clients, including the Parliament of South Africa. Benkenstein graduated from the University of Stellenbosch with a master's degree in international studies.

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 about the need to craft new mechanisms of governance to manage 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, the largest nonprofit professional association dedicated to international education with around 10,000

members in more than 160 countries. 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, including *Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy Is Under Threat*; *Changing Identities, Enduring Values: Is There Still a Transatlantic Community?*; and *The Strategic Implications of EU Enlargement* (with Stefan Fröhlich). Brimmer received her bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

Héctor Cárdenas

Héctor Cárdenas is president and CEO of the Ergo Group, Inc.; board member of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI); and lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy. Cárdenas is an executive and consultant with twenty years of experience in public policy, international affairs, technology strategy, technology implementation, and management consulting. He has advised public sector agencies at all three levels of government on public policy issues in the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Cárdenas has consulted with the World Bank; the Interamerican Development Bank; the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID); the French Development Agency; the U.S. Department of Labor; and the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. He has also consulted with various agencies of the governments of Mexico, Canada, and California. Cárdenas has been a member of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Working Group on Migration and served on the California advisory board of Nacional Financiera, Mexico's development bank. He holds a BA in international relations from the College of Mexico, an MPA from the National School of Administration in France, and an MPP and PhD in public policy from University of California, Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy.

Javier Castro de León

Javier Castro de León is executive director of the Salvadoran Foundation for Economic and Social Development (FUSADES), a think tank established in 1983 devoted to promoting economic and social development in El Salvador. His areas of research include democratic institutions, rule of law, justice, transparency, and access to information. De León was previously director, manager, and senior researcher at FUSADES' legal studies department. In 2017, he was an International Monetary Fund civil society fellow. He participates on the Plan of the Alliance for Prosperity's subcommittee on institutional strengthening, the National Council for Growth's technical panel, the UN Democracy Fund's Strengthening Dialogue and Democratic Institutions in El Salvador's technical committee, and the UN Technical Roundtable on Strengthening Democratic Institutions. De León earned a bachelor's degree in law from the José Matías Delgado University, a master's degree in law and management from

Inidem Business and Law School, a senior management program diploma from Central American Institute of Business Administration, and conducted constitutional law postgraduate studies at the University of Salamanca.

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.

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*.

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 *Les ambitions inavouées: Ce que préparent les grandes puissances*, and he has also authored *L'Affolement du monde* and *Guerres invisibles*. He has been awarded the rank of Knight of the National Order of Merit. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Jorge Henriquez

Jorge Henriquez is the principal researcher for the Open Budget Survey 2023, which analyzes the Honduras budget process and documents, and project and fund manager at the Social Forum on Foreign Debt and Development of Honduras (FOSDEH). Henriquez's areas of interest include the reduction of irregular migration, public policy, and social change. Henriquez has actively engaged with a diverse set of international organizations and funding sources, including the National Endowment for Democracy, National Democratic Institute, Open Society Foundations, U.S. Agency for International Development, International Budget Partnership, and Oxfam in the United States; International Development Research Centre in Canada; and institutes in Denmark, Spain, and Sweden. He earned his bachelor's degree in industrial and business administration from the Central American Technological University and an associate degree in small business administration from Hesston College.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (2009–19) and board member (2009–23) of the Global Relations Forum. 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 the senior advisor at Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization 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, he served as 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 (MIT), an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

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, scenario building, and decision-making under uncertainty. Lima has been involved in many private and public initiatives in Brazil and abroad. He is an economist at the Brazilian School of Economics, visiting professor at many universities in Latin America, founding member of the Latin American Group for Public Administration, and member of the American Academy of Management. Lima holds a master's degree in public administration and a doctorate 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 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 European Union 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.

Gustavo Martínez

Gustavo Martínez is head of public affairs and managing director of the Argentine Council of International Relations (CARI), Argentine executive director for the Think20, and a country expert for the EU Public Diplomacy program in Latin America. He also served as head adviser to the chair of the House Foreign Affairs committee in the Argentine Parliament and academic director and professor in the master's degree program in diplomacy and foreign policy at the University of Business and Social Sciences. Martínez was previously secretary general of the University of Bologna's Buenos Aires campus and academic coordinator for its master's degree in international relations Europe-Latin America, and general manager of the University of the Argentine Social Museum. He has taught political decision theory, history of political ideas, and the history of social policy in Argentina at the University of Belgrano. He holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from University of Belgrano and a master's degree in education from the Torcuato Di Tella University.

Fernando Masi

Fernando Masi is the founder and current director of the Center for Analysis and Dissemination of the Paraguayan Economy (CADEP). He previously worked as a principal adviser to the minister of Industry and Commerce of Paraguay (2009–12) and principal adviser to the minister of Finance of Paraguay (2003–05). Masi has also served as a researcher and consultant at the World Bank, the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean, the UN Development Program, and the Paraguayan National Council of Science and Technology. In 2001, he was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the

University of Miami. Masi's work on the Paraguayan economy, economic integration, competitiveness, and international relations has been published in more than sixty academic papers, articles, and books. He received his BA in sociology from the Catholic University of Asuncion and his MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University.

Jorge Morel

Jorge Morel is the director of economics and main researcher at the Peruvian Studies Institute (IEP). His areas of expertise include political economy, private sector studies, and open government and multi-actor mechanisms. Morel has a bachelor's degree in political science from the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and master's degree in development studies from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.

Carmen Ortiz

Carmen Ortiz is permanent associate and member of the board of directors of the Association for Research and Social Studies (ASIES), a Guatemala-based think tank recognized as one of the best in the country, region, and world. She joined ASIES as a researcher in 1998. Ortiz is a political scientist specializing in electoral issues and alternative methods of dispute resolution. She served as a country representative for the American Friends Service Committee in Haiti from 2010 to 2012, where her work focused on conflict and violence prevention. Ortiz previously served as director of the secretariat for strategic analysis in the office of the Guatemalan president, and supported the development of the early warning system to prevent social conflicts. She has also worked as a consultant on security issues for the Latin American Regional office of Interpeace Alliance, an international peacebuilding organization based in Switzerland.

Christopher Sabatini

Christopher Sabatini is senior fellow for Latin America at Chatham House and a senior lecturer of practice at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He was a lecturer in discipline at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. From 2005 to 2014, Sabatini was senior director of policy at the Americas Society and the Council of the Americas, founder and editor-in-chief of the hemispheric policy magazine *Americas Quarterly*, and chaired the organization's rule of law and Cuba working groups. Sabatini is also on the advisory committees for Human Rights Watch's Americas Division and the Inter-American Foundation. He is also an HFX fellow at the Halifax International Security Forum. Sabatini is a frequent contributor to policy journals and newspapers, and appears in the media and on panels on issues related to Latin America and foreign policy. In 2015, he founded and directed a new research nonprofit, Global Americas, and edited its news and opinion website. He earned a PhD in government from the University of Virginia.

Tim Sargent

Tim Sargent is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation with twenty-eight years of experience with the Canadian government. He most recently served as deputy minister of Fisheries and Oceans Canada. Sargent's research interests center on the implications of digital technologies for the global economy and on how trade policy and international governance can

respond to these challenges. He has held positions in five different government departments. In 2016, Sargent became deputy minister of international trade at Global Affairs Canada, where he was involved in negotiations including the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement, the Canada-EU Trade Agreement, and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. He supported the minister of international trade at the World Trade Organization meetings and helped set up and host the first meeting of the Ottawa Group. Before that, Sargent was associate deputy minister at Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, and later became associate deputy minister of finance and a Group of Seven, Group of Twenty, and Financial Stability Board deputy. He was also the Department of Finance's representative on the Financial Stability Board, served as secretary to several cabinet committees, and as assistant secretary to the cabinet on economic and regional development policy. In 2007, Sargent became assistant secretary to the cabinet within the Privy Council Office and was responsible for advising the prime minister on a wide variety of issues, including monetary, tax, and fiscal policy. He began his career at the Department of Finance, where he researched the effects of technological change, policies to combat climate change, and unemployment insurance. Sargent earned a BA in economics from the University of Manchester, an MA from Western University, and PhD in economics at the University of British Columbia.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been president of the Fundação Getulio Vargas (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.

Jhanvi Tripathi

Jhanvi Tripathi is an associate fellow with the Observer Research Foundation's (ORF) geoeconomics programme and served as the coordinator for the Think20 India secretariat. She also coordinates ORF's activities for the BRICS Think Tank Council. Her research focuses on international trade policy, including new trade issues like digital trade policy and gender and trade, in addition to World Trade Organization (WTO) reform and nontariff measures. Tripathi also has a keen interest in conflict resolution and negotiation. Prior to this, she was an associate researcher on international trade policy for the Confederation of Indian Industry, where she worked on India's free trade agreement negotiations with the European Union and in the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, in addition to WTO policy positions. Tripathi has published multiple papers on Africa-India trade, global trade architecture, and trilateral cooperation in international trade. She holds a BA in political science and a diploma in conflict transformation and peacebuilding from the University of Delhi's Lady Shri Ram College and an MSc in comparative politics from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Lia Baker Valls Pereira

Lia Baker Valls Pereira is an associate researcher at the Brazilian Institute of Economics at Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV), where she prepares the Latin American Economic Survey's report and Foreign Trade Indicators Bulletin and publishes regularly in FGV's magazine, *Economic Situation*. She is also a senior fellow at the Brazilian Center for International Relations' Center on Multilateralism. In recent years, she has researched Brazil-China relations, Brazil-U.S. relations, the BRICS, and reform of the multilateral trade system. Valls Pereira is head of the department of economic analysis at Rio de Janeiro State University School of Economic Sciences and a professor in its department of international relations' postgraduate program. She has published extensively on trade and international political economy and has worked for Brazilian government agencies and multilateral organizations. Valls Pereira holds a bachelor's degree in economics from Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, a master's of philosophy degree in economics from the University of Cambridge, and a doctorate from UFRJ's Institute of Economics.

Alisa Vogt

Alisa Vogt is program director at Körber-Stiftung's International Affairs department in Berlin, where she focuses on German foreign policy and European issues. She is also responsible for the Munich young leaders program and the Körber Network foreign policy program. From 2016 to 2020, Vogt worked at Körber-Stiftung in different capacities for the *Berlin Pulse*, Bergedorf roundtable, and political breakfast series. She gained previous work experience at the Munich Security Conference, the German Embassy to Brazil's political section, a German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) project on renewable energies, the Regensburg University of Applied Sciences, and at the technology company Continental. Vogt holds degrees in Latin American studies from Free University Berlin and in international relations and management from Regensburg University of Applied Science, with study visits at Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais and Sorbonne Nouvelle. Between degrees, she worked as a teacher in Buenos Aires.

Szymon Zaręba

Szymon Zaręba is head of the global issues program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). He is also an assistant professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Zaręba's research interests include various regulatory issues with an international or EU dimension. He also closely follows developments in the Council of Europe and the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Zaręba has been involved in several collaborative research projects, mainly on international recognition, human rights protection and global health management. He earned an LLM in law and an MA in international relations from the University of Warsaw, and a PhD in law from the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Law Studies.

Bartłomiej Znojek

Bartłomiej (Bartek) Znojek is a Latin America analyst at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). His research includes Latin American countries' political and economic situation, regional cooperation, and the region's relations with partners like the United States and China. Znojek also follows Poland and the European Union's relations with Latin America. He coauthored and

coordinated several events in Poland related to Latin America, including on topics such as negotiations on the EU-Mercosur agreement. He holds master's degrees in international relations and Latin American studies from the Jagiellonian University.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Christian Asinelli

Christian Asinelli is corporate vice president of strategic programming at the Development Bank of Latin America (CAF). He has been appointed to various roles in the public sector and internationally over the past sixteen years, including undersecretary of international financial relations for development, secretariat of strategic affairs for the president of the Argentine Republic, alternate national director of the state modernization project in the Chief of Cabinet of Ministers of the Argentine Republic, representative of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, undersecretary of evaluation of projects with external financing for the Chief of Cabinet of Ministers of the Argentine Republic, director of institutional development at CAF, and president of the Banco Ciudad Foundation. He was a fellow in the Hubert Humphrey fellowship program in 2010, the special program for urban and regional studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2011, and the Singularity University executive program in 2017. He has a master's degree in public administration and policy from the University of Saint Andrew in Argentina (UdeSA), postgraduate degrees in urban economics from the Torcuato Di Tella University and socio-urban management from the Latin American Social Sciences Institute, and a doctorate in political science from the National University of San Martín.

Daniel Vargas

Daniel Vargas is a public policy and law professor at the Economics School of the Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), and coordinator of the FGV Bioeconomy Observatory. He has served in several positions in the Brazilian government, including as secretary of sustainable development and interim minister of strategic affairs. Vargas is currently a visiting scholar at Cambridge University's land economy department and at Bonn University's Center for Development Research. He holds a master's degree in law from Harvard University and a doctorate.

Mauro Vieira

Mauro Vieira has served as the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs since January 2023. Prior to that, he was Brazil's ambassador to Croatia, minister of foreign affairs from 2015 to 2016, permanent representative to the United Nations, ambassador to the United States, and ambassador to Argentina. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vieira has served as coordinator for international acts, assistant to the secretary general, assistant to the minister of foreign affairs, chief of staff to the secretary general, and chief of staff to the minister of foreign affairs. He has also worked in the Ministry of Science and Technology as deputy secretary general for science and technology, and at the Ministry of Social Security and Social Assistance as national secretary of administration at the Institute of Social Security. Vieira has served abroad as a second secretary at the embassy of Brazil in Washington, DC, as a first secretary at the Permanent Mission of Brazil to the Latin American Integration Association, as counsellor at the Embassy of Brazil in Mexico City, and as minister counsellor at the Embassy of Brazil in Paris. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in law from the Federal Fluminense University and studied at the Rio Branco Institute's Brazilian Diplomatic Academy. He also received an honorary doctorate of letters from Georgetown University.

Virtual Participant Biographies

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors programme at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. He is the coordinator of the JOINT project on EU foreign and security policy, carried out by a fourteen-strong consortium of research centers from twelve countries and funded under the EU's Horizon 2020 Programme. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center on the United States and Europe and a European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program fellow. 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*, among other works. He holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is senior fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, Belgium; senior fellow at the International Centre for Security and Defense in Tallinn, Estonia; visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, and Natolin, Poland; and editor in chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review*. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the European Union. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defense* and *Regroup and Reform: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. Blockmans's latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied to its outer periphery. He is the editor of more than twenty academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

Gustavo de Carvalho

Gustavo de Carvalho is a senior researcher on Russia-Africa ties at the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). De Carvalho has over fifteen years of experience supporting policy development, capacity building, and research processes in Africa, focusing mainly on multilateralism and the relationship between African stakeholders and external partners. He has worked with various international organizations and think tanks, including the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau, the Institute for Security Studies, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, and Global Witness. De Carvalho holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from the University of Brasilia and an MSc in African studies from the University of Oxford.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is 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 the editor in chief of *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing in Singapore. He is also 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, a member of the Association for Southeast

Asian Nations' Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, senior advisor on economic diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the mayor of Shanghai's international business leaders' advisory council. He is also vice chair of the China National Association of International Relations. Chen has led numerous research projects commissioned by China's National Social Science Foundation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, among others. He was recognized as a Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan 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 arms control.

Neuma Grobbelaar

Neuma Grobbelaar is an experienced foreign policy and development expert with thirty-four years of project and research management and fundraising and policy experience. A former South African diplomat, she is the research director at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), a leading African foreign policy and development think tank based at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research focuses on the intersection between foreign policy, regional integration, and human development; the role of the private sector in African development initiatives; and South Africa's role in global economic governance frameworks. She has a wide knowledge of South Africa's foreign policy, its relationship with the region and the Global South, and its economic and development engagement.

Yasushi Kudo

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

of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Fyodor Lukyanov is chair of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, the oldest Russian nongovernmental organization providing expertise in the field of security and foreign affairs. He is editor in chief of *Russia in Global Affairs*, a journal published in Russian and English since 2002. Lukyanov is also research director of the Valdai Discussion Club and member of the presidium of the Russian International Affairs Council. Additionally, he is a research professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

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), Nanyang Technological University. 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 programme from 2016 to 2020 and the Centre of Excellence for National Security from 2006 to 2015. A historian by background, Ramakrishna is a frequent public speaker and media commentator on counterterrorism with a focus on Southeast Asia and has published extensively on the topic. 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*. He earned a bachelor's degree in political science from the National University of Singapore, a master's degree in defense studies from the University of New South Wales, and a doctorate in history from Royal Holloway and University of London's Bedford New College.

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. Rozental 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 Mexico's ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1995 to 1997, deputy foreign minister of Mexico from 1988 to 1994, ambassador to Sweden from 1983 to 1988, and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva from 1982 to 1983. 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 Inter-American 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 master's degree in international economics from the

University of Pennsylvania and a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is a Saudi strategic expert specializing in international politics and regional security issues, and founder and chair of the Gulf Research Center (GRC). Sager has also been a visiting professor at a number of universities, and member of various councils, advisory and academic committees, institutes and international research centers. He participates in international and regional conferences that address issues pertaining to the Gulf region. Notably, he has authored and edited numerous publications and has many articles in local and international newspapers related to Gulf affairs and regional issues, and he frequently contributes to major international media outlets. He is also the editor-in-chief of *Araa*, a monthly Arabic-language magazine focused on Gulf affairs, and is the editor-in-chief of *The Gulf Yearbook*. Sager holds a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Yonsei University's Underwood International College. He served as 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; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and University of California, Berkeley. Sohn has served on several government advisory committees, including the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the South Korean Ministry of Trade, 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 recent publications include *Japan and Asia's Contested Order*, coauthored with T.J. Pempel; *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*, coauthored with Jan Melissen; and *South Korea Under U.S.-China Rivalry: The Dynamics of the Economic-Security Nexus in Trade Policymaking*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Duygu Söyler Aytaç

Duygu Söyler Aytaç is senior director at Global Relations Forum (GRF). She also directs the GRF Young Academics program and its publications and coordinates GRF community programs, which connect students and young professionals with GRF's work and advance a culture of intellectual diversity, rational and constructive debate, and analytic coherence. Her work focuses on technology and socioeconomic transformation, green transitions, and gender equality. Prior to joining GRF in 2019, she worked at Infakto Research Workshop where she conducted social and political research on various topics. She obtained a BA in political science and international relations from Boğaziçi University and an MA in political science from Central European University, where she specialized in political communication.

Manuel Trajtenberg

Manuel Trajtenberg became executive director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in May 2021. He has also been a professor at Tel Aviv University's Eitan Berglas School of Economics since 1984. He is one of the world leading experts on research and development, patents, innovation, and economic growth. Trajtenberg previously held several senior positions in the public sector, including founder and first chair of the Israeli prime minister's National Economic Council (2006–09), chair of the Council for Higher Education's budgeting and planning committee (2009–14), chair of the government committee for social and economic change following the mass social protests of 2011, and member of Knesset (2015–17). Trajtenberg led the First One Hundred Days project at the Technion Israel Institute of Technology's Samuel Neaman Institute, addressing critical economic and social issues such as fiscal and tax policies, the transportation crisis, early childhood education, and health system funding, among others. Trajtenberg has broad experience with security issues as well, serving for many years as an expert reservist in the Israel Ministry of Defence's Directorate for Defense Research and Development and initiating and serving as vital member of the Brodet committee for the defense budget following the Second Lebanon War. He was a member of the scientific advisory committee of the defense corporation during the development of the Iron Dome antimissile system, participated in the forum that created the National Cyber Directorate, and served as a member of the Knesset committee for the defense budget. He holds a PhD from Harvard University.

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*.

Yu Tiejun

Yu Tiejun is a professor at Peking University's School of International Studies and president of the university's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. He was a Fulbright Visiting scholar at the security studies program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) from 2018 to 2019, was a visiting scholar at Stanford University and Harvard University from 2005 to 2006, and studied at the University of Tokyo from 1998 to 2000. Yu is executive editor in chief of *China International Strategy Review* and has written extensively on international security, East Asian international relations, and China's foreign and defense policy. He was

awarded Peking University's Excellent Teaching Award and Distinguished Research Award in 2010 and 2017, respectively. Yu received his BA, MA, and PhD from Peking University.

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is the director of the Moscow State University of International Relations' Sustainable Development Centre, a member of the presidential council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, and a member the management board of the Russian International Affairs Council. He graduated from Moscow State University.

Observer Biographies

Terrence Mullan

Terrence Mullan is associate director of the Council of Councils (CoC) at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). The CoC is CFR's premier international initiative connecting twenty-seven major policy institutes from both established and emerging nations in dialogue and consensus-building on issues of geopolitics, global governance, and multilateral cooperation. 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, where he focused on health policy, veterans' affairs, and economic development. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frederic Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. His writing has appeared in *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.

Klaus de Freitas Stier

Klaus de Freitas Stier is the manager for international affairs at Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV). He is also a visiting lecturer on geopolitics and international relations at the Brazilian Army Command and General Staff College. At FGV, he is responsible for managing activities with governments, think tanks, and international organizations. For the past ten years, he has been an active interlocutor and promoter of cooperation among global think tanks, organizing summits and representing FGV in think tank networks and conferences. He holds a degree in international relations and a master's degree in public administration from FGV's Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration.