

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, June 5, 2022
5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.*

*Monday, June 6, 2022
7:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.
5:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.*

*Tuesday, June 7, 2022
8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.*

The 2022 Council of Councils Annual Conference

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family Foundation and Robina Foundation. The second session is part of the Project on the Future of Global Health Security, which was made possible by a generous grant from the Koret Foundation. The fourth session is made possible by the generous support of Bloomberg Philanthropies (www.bloomberg.org). The fifth session is part of the Diamonstein-Spielvogel Project on the Future of Democracy.

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

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

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

CHINA

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

JAPAN

Genron NPO

MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

RUSSIA

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

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 Eleventh Annual Conference

Sunday, June 5, 2022

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

5:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m. Reception, Opening Dinner, and Discussion
U.S. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

Speakers:

David E. Sanger, White House and National Security Correspondent,
The New York Times

Margaret E. Talev, Managing Editor for Politics, *Axios*

Moderator:

Andrés Rozental, Founder, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)

Monday, June 6, 2022

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

7:30 a.m.–8:00 a.m. Registration and Light Breakfast

8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. Session One (Hybrid)

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

The West, Russia, and Ukraine

Guiding Questions: How is the Russian invasion of Ukraine perceived across CoC member countries? What should the West's goals in Ukraine be, and how should they be pursued? What stance should countries outside the West take with respect to this conflict? What can be done to discourage/deter Russia from escalating or widening the war, and what should be the response to any such escalation? How should the Ukraine war affect relations with Russia for the West and other countries? What are the implications of Russia's aggression on global governance and multilateral security cooperation? What needs changing? Should the North Atlantic Treaty Organization enlarge to include Finland and Sweden?

Discussion Facilitator:

Selim Yenel, President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

9:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. Coffee Break

Second Floor Reception Area

9:45 a.m.–10:45 a.m. Open Discussion (Hybrid)

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Common Challenges Think Tanks Face

Discussion Facilitator:

Stewart 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)

10:45 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Coffee Break*

Second Floor Reception Area

11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

The Future of Global Health Security: Preparing for Emerging Pandemic Threats

Guiding Questions: How can international agencies and national health systems be better aligned to prevent, detect, and manage the growing health risks from zoonotic pathogens, alteration of ecosystems, and climate change, consistent with a One Health approach? What new norms, rules, or frameworks of cooperation are needed to mitigate and adapt to these fast-emerging health threats? What are the most promising proposals for global surveillance and detection of emerging pathogens? What are the prospects for creating a new Global Health Threats Council, within or alongside the United Nations? How can the world avoid falling into the familiar cycle of panic and neglect, when it comes to pandemic threats?

Speakers:

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

Rebecca Katz, *Professor and Director of the Center for Global Health Science and Security, Georgetown University (United States)*

Jennifer Nuzzo, *Senior Fellow for Global Health, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Moderator:

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

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Lunch*

Eighth Floor

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. *Session Three*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Global Digital Governance: Is Consensus on New Rules Possible?

Guiding Questions: How can the multilateral system best encourage a balance among security, openness, and interoperability in the international digital environment? How can countries and private industry build a system of digital governance that enhances global systemic trust and creates opportunities for all countries to advance their strategic and economic interests? What are prospects for building consensus on new norms, rules, and guidelines for cross-border digital activities, including digital trade, digital currencies, and social networks, as well as regarding cyberattacks and election interference? How will the digital currency revolution transform the global economy and geopolitics? What international standards are needed to help ensure that its impacts are more benign than destabilizing?

Speakers:

Memduh Karakullukçu, *Founding Board Member, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

Karel Lannoo, *Chief Executive, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*
Rohinton Medhora, *President,*
Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Moderator:

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

3:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m. *Free Time*

5:30 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Reception*

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

6:00 p.m.–7:00 p.m. *Public Session*

Coping with Deglobalization

Speakers:

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

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

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

Moderator:

TBD

7:00 p.m.–8:30 p.m. *Dinner*

Tuesday, June 7, 2022

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street NW

Washington, DC

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Four*

First Floor Conference Room

Managing Growing Climate Risk

Guiding Questions: What are the main policy implications to be drawn from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Sixth Assessment Report, which suggests that the world is poised to badly exceed the Paris agreement temperature targets? What are the political prospects for agreeing on, as well as implementing, more ambitious emissions abatement targets in the run-up to the next United Nations Climate Change Conference of the Parties in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt? How is the war in Ukraine shaping the politics of fossil fuel dependency, and how might the conflict advance or hinder the global effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and shift to renewable energy sources? What are the main obstacles to leveraging greater private sector investment in adaptation and resilience? Given the deepening climate emergency, which will hit the world's marginalized populations hardest, is it time to consider accelerating the research, development, and deployment of geoengineering methods—including carbon removal and sunlight reflection technologies—to the existing portfolio of strategies for managing climate risk?

Speakers:

Daniel F. Feldman, *Former Chief of Staff and Counselor to Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry, U.S. Department of State (United States)*

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)*

Patrycja Sasnal, *Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

Moderator:

Ralf Emmers, *Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

First Floor Reception Area

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Five*

First Floor Conference Room

The Fate of Democracy

Guiding Questions: Is the survival of freedom at risk? What are the main threats to representative democracy, internally and externally? Are democracies capable of addressing the dilemmas of globalization and delivering for their citizens? What are the likely trajectories of authoritarianism and democracy, in the short- and medium-term? What is the future of global democracy promotion? What can open societies do to protect themselves in the current information environment? Can democracies and nondemocracies find common ground on global challenges, despite their fundamental disagreements? Where is cooperation likely to be easiest? Where hardest?

Speakers:

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

Markus Kaim, *Senior Fellow in the International Security Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

Bessma Momani, *Senior Fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Moderator:

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

12:15 p.m.–12:30 p.m. *Conference Wrap Up*

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Working Lunch, Briefing, and Discussion (Hybrid)*

First Floor Conference Room

The Global Economic Outlook

Speaker:

David R. Malpass, *President of the World Bank Group*

Moderator:

Rohinton Medhora, *President,*

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)