

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



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

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

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

The 2019 Council of Councils Annual Conference

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

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

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

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

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CANADA

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GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

INDIA

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Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

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SAUDI ARABIA

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SOUTH AFRICA

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South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

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Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Eighth Annual Conference

Sunday, May 5, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

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

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

Speakers:

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

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

Moderator:

Rohinton P. Medhora, *President, Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Welcoming Remarks:

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

Monday, May 6, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

What Should the Future World Order Look Like?

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

Facilitator:

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

Opening Remarks:

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

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

Second Floor Reception Area

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two*

Rockefeller-Peterson Room

Managing Global Catastrophic Risk: Nuclear Weapons

Guiding Questions: What challenges do changing global power dynamics and new technologies—ballistic missile defense systems, anti-satellite weapons, and hypersonic missiles—pose to the classic model of arms control and the nuclear deterrence landscape? How can countries adapt to these changes and cooperate to manage the

risks of escalation and prevent a new nuclear arms race? As the norms against nuclear weapons proliferation erode and insecurity increases, what new policies or frameworks can reestablish nuclear stability and reduce and eventually eliminate the risk of nuclear weapons use?

Facilitator:

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

Opening Remarks:

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

12:15 p.m.–12:45 p.m. *Lunch* *First Floor Reception Area*

12:45 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Public Session* *First Floor Conference Room*
A Century of Think Tanks

Panelists:

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

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

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

Robin Niblett, *Director, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

Moderator:

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

1:45 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Coffee Break* *Second Floor Reception Area*

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Three* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*
Confronting the Challenges of a Rapidly Urbanizing World

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

Panelists:

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

Clare Romanik, *Senior Urban Specialist and Ocean Plastics Specialist, The United
States Agency for International Development*

Moderator:

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

3:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. *(Optional)* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*
Remarks on the Paris Peace Forum

Speaker:

Justin Vaïsse, *Director General and Founder, Paris Peace Forum*

4:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m. *Free Time*

6:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Reception, Discussion, and Dinner* **Council on Foreign Relations**
1777 F Street, NW
Washington, DC
A Conversation With Elliott Abrams

Speaker:

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

Moderator:

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

Tuesday, May 7, 2019

Council on Foreign Relations

1777 F Street, NW

Washington, DC

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

8:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Public Session* *Rockefeller-Peterson Room*
CoC Report Card on International Cooperation Launch

Panelists:

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

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

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

Moderator:

Mara Liasson, *National Political Correspondent, National Public Radio*

9:45 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Coffee Break* *First Floor Reception Area*

10:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Session Four* *First Floor Conference Room*
How Do We Ensure Freedom Has a Future?

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

Facilitator:

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

Opening Remarks:

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

11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Lunch*

Eighth Floor

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Session Five*

First Floor Conference Room

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

Panelists:

Susanne Droege, Senior Fellow, Global Issues Division,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Oliver Geden, Head of the European Union/Europe Research Division,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Maria Panezi, Research Fellow,
Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Facilitator:

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

1:30 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Coffee Break*

First Floor Reception Area

1:45 p.m.–2:45 p.m. *Session Six*

First Floor Conference Room

Multilateral Conflict Management: Yemen

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

Facilitator:

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

Opening Remarks:

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

2:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.

Closing Remarks and Wrap-Up

First Floor Conference Room

Speaker:

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

Participant Biographies

Alyssa Ayres

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

Steven Blockmans

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

Thomas J. Bollyky

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

Mariana Campero

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

Thierry de Montbrial

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

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

Francisco de Santibañes

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

Susanne Droege

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

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. The author or editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF*, *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, and *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, Emmers has written articles for many peer-reviewed journals, including *Asian Survey*, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *Global Change*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes. He completed his MSc and PhD in the international relations department of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

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

Michael Fullilove

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

Oliver Geden

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

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

Adalberto Rodríguez Giavarini

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

Thomas Gomart

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

Young-Sun Ha

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

Richard Haass

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

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

Penny Hunt

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

Sunjoy Joshi

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

Memduh Karakullukçu

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

Yasushi Kudo

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

Sergey Kulik

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

Evan A. Laksmana

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

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

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

Sook Jong Lee

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

Collaboration Center with the support of the National Research Foundation of Korea. She has also directed the Asian Democracy Research Network since its formation in 2015. Lee participates in the Council of Councils, Trilateral Commission, and other transnational networks for research and policy studies. Since 2015, she has served as a steering committee member of the World Movement for Democracy. Her research interests include multilateralism, democracy, and civil societies, focusing on Japan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries. Previously, Lee was a research fellow at the Sejong Institute, a professional lecturer at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and the German Institute for Global and Area Studies. Her recent publications include *Keys to Successful Presidency in South Korea*, *Korea's Role in Global Governance for Development Cooperation*, and *Transforming Global Governance with Middle Power Diplomacy*. Lee received her PhD in sociology from Harvard University.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr.

Stephen R. Lewis Jr. is a trustee for the Robina Foundation. He was president of Carleton College and previously Herbert H. Lehman professor of economics at Williams College, where he was twice provost. A specialist in economic development, Lewis has lived in Botswana, Kenya, and Pakistan, where he served as a consultant to those countries' governments and research institutions. In 1983, Lewis received the Presidential Order of Meritorious Service from the Botswana government. He has written several books, including *The Economics of Apartheid*, and edited former Botswana President Quett Ketumile Joni Masire's memoir *Very Brave or Very Foolish?* Lewis also has served on a number of corporate, educational, and nonprofit boards, including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he was vice chairman. He holds a BA from Williams College and a PhD from Stanford University.

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 in 1996–97 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*, hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*, and co-hosts 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.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), which he joined in 2012. A member of the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz, Medhora serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, the Partnership for African Social and Governance Research, and the University of Toronto's McLuhan Centre for Culture and Technology, as well as on the advisory board of the World Trade Organization Chairs Program and, from 2009 to 2014, CIGI's International Board of Governors. Previously, he 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 received his doctorate 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.

Alex Oliver

Alex Oliver is director of research at the Lowy Institute. She is responsible for the Institute's research team and output, including the commissioning and editorial processes. Previously, she directed the institute's program on diplomacy and public opinion, including the annual Lowy Institute Poll. Before joining the Lowy Institute in 2007, she was a lawyer. Oliver's research interests include Australia's diplomacy and diplomatic infrastructure, consular affairs, and public diplomacy. She has authored or co-authored several major studies on Australia's diplomacy for the Lowy Institute, and written for international press including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Wall Street Journal*, as well as for major Australian news outlets. She has given evidence at parliamentary inquiries and delivered a Senate Occasional Lecture in 2014. Oliver holds a BA in law and science and an AMusA from the University of New South Wales, where she was the university medalist in law.

Maria Panezi

Maria Panezi is a research fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation's International Law Research program. She has written articles on issues related to public international law and has been a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Panezi was also an adjunct professor at Osgoode Hall Law School at York University, where she taught ethical lawyering in a global community, law, and economics, for which she received the university's Ian Greene Award for Teaching Excellence. Panezi holds a law degree from Athens University, an LLM from New York University School of Law, and a PhD from Osgoode Hall Law School, where she was a Nathanson Fellow and a Comparative Law and Political Economy fellow.

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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.

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Volker Perthes has been executive chairman and director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) since 2005. From 2016 to 2018, Perthes served 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. Perthes 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 Duibery University.

Clare Romanik

Clare Romanik is a senior urban specialist at the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Bureau for Economic Growth, Education and Environment where she leads work to prevent ocean plastic pollution by improving urban systems and service delivery. She also advises USAID Missions on the urban transition in their journey to self-reliance. Romanik has worked in thirty-five countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Middle East, and Latin America/Caribbean. In her career she has served as a chief of party of USAID's Decentralization and Local Government Program in Kyrgyzstan and as Local Governance Specialist for a UNDP Regional Office covering twenty countries. While working with the Urban Institute for sixteen years, she led research on urban and decentralization policy and provided technical assistance for USAID, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank. She received her BA in international studies at American University and an MPA in economics and public policy at Princeton University.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental was the founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and is currently a member ex officio of its governing body. He is a senior policy advisor at Chatham House, is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies' Council, and sits on the operating board of the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He has served 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), and has held various responsibilities within the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and abroad. Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. An independent board member of Ocean Wilson Holdings and Wilson Sons in Brazil and HSBC Bank in Mexico, he holds advisory positions with Almex, AT&T, Brookfield Asset Management, Ingredion, and Toyota. He is president of his own consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. 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 in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is chairman and founder of the Gulf Research Center. He is also president of Sager Group Holding in Saudi Arabia and a regular contributor to and commentator for international and regional media. Appointed as a member of the Makkah Province Council in 2003, he is also a member of the advisory boards of the fourth Arab Human Development Report for the UN Development Program, the Arab Thought Foundation, the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, the Geneva Center for Security Policy, the German Orient Foundation, and the Saudi Arabia Ministry of Higher Education. He is a member

of the faculty in economics and administration at King Abdulaziz University. In 2015, Sager hosted the conference of Syrian revolutionary and opposition forces in Riyadh, which resulted in a final joint communiqué. He has written for numerous journals, including *Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gulf*, *Journal of Middle Eastern Geopolitics*, and *Saudi Arabia in the Balance*. Sager was also the chief editor of the *Gulf Yearbook*. He holds 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 Observer Research Foundation, one of Asia's most influential think tanks. He curates the *Raisina Dialogue*, India's flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, chairs CyFy, India's annual conference on technology, security, and society, is a commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace, and a member of the World Economic Forum's South Asia advisory board and the Global Future Council on Cybersecurity. He is also the director of the Center for Peace and Security at the Sardar Patel University of Police, Security, and Criminal Justice, and writes frequently on India's foreign policy and issues of global governance, climate change, energy policy, global development architecture, artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, and internet governance. The author of four books and numerous academic papers, Saran is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. 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.

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Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher head of the Center for Applied Negotiations and is a senior researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies. Sher is also the Goldman visiting Israeli professor and Israel studies fellow at Georgetown University, the Brochstein fellow in Middle East peace and security at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, co-chairs the nongovernmental organization Blue White Future, and chairs the executive board of Sapir Academic College. He 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. 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.

Leigh Morris Sloane

Leigh Morris Sloane is managing director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)–Americas and has more than twenty years of experience in international affairs at the nexus of research, higher education, and policymaking. Prior to joining IISS, she served as chief of staff at the Brookings Institution, where she managed the executive secretariat and activities of the president. Previously, she served as executive director of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs. She has also managed the Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program at the Council on Foreign Relations and helped establish the Middle East Initiative at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Sloane also serves as vice chair of the board of directors for the Public Policy and International Affairs Program, which works to increase participation of underrepresented groups in public service. She holds a BA from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and an MA from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute, professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS), and president of the Korean Association of International Studies. 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 serves on a number of government advisory committees, including those of the Korea National Diplomatic Academy; the Northeast Asian History Foundation; the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the South Korean Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Energy. He served as dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016 and was president of the Korean Studies of Contemporary Japan in 2012. 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* and *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Kate Sullivan

Kate Sullivan is head of partnerships at the Global Challenges Foundation, where she is responsible for developing its institutional relationships and managing its strategic collaborations. She has held various positions within the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, including at the Global Partnership Alliance, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, United Technologies, and the U.S. Peace Corps. Sullivan holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan and a master's degree from the George Washington University.

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Wu Chunsi

Wu Chunsi is a senior fellow and director of the Institute of International Strategic Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. Her research interests include arms control and nonproliferation, regional security in East Asia, and U.S.-China relations. Previously, she was a member of Fudan University's Center for American Studies and a visiting research fellow with the Freeman chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. From 2004 to 2005, Wu held a fellowship on arms control at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies. The author of the book *Deterrence: Theories and Missile Defense*, she coauthored *Deterrence and Stability: The China-U.S. Nuclear Relationship*. Wu holds a PhD in international relations from Fudan University.

Yu Tiejun

Yu Tiejun is an associate professor at Peking University's School of International Studies and vice president of the university's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. He is currently a Fulbright visiting scholar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's security studies program. He was a visiting scholar at Stanford University and Harvard University in 2005–2006 and studied at the University of Tokyo from 1998 to 2000. Yu is associate editor 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.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Elliott Abrams

Elliott Abrams is special representative for Venezuela at the U.S. Department of State while on a leave of absence from the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, DC. Previously, he served as deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor in the George W. Bush administration, where he supervised U.S. policy in the Middle East for the White House. After serving on the staffs of Senators Henry M. Jackson and Daniel P. Moynihan, he was an assistant secretary of state in the Ronald Reagan administration, receiving the Secretary's Distinguished Service Award from Secretary of State George P. Shultz. He is the author of *Realism and Democracy: American Foreign Policy After the Arab Spring*. Abrams received a BA from Harvard, an MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a JD from Harvard Law School.

Karen Donfried

Karen Donfried is president of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), a nonprofit organization dedicated to strengthening transatlantic cooperation, and a senior fellow at Harvard University's Center for European Studies. Before joining GMF in 2014, Donfried was special assistant to the president and senior director for European affairs on the National Security Council at the White House. Prior to that, she served on the National Intelligence Council, the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and at the Congressional Research Service. Donfried is also a trustee of Wesleyan University, her undergraduate alma mater. She received a magister degree from the University of Munich and a doctorate from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Michèle Flournoy

Michèle Flournoy is cofounder and managing partner of WestExec Advisors. She served as the U.S. undersecretary of defense for policy from 2009 to 2012. Prior to confirmation, Flournoy co-led President Barack Obama's transition team at the Department of Defense. In 2007, she cofounded the Center for a New American Security, where she served as president until 2009 and returned as chief executive officer in 2014. Previously, she was senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and, prior to that, a distinguished research professor at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Flournoy is the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including the American Red Cross Exceptional Service Award, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Staff Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service. Flournoy has edited several books and written dozens of reports and articles on defense and national security issues. She appears frequently in national and international media and serves on the boards of Amida Technology Solutions, Booz Allen Hamilton, CARE, the Mission Continues, and Spirit of America, and is a senior fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. She holds a bachelor's degree in social studies from Harvard University and a master's degree in international relations from Oxford University's Balliol College, where she was a Newton-Tatum scholar.

Mara Liasson

Mara Liasson is the national political correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR), where her reports can be heard regularly on *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition*. Liasson provides extensive coverage of politics and policy from Washington, DC—focusing on the White House and U.S. Congress—and reports on political trends beyond the beltway. Previously, she was NPR's White House correspondent for all eight years of the Clinton administration, winning the White House Correspondents Association's Merriman Smith Award for daily news coverage in 1994, 1995, and 1997. From 1989 to 1992, she was NPR's congressional correspondent, having joined NPR in 1985 as a general assignment reporter and newscaster. From September

1988 to June 1989, she took a leave of absence from NPR to attend Columbia University as a recipient of a Knight-Bagehot fellowship in economics and business journalism. Prior to joining NPR, she was a freelance radio and television reporter in San Francisco, managing editor and anchor of California Public Radio's nightly news program *California Edition*, and a print journalist for the *Vineyard Gazette* in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. Liasson received a BA in American history from Brown University.

Edward R. Royce

Edward R. Royce is policy director at Brownstein Hyatt Farber Schreck. Royce served in the U.S. House of Representatives for twenty-six years, representing California's thirty-ninth district and serving as chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee from 2013 to 2019. While in office, Royce authored legislation to address threats from Iran, North Korea, and Russia, and modernized export control laws. He also served as a senior member on the House Financial Services Committee, where he led efforts to enact regulatory reforms affecting insurers and credit unions. Royce authored the Eliminate, Neutralize, and Disrupt (END) Wildlife Trafficking Act, which combats the illegal poaching and trafficking of imperiled species, and coauthored the Electrify Africa Act, which provides access to power for lifesaving medical treatments and modern technologies. During his last year in office, Royce shepherded the Better Utilization of Investments Leading to Development (BUILD) Act—which enhances U.S. programs that support expansion and job creation in developing economies in Africa and around the world—through Congress. As a California state senator, Royce wrote the nation's first anti-stalking law. Royce is a graduate of the California State University's Fullerton School of Business Administration.

Justin Vaïsse

Justin Vaïsse is director general and founder of the Paris Peace Forum, an independent nonprofit organization created in 2018 under the impetus of French President Emmanuel Macron. Prior to that role, Vaïsse was director of policy planning at the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs for more than six years. From 2007 to 2013, he was director of research for the Center on the United States and Europe and a senior fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution. Vaïsse is the author or coauthor of numerous books on the United States, including *Neoconservatism: The Biography of a Movement*, and *Zbigniew Brzezinski: America's Grand Strategist*. Vaïsse graduated from the Ecole Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines and holds a PhD in history from the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.