

# 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

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*This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family Foundation 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](http://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)*



# Participant Biographies

### **Fonteh Akum**

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

### **Sergio M. Alcocer**

Sergio M. Alcocer is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, research professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's (UNAM) Institute of Engineering, and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA). Alcocer is also the president of Mexico Exponential, a think tank for the development of public policy and strategies for embracing exponential technologies. He is former undersecretary for North America in the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and undersecretary for strategic planning and technology development at the Mexican Ministry of Energy. He is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquake and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. Alcocer is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering, member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, honorary member and former president of the Mexican Society of Structural Engineering (SMIE), and former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. He was previously provost, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering at UNAM. He was also a nonexecutive member of the board of Empresas ICA and chair of the board of Iberdrola México. Alcocer has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona, the UNAM Prize for Young Academics, the Mexican Academy of Science's prize for research, the SMIE prize for structural housing engineering, and the American Concrete Institute's Charles S. Whitney Medal. Alcocer was inducted into the National Academy of Engineering for improvements to the seismic safety of buildings in developing countries through improved design standards and government policies. He received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

### **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 and a senior consultant to the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations. Bollyky is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways* and the founder and managing editor of Think Global Health, an online magazine that examines the ways health shapes economies, societies, and everyday lives around the world. He directed the first two CFR-sponsored Independent Task Forces devoted to global health: *Improving Pandemic Preparedness: Lessons from COVID-19* (2020) and *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries* (2014). Prior to coming to CFR, Bollyky served in a variety of positions in the U.S. government, most recently at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR). Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Congress, and his

work has appeared in a wide range of general-interest publications, such as the *Atlantic* and *New York Times*, and scholarly journals, such as *Science*, *Nature*, and the *New England Journal of Medicine*. He has also 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.

### **José Octavio Bordón**

José Octavio Bordón is president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and director of CARI's United States committee. He is also president of the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equity and Growth's international advisory council. He previously served as ambassador of Argentina in Chile (2016–19) and the United States (2003–07). He also served as national deputy and national senator representing the province of Mendoza, governor of Mendoza (1987–91), and minister of culture, education, and science of the province of Buenos Aires. In 1995, he ran for president of Argentina, obtaining second place with 30 percent of the vote. At the international level, he served as a consultant for various international organizations, including the Inter-American Development Bank, the UN Development Program (UNDP), the World Bank, and the Organization of American States (OAS). He was head of the OAS Electoral Observation Mission for the presidential elections in the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Guatemala (2008–11). During this period, he served as a special advisor to the OAS secretary-general and was political director of the UNDP-OAS Our Democracy in America project. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, DC. He was an Eisenhower global fellow in Philadelphia and research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC. In 1992, he was visiting professor at Georgetown University's Center for Latin American Studies. He studied sociology at the Universidad del Salvador.

### **Mely Caballero-Anthony**

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, president's chair for international relations and security studies, and head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Her research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in Asia-Pacific, global governance, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security and conflict prevention. Anthony is currently a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and is secretary-general for the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony served on the UN secretary-general's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and was its chair in 2016. She was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Secretariat from 2011 to 2012. She has published extensively on a broad range of political and security issues in Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest books, both single-authored and coedited, include: *Nuclear Governance in the Indo-Pacific*, *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, and *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies*.

### **Chaesung Chun**

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

### **Dario Cristiani**

Dario Cristiani is a senior fellow with the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) and a resident senior fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). He works on Italian foreign policy, the Mediterranean, and global issues. From 2014 to 2018, he was adjunct professor at Vesalius College in Brussels and in 2015 was director of its executive training in global risk analysis and crisis management. He received his PhD in Middle East and Mediterranean studies from King's College London.

### **Francisco de Santibañes**

Francisco de Santibañes is vice president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), global fellow at the Wilson Center for International Scholars, and professor in Southern University's master's in public policy program. He is also the 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*, as well as numerous articles published in magazines specialized in Argentina and abroad.

### **Ralf Emmers**

Professor Ralf Emmers is dean of S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests cover security studies, international institutions in the Asia Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. Emmers is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs. His authored books include *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific*, co-written with Sarah Teo. He is also the co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook on Peaceful Change in International Relations*. He completed his MSc and PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

### **Daniel F. Feldman**

Daniel F. Feldman is the former chief of staff and counselor to Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry. He was formerly a partner in the international trade practice at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer and Feld LLP. He was also a senior advisor at the Albright Stonebridge Group. Feldman served as special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan at the U.S. State Department, during which time he was given the rank of ambassador. While at the State Department, he was a principal advisor to Secretaries of State John Kerry and Hillary Clinton on issues related to Afghanistan, Pakistan, and South Asia. He also represented the United States at numerous multilateral fora regarding Afghanistan and Pakistan, including those sponsored by the United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund. For his service Feldman was awarded the State Department's two highest awards, the Secretary's Distinguished Service Award and the Secretary's Distinguished Honor Award. Prior to joining the State Department, Feldman was a partner at the law firm Foley Hoag LLP, where he was co-chair of the Corporate Social Responsibility practice. His previous government experience included serving as director of multilateral and humanitarian affairs on the National Security Council staff during the Clinton administration, and as counsel on the U.S. Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee. He was also a law clerk on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, and on the South African Constitutional Court. Feldman has served as a national security advisor on the presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, John Kerry, and Al Gore, and helped to found, and subsequently served on the board of, the National Security Network, a nonprofit foreign policy organization. He holds BA from Tufts University, MPA from Princeton University, and JD from Columbia University. Feldman is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, as well as a former White House Fellow, and a former Henry Luce Scholar, when he worked at the Hong Kong Law Project.

### **Thomas Gomart**

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and director and founder of Ifri's Russia/NIS Center. Before joining Ifri, Gomart was an assistant professor at Sorbonne University and a cadet officer. His work has focused on the former Soviet Union and 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 King's College London's Department of War Studies. Gomart's recent publications include *Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?*, edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitique*; *Guerres Invisibles: Nos prochains défis géopolitiques*; and *Comment préparer 2050? De la 'prévoyance' à la 'grande stratégie'*, coauthored with Martin Briens. He is a member of the strategic review committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017 and a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique étrangère*, and *Revue des deux mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

### **Ettore Greco**

Ettore Greco is executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He also heads the institute's multilateralism and global governance program. He was previously the director of IAI from 2008 to 2017, worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from 2006 to 2007, and taught at

the University of Parma and the University of Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, Greco worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. Between 1993 and 2000, he directed IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006, he was editor of the *International Spectator*. He is the author of several publications on the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and arms control.

### **Richard Haass**

Richard Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his nineteenth 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 senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush, as the State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell, and in various positions in the Defense and State departments during the Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan administrations. He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of fourteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *The World: A Brief Introduction*. A Rhodes Scholar, he holds master's and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Oxford University and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees.

### **Dhruva Jaishankar**

Dhruva Jaishankar is executive director of the Observer Research Foundation America (ORF America). He is also a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute and writes a monthly column for the *Hindustan Times*. Jaishankar was previously director of the U.S. Initiative at the New Delhi-based Observer Research Foundation (ORF). From 2016 to 2019, he was a fellow in foreign policy studies at Brookings India in New Delhi and the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. From 2012 to 2016, he was a transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund (GMF), where he managed the India Trilateral Forum, a regular policy dialogue involving participants from the United States, India, and Europe. In 2015–16, Jaishankar was a visiting fellow with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. From 2009 to 2012, he was program officer with the Asia program at GMF. Before that, he worked as a research assistant at the Brookings Institution and as a news writer and reporter for CNN-IBN television in New Delhi. He has also been a David Rockefeller fellow with the Trilateral Commission, an IISS-SAIS Merrill Center young strategist, and a Brent Scowcroft Award fellow with the Aspen Strategy Group. He has published research on India's relations with the United States, Australia, Japan, Europe, and Southeast Asia; defense and security policy; and globalization, democracy, and technology. His research has appeared in several books, policy reports, and publications, including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Survival*. He holds a BA in history and classics from Macalester College and an MA in security studies from Georgetown University.

### **Markus Kaim**

Markus Kaim is a senior fellow in the International Security research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He is also an adjunct professor at the University of Zurich, Hertie School of Governance, and Bucerius Law School. He was Helmut Schmidt fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington from 2019 to 2020. He has taught as a visiting scholar at the Carleton University's Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, as a DAAD professor for German and European studies at the University of Toronto, and as an adjunct professor of foreign policy and international relations at the University of Konstanz.

### **Memduh Karakullukçu**

Memduh Karakullukçu is founding board member of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the first president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu is the venture partner at D4 Ventures, a UK-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. He 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 Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Science Park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*, with two former Turkish undersecretaries of foreign affairs and intelligence. 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. He is a member of the NY Bar.

### **Rebecca Katz**

Rebecca Katz is a professor and director of Georgetown University's Center for Global Health Science and Security, and holds joint appointments in Georgetown University Medical Center and the School of Foreign Service. She teaches courses on global health diplomacy, global health security, and emerging infectious diseases in the science, technology, and international affairs, security studies, and global infectious disease programs. Prior to joining Georgetown in 2016, she spent ten years at the George Washington University as faculty in the Milken Institute School of Public Health. Since 2007, much of her work has been on the domestic and global implementation of the International Health Regulations as well as global governance of public health emergencies. From 2004 to 2019, Katz was a consultant to the U.S. Department of State, working on issues related to the Biological Weapons Convention, pandemic influenza, and disease surveillance. She returned to the Department of State in January 2021 as a senior advisor on the global COVID-19 response and global health security. In 2019, Katz co-convened the first international scientific conference on global health security, bringing together over

nine hundred participants from around the world to form a community of practice. She has authored over one hundred peer reviewed manuscripts, and five books in addition to numerous op-eds, blogs, white papers, and book chapters. Katz received her undergraduate degree from Swarthmore College, an MPH from Yale University, and a PhD from Princeton University. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

### **Karel Lannoo**

Karel Lannoo has been chief executive of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Europe's leading independent European think tank, since 2000. He manages a staff of seventy. He is also a member of foundation boards and advisory councils. From 2006 to 2018, Lannoo was an independent director of Bolsas y Mercados Españoles (BME), the listed company that manages the Spanish securities markets. Before joining CEPS, he worked for STUC (Students' Cultural Centre in Leuven), interned at the European Commission; was employed by Ferruzzi of Raul Gardini, an Italian agro-food company, and a professional association; and was active as a freelance journalist, among others for the *Financial Times*' Financial Regulation Report, for many years. He has published several books on capital markets, markets in financial instruments directive, and the financial crisis, the most recent of which is *The Great Financial Plumbing, From Northern Rock to Banking Union*. He is also the author of many op-eds and articles published by CEPS and in international newspapers and reviews. Lannoo is a regular speaker in hearings for national and international institutions such as the European Commission and European Parliament, among others, and at international conferences and executive learning courses. Lannoo holds a bachelor's in philosophy and a master's in modern history from the University of Leuven, Belgium, and obtained a postgraduate diploma in European studies from the University of Nancy, France.

### **Rohinton P. Medhora**

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), which he joined in 2012. Medhora chairs the Government of Ontario's external panel on the Future of Work and is a member of the *Lancet* and *Financial Times* Commission on Governing Health Futures 2030 as well as the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, which is co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz. He serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and the McLuhan Foundation as well as the advisory boards of the World Trade Organization Chairs program, the UN University–Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology, and the Graduate Institute Geneva's Global Health Centre. Previously, he served on CIGI's former international board of governors and was vice president of programs at the 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*, 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 series. Medhora earned his BA, MA, and PhD in economics from the University of Toronto, where he subsequently taught for several years.



### **Bessma Momani**

Bessma Momani is senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), full professor in the University of Waterloo's department of political science, and interim associate vice president of interdisciplinary research. She is also a Fulbright Scholar, fellow at the University of Calgary's School of Public Policy, adviser to Public Safety Canada's National Security Transparency advisory group, and visiting scholar for Global Affairs Canada's International Assistance Research and Knowledge Division. She sits on the advisory council to the Middle East Institute's program on Economics and Energy, board of the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation, and editorial board of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. She was interim international assistant vice president at the University of Waterloo, assistant vice president for research and international in the University of Waterloo's office of research, a 2015 fellow at the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation, nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and Stimson Center, and a visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Mortara Center. She has worked as a consultant to the International Monetary Fund, both in the communications office and the Independent Evaluation Office. Momani is currently the director of a three-year-funded Department of National Defence network called the Defence and Security Foresight Group. In recent years, Momani spearheaded the Pluralism Project, which explored the link between Canadian diversity and economic prosperity. Momani has authored, coauthored, and coedited more than ten books. In addition, she has written more than eighty peer-reviewed academic articles or book chapters that examine international organizations, international political economy, gender and diversity, political economy of the Middle East, and geopolitics of the Middle East. As a frequent media and political analyst on the Middle East, international affairs, and the global economy, Momani has written editorials in the *Globe and Mail*, the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Economist*, the *National Post*, and the *Toronto Star*.

### **Jennifer Nuzzo**

Jennifer Nuzzo is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). She is also a professor of epidemiology and inaugural director of the Pandemic Center at Brown University School of Public Health. An epidemiologist by training, her work focuses on global health security, public health preparedness and response, and health systems resilience. Together with colleagues from the Nuclear Threat Initiative and the Economist Intelligence Unit, she coleads the development of the first-ever Global Health Security Index, which benchmarks 195 countries' public health and healthcare capacities and capabilities, their commitment to international norms and global health security financing, and their socioeconomic, political, and environmental risk environments. She also directs the Outbreak Observatory. Nuzzo was previously an associate professor at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine. She was also a senior scholar at the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security. In addition to her scholarly work, Nuzzo regularly advises national governments and for-profit and nonprofit organizations on pandemic preparedness and response, including COVID-19. She is a pandemic advisor for Impact Assets' Stop the Spread Campaign. She is currently a member of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine's Standing Committee for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Center for Preparedness and Response. She has also served as a member of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's National Drinking Water Advisory

Council (NDWAC) and the NDWAC's Water Security Working Group, and as a project advisor for the American Water Works Association Research Foundation. Nuzzo's work has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Fox News*, *Politico*, *The Hill*, and the *Boston Globe*. She was featured in *Debunking Borat*, a television series on Amazon Prime Video, and her work was featured on *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*. She served as COVID-19 advisor for the *Borat Subsequent Moviefilm*. Nuzzo received a DrPH in epidemiology from the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, an SM in environmental health from Harvard University, and a BS in environmental sciences from Rutgers University.

### **Stewart M. Patrick**

Stewart M. Patrick is James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and 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 New York University. Patrick has written, cowritten, or edited five books, including *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America With the World* and *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 master's and a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

### **Mateusz M. Piotrowski**

Mateusz M. Piotrowski is an analyst with the International Security programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). His research areas include U.S. domestic policy, foreign affairs, security policy and transatlantic relations. He was previously an intern at the Polish Embassy in Washington, DC, the Polish National Security Bureau, and European Parliament.

### **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. He is also active in nongovernmental organizations and projects relating to global governance, migration policy, climate change, Latin American politics, and promoting democracy. He was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, including serving as ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–97), deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83). Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He is a senior policy adviser to Chatham House and sits on the International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council. Rozental holds nonexecutive board positions in several multinational companies. He holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, and Ingredion in Mexico. Rozental is the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. He holds a degree in

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

### **Patrycja Sasnal**

Patrycja Sasnal is a political scientist, Arabist, and philosopher. She is head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs and professor of migration at the College of Europe. She is a member of the UN Human Rights Council advisory committee, European Council on Foreign Relations' council, and the Polish Ombudsman office's expert commission on migration. She was previously a Fulbright Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington and an associate researcher at the American University in Beirut. She specializes in Middle Eastern politics, migration, and political violence. She has written for the *Guardian*, *Le Monde* and *Polityka*. Her latest book is *Arendt, Fanon and Political Violence in Islam*. Sasnal holds a PhD in political science.

### **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.

### **Damian Wnukowski**

Damian Wnukowski is head of the Asia-Pacific programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). His research focuses on international economic relations, global economic governance, economic diplomacy, East Asia, U.S.-China relations, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. He holds a master's degree in international relations with a concentration in non-European studies from the University of Warsaw and in foreign trade studies from the Warsaw School of Economics.

### **Selim Yenel**

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. He served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (2019), undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs (2017–18), ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the

European Union (2011–17), deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy (2009–11), and ambassador to Vienna (2005–09). He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations (1999–2005) and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels (1994–99), the United Nations in New York (1988–92), the Turkish Embassy in Kabul (1984–86), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1981–84).

# Keynote Speaker Biographies

**David R. Malpass**

David R. Malpass has served as thirteenth president of the World Bank Group since April 2019. Malpass previously served as undersecretary of the treasury for international affairs, and has represented the United States in international settings, including the Group of Seven and Group of Twenty deputy finance ministerial, World Bank–IMF spring and annual meetings, and meetings of the Financial Stability Board, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. Before joining the Treasury, Malpass was an international economist and chief economist at Bear Stearns. Previously, he served as the U.S. deputy assistant secretary of the treasury for developing nations and deputy assistant secretary of state for Latin American economic affairs. He also served as senior analyst for taxes and trade at the U.S. Senate Budget Committee, and as staff director of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress.

**David E. Sanger**

David E. Sanger is a White House and national security correspondent, and a senior writer. In a thirty-eight-year reporting career for *The New York Times*, he has been on three teams that have won Pulitzer Prizes, most recently in 2017 for international reporting. For *The New York Times*, Sanger has served as Tokyo bureau chief, Washington economic correspondent, White House correspondent during the Clinton and Bush administrations, and chief Washington correspondent. Sanger focuses on a wide range of diplomatic and national security issues, from nuclear proliferation to the rise of cyber conflict among nations. A second Pulitzer, in 1999, was awarded to the team that investigated the struggles within the Clinton administration over controlling technology exports to China. Sanger was also a leading member of the team that investigated the causes of the Challenger disaster in 1986, which was awarded a Pulitzer in national reporting the following year. He has also won the Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting for his coverage of the Iraq and Korea crises, the Aldo Beckman prize for coverage of the presidency, and, in two separate years, the Merriman Smith Memorial Award, for coverage of national security issues. His newest book, *The Perfect Weapon: War, Sabotage and Fear in the Cyber Age*, and an HBO documentary by the same title, examine the emergence of cyber conflict and its role in changing the nature of global power. He is also the author of two best sellers on foreign policy and national security: *The Inheritance: The World Obama Confronts and the Challenges to American Power* and *Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power*. A 1982 graduate of Harvard College, Sanger was the first senior fellow in The Press and National Security at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. With Graham T. Allison Jr., he co-teaches "Central Challenges in American National Security, Strategy and the Press" at the Kennedy School of Government.

**Margaret E. Talev**

Margaret E. Talev is the managing editor for politics at Axios and a political analyst for CNN. Previously, she was the senior White House correspondent for Bloomberg News. Talev is also past president of the White House Correspondents' Association and the Washington Press Club Foundation. In addition, she was a 2018 fellow at Harvard University's Institute of Politics. Talev has covered Donald J. Trump's presidency; Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign; Barack Obama's 2008 and 2012 campaigns; President Obama's two terms in the White House; and Congress. She previously

wrote for the *McClatchy Newspapers*, *Sacramento Bee*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Tampa Tribune*. Talev is a graduate of the University of Maryland, College Park.

# Hybrid Participant Biographies



### **Riccardo Alcaro**

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

### **Lina Alexandra**

Lina Alexandra is a head of the international relations department at the Centre of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta. Alexandra has been at CSIS since 2002. Her research focuses on international peacekeeping and peacebuilding, human rights, human security, and conflict resolutions. She was previously a visiting research fellow at the University of Queensland's Asia-Pacific Centre for Responsibility to Protect, and helped run the center's Indonesian program. She earned her bachelor's in political science from the University of Indonesia and master's in international studies in peace and conflict resolution and doctorate from the University of Queensland.

### **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, 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 was recognized as a leading scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

### **Yose Rizal Damuri**

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research focuses on international trade, regional integration, and globalization of value chains. Damuri is also the research coordinator of the Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated to the development of the services sector in Indonesia. He is active in many research institute networks in East Asia, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, Economic Research Institute for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and East Asia's (ERIA) Research Institutes Network, and Think 20. He serves as the co-chair of the Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic

Cooperation and is a member of ERIA's governing board. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

### **Michael Fullilove**

Michael Fullilove is executive director of the Lowy Institute, where he served as director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. Previously, he was a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia, and a lawyer. He remains a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He has written several books and writes widely on U.S. and Australian foreign policy for the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and the Australian press, among others. In 2019, he was appointed a member of the Order of Australia for significant service to international relations. He graduated in arts and law from the University of Sydney and the University of New South Wales and studied as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, where he received a master's degree and doctorate in international relations.

### **Neuma Grobbelaar**

Neuma Grobbelaar is an experienced foreign policy and development expert with twenty-eight 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, a leading African foreign policy 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 as an emerging development partner in Africa. She has a wide scope of knowledge of South Africa's foreign policy, its relationship with the region, and especially its development cooperation. She has participated and contributed toward developing evaluation criteria for South-South cooperation through her participation in the Network of Southern Think Tanks (NeST) activities, has contributed to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's development anthology on development risks for the Global South, has participated in a Delphi-style consultation process for the German Development Cooperation Ministry through its Future Development Policy Global Partnerships Division to frame German Development cooperation toward 2030, and has contributed to the Swiss Development Cooperation Agency's internal strategic reframing of its development cooperation policy. She has participated in numerous international, national and regional conferences on South Africa foreign policy, peace-building, development cooperation and commercial diplomacy. She has peer-reviewed and quality assured countless papers, articles, and opinion pieces and has a wide network of foreign policy and development cooperation associates—both regionally and internationally.

### **Steven Gruzd**

Steven Gruzd is head of the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). He rejoined SAIIA in this capacity in 2013 after spending two years as senior researcher and diplomatic liaison at the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. He first joined SAIIA in 2003 as the research manager of the New Partnership for Africa's Development and Governance programme, also serving as head of its successor programme on Governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism in 2008. From 1999 to 2003, he worked as a researcher and research

coordinator at the Centre for Development and Enterprise. He has published widely on governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism and keenly follows African political developments and South African foreign policy. He hosted a magazine community radio talk show on the 101.9 ChaiFM, and has made numerous radio and television appearances. Gruzd holds a BA in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand and an MSc in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

### **Tamir Hayman**

Tamir Hayman is managing director of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). During his thirty-four years of service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Hayman held a wide range of command positions in the armored corps and infantry and had operational combat experience in the security zone in Lebanon and in the Palestinian arena. In 2018, he was appointed the twenty-second head of the Military Intelligence Directorate, where he led the revolution in multidisciplinary intelligence and unified information venture, which harnesses artificial intelligence capabilities for effective intelligence. His period of service was characterized by ongoing tension in the Palestinian arena, from the fence protests at the Gaza border, continuing through the elimination of the head of the Islamic Jihad in Gaza, reaching a climax in Operation Guardian of the Walls in May 2021. This period was also characterized by intense struggles against Iran. Hayman joined the IDF general staff in 2015, and served as commander of the National Defense College while also acting as commander of the Northern Corps, leading the largest IDF training exercise ever carried out. In 2011, he was appointed commander of the Golan Heights division during the civil war in Syria. In 2008, he was appointed commander of the reserve division, while also commanding courses for senior officers in the ground forces. He also led the process of evaluating and learning the lessons of the 2006 Second Lebanon War in the Northern Command. Hayman holds a bachelor's in political science and economics and a master's from the National Defense College.

### **Sunjoy Joshi**

Sunjoy Joshi is chair of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He began his career with the government in India as a member of the Indian Administrative Service in 1983, serving in various capacities for twenty-five years. His last posting with the government of India was as joint secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. He has previously been the government-nominated director of the boards of national energy companies such as the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), ONGC Videsh Limited, Oil India Limited, Mangalore Refinery, and Petrochemicals Limited. He was also managing director of the Madhya Pradesh Energy Development Agency and served as chair of M.P. Windfarms. Joshi joined ORF to pursue his primary interests in energy and environment. His policymaking and implementation experience cuts across the conventional as well as non-conventional energy sectors and covers issues related to water use and its conservation and management. Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies and a distinguished visitor to Stanford University's energy and sustainable development program. He takes a keen interest in social development as vice president of the Mountain Children's Foundation, a not-for-profit group working with rural children in the Himalayas. He earned a master's degree in English literature from Allahabad University and a master's degree in development studies from the University of East Anglia, Norwich.

### **Rene M. Kern**

Rene M. Kern is an investor and philanthropist. Kern served as partner, managing director, and advisor at General Atlantic, a global growth equity investment firm, from 1998 to 2021. During his career, he led the firm's European and Latin American business, financial services practice, and capital partnering team. He also served on the firm's executive, investment, and portfolio committees. Kern joined General Atlantic after six years with Morgan Stanley in New York and London and two years with Bain & Company in Boston. He is a fellow and vice chair of the University of Pennsylvania's Joseph H. Lauder Institute, member of the University of California, Berkeley's executive committee, and foundation board and co-president of the Rene Kern Family Foundation, a philanthropy supporting not-for-profit organizations in education, climate change, and health care in the United States. He earned a BS in business administration from the University of California, Berkeley's Haas School, MBA from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, and an MA in international studies from the University of Pennsylvania's School of Arts and Sciences.

### **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. 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. 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 a 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.

### **Christian Koch**

Christian Koch is the director of the Gulf Research Center (GRC) Foundation, in Geneva. Previously, he served as director of international studies at the GRC, in Dubai. Prior to joining the GRC, he worked as head of strategic studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, in Abu Dhabi. Koch's work at the GRC combines the analysis of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states on pertinent foreign and security issues, with a particular interest in EU-GCC relations. He is particularly interested in better understanding the dynamics driving regional security issues in the Gulf region and promoting aspects of cooperative security among regional and international actors. Koch is the editor of eight books as well as numerous chapter contributions and journal articles, author of *Politische Entwicklung in einem arabischen Golfstaat: Die Rolle von Interessengruppen im Emirat Kuwait*, and coauthor of "Establishing a Regional Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Gulf Region." He regularly writes for the international media on Gulf issues, including in the *Financial Times*, *Handelsblatt*,

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and *Jane's Sentinel*, and has appeared on Al Arabiyya television, BBC, and Deutsche Welle. Koch received his PhD from the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg.

### **Patricia Lewis**

Patricia Lewis leads the International Security programme at Chatham House. Previously she served as deputy director and scientist-in-residence at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the former Monterey Institute of International Studies; director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research; and director of the Verification Research, Training, and Information Centre in London. Lewis served on the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission chaired by Hans Blix; the advisory panel on future priorities of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons; and was an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament. She is the recipient of the American Physical Society's 2009 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award outstanding contributions to the public understanding or resolution of issues involving the interface of physics and society. She holds a BSc in physics from Manchester University and a PhD in Nuclear Physics from Birmingham University.

### **Lu Chuanying**

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

### **Ferdinando Nelli Feroci**

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs and professor at Luiss University's School of Government. He was appointed as Italy's member of the European Commission in 2014. From 1972 to 2013, he served as a diplomat, 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 advisor 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 the Italian Society for International Organizations in Rome.

### **James Nixey**

James Nixey leads the Russia-Eurasia programme at Chatham House. His principal expertise concerns the relationships between Russia and the other post-Soviet states. He has also organized hundreds of private expert roundtables on Russian and Eurasian affairs while at Chatham House. He has previous experience in journalism as a reporter in Moscow in the late 1990s and the banking sector for Goldman Sachs. He has published papers and articles in books and journals, and commented extensively in the

national and global media. His publications include *The Long Goodbye: Waning Russian Influence in The South Caucasus and Central Asia*, “Russia’s Geopolitical Compass: Losing Direction” in *Putin Again: Implications for Russia and the West*, and “The South Caucasus: Drama on Three Stages” in *A Question of Leadership: America’s Role in a Changed World*. Nixey holds degrees in modern languages and international relations.

### **Eghosa E. Osaghae**

Eghosa E. Osaghae is a professor of political science and director-general of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. He is also the founder and chair of the Community Relations and Conflict Resolution Centre’s governing board, member of the Nigeria Development Forum’s board of trustees, and member of the African Capacity Building Foundation’s technical advisory panel and network on parliaments and parliamentary institutions. He was most recently appointed to the UN secretary-general’s advisory board on disarmament matters and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research’s board of trustees. Previously, he was the vice chancellor of Igbinedion University, Okada. Osaghae was the 2019 Claude Ake chair at Uppsala University and Nordic Africa Institute, a fellow at the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies in South Africa, 2017 Van Zyl Slabbert professor of politics and sociology at the University of Cape Town, and the 2014 Emeka Anyaoku chair of commonwealth studies at the University of London. Before joining Igbinedion University, he led the Ford Foundation–funded program on ethnic and federal studies and directed the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ibadan. Osaghae was professor and head of the University of Transkei’s department of political studies. He has held visiting professorships and fellowships at over a dozen major universities and research institutes around the world, was a Rockefeller Reflections on Development fellow, and most recently a MacArthur fellow. He was previously Africa’s representative on the Civil Society and Governance Project’s steering committee and member of the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation, and Accountability’s advisory review group. He also served on the Consortium for Development Partnerships’ steering committee and was a member of the presidential advisory committee on political affairs in Nigeria. Osaghae is the author of *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* and *Researching Conflict in Africa: Insights and Experiences* and coeditor of *Federal Solutions to State Failure in Africa*.

### **Ghassan Shams**

Ghassan Shams is a researcher at the Gulf Research Center. Previously, Shams worked as a security policy research specialist at Neom, one of Saudi’s mega projects. Shams holds a bachelor’s degree in international affairs from American University’s School of International Service and a master’s degree in security policy studies from the George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs.

### **Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs, which she has led since 2005. She is also the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. With more than twenty-six years of experience in the field of politics and international relations, Sidiropoulos is an expert in South Africa’s foreign policy, South-South cooperation, and the role of

emerging powers in Africa. Sidiropoulos is a co-chair of the Think20 Africa Standing Group, as well as the taskforce on development cooperation and the Sustainable Development Goals under Indonesia's presidency of the Think20. In 2020, she was appointed to serve a two-year term on the second high-level advisory board of the UN Economic and Social Affairs department. She is a regular commentator in South African and foreign media. She has published on various aspects of South Africa's foreign policy. Most recently, she coedited *Values, Interests and Power: South African Foreign Policy in Uncertain Times*, which looks at the country's foreign policy in the 2020s. She also coedited two books exploring the rise of the new development cooperation providers: *Development cooperation and emerging powers: New Partners or Old* and *Institutional Architecture and Development: Responses from Emerging Powers*.

### **Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal**

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

### **David Watson**

David Watson is managing director of communications for Chatham House. In this role, Watson leads the communications and publications team at Chatham House and works closely with the chief executive on strategic engagement planning. Watson has worked in the charitable and public sectors on policy development, international negotiations, public affairs, and partnerships since 2002. Prior to joining Chatham House, he was Overseas Development Institute's director of external affairs, where he led the public affairs and communications team, advised on maximizing research impact, stakeholder management, and convening. Watson was previously a UK civil servant and diplomat, including for the Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office. During his time working for the government, he led EU negotiations for the United Kingdom in Brussels on international development, including on the Sustainable Development Goals, and was an adviser to the Ethiopian government on the Addis Ababa Action Agenda. Watson was also private secretary to ministers in the energy and climate change department, where he developed policy and managed stakeholder engagement on EU and international climate and energy policy. Watson holds an MA in conflict, security, and development from Kings College London.

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