

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

*Thursday, December 16, 2021
7:30 a.m. to 9:45 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time*



Council of Councils Fourth Virtual Conference

This meeting is made possible by the generous support of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family Foundation and Robina Foundation.

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

Participants are welcome to disclose ideas from CoC meetings, and may attribute that information to the CoC, but may not reveal the identity, country, or affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

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UNITED KINGDOM

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International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Fourth Virtual Conference
International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

Thursday, December 16, 2021

6:30 a.m.–8:45 a.m. Mexico City

7:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

9:30 a.m.–11:45 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

12:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m. London

1:30 p.m.–3:45 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Lagos / Paris / Rome / Warsaw

2:30 p.m.–4:45 p.m. Johannesburg / Pretoria / Tel Aviv

3:30 p.m.–5:45 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow

6:00 p.m.–8:15 p.m. New Delhi

7:30 p.m.–9:45 p.m. Jakarta

8:30 p.m.–10:45 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

9:30 p.m.–11:45 a.m. Seoul / Tokyo

11:30 p.m.–1:45 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Fourth Virtual Conference
Final Agenda**

Thursday, December 16, 2021

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

Join details for sessions:

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/91292038533>

Passcode: 912 9203 8533

Meeting ID: 888809

7:30 a.m.–7:35 a.m. *Welcoming Remarks*

Speaker:

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)*

7:35 a.m.–8:35 a.m. *Briefing and Discussion*

**Beyond COVID-19: Future Pandemic Preparedness and Response—
What Have Recent High-Level Meetings Achieved?**

Speakers:

Joanne Liu, *Professor at the School of Population and Global Health, McGill University; and Former Member of the Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response*

Justice Nonvignon, *Associate Professor at the School of Public Health, University of Ghana*

Presider:

Yanzhong Huang, *Senior Fellow for Global Health, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

8:35 a.m.–8:45 a.m. *Break*

8:45 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Session Two*

The COVID-19 Pandemic Two Years In: The Current Situation and Pressing Challenges for 2022

Guiding questions: What progress has been made against COVID-19? What have been the primary obstacles to more effective multilateral cooperation in confronting COVID-19? What strategies or policies should be prioritized to help the multilateral system and national governments combat COVID-19, including the threats posed by new variants, over the next six months?

Panelists:

Carlos Javier Regazzoni, *Director of the Global Health and Human Security Committee, Argentine Council on Foreign Relations (Argentina)*

Paola Testori Coggi, *Scientific Advisor, International Affairs Institute (Italy)*

Presider:

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

Participant Biographies

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 secretary general, 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 UTSA.

Juan Erardo Battaleme Martinez

Juan Erardo Battaleme Martinez is academic secretary of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He is also the director of the faculty of national defense's master's degree program at Argentina's National Defense University and a professor in several undergraduate and graduate universities in Argentina, including the Argentine University of Business, the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina (CEMA) University, and the University of Buenos Aires. He specializes in national security, with a focus on Argentine foreign policy, national defense, and cybersecurity. Throughout his career, he has worked as an advisor and analyst on foreign and digital policy. He was previously in charge of the academic direction of the Argentine University of Business. He is a consulting member of several institutions in the international relations field, including the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences' International Policy Institute, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and CARI. He was a Fulbright Scholar, National Defense University

fellow, and a Chevening Scholar. He has a degree in political science from the University of Buenos Aires, a master's degree in international relations from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, and a master's degree in state sciences from the CEMA University. He is a PhD candidate in organizations management at CEMA.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam, and editor-in-chief of the European Foreign Affairs Review. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the EU. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defence* and *Regroup and Reform: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied in its outer periphery. He is an editor of more than twenty 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 and a senior consultant to the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations. Mr. Bollyky is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways* and the founder and managing editor of *Think Global Health*, an online magazine that examines the ways health shapes economies, societies, and everyday lives around the world. He also codirected the first bipartisan, CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force on the international and domestic response to COVID-19, *Improving Pandemic Preparedness: Lessons From COVID-19*, and directed the first CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force devoted to global health, *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. Prior to 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. 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* and the *New England Journal of Medicine*. 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. Mr. Bollyky received a BA in biology and history from Columbia University and a JD from Stanford Law School.

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations and 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). Caballero-Anthony teaches courses on non-traditional security in Asia and security governance, is a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation, and has served as the Secretary-General of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008. Her research interests include

regionalism and multilateralism in Asia-Pacific, global governance, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security, and conflict prevention. From 2015 to 2017, Caballero-Anthony was vice president at-large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and is a member of the ISA's Global South Task Force. In 2015, she was a visiting fellow at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. From 2013 to 2017, Caballero-Anthony was a member of the UN Secretary-General's advisory board on disarmament matters and served as its chair in 2016. From 2011 to 2012, she was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations secretariat. She has published extensively on a broad range of political and security issues in Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic press. Her latest books include *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies*, and *Asia on the Move*.

David P. Fidler

David P. Fidler is senior fellow for global health and cybersecurity at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is an expert in international law, cybersecurity, national security, global health, and space policy, and currently serves as a member of the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine's Committee on Planetary Protection. Fidler has been a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, a Fulbright New Century Scholar, and a Truman Scholar from Kansas. Fidler's publications include *Advanced Introduction to Cybersecurity Law* (forthcoming); *The Snowden Reader* (editor and contributor); *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (co-editor and contributor); *Responding to National Security Letters: A Practical Guide for Legal Counsel* (co-author); *Biosecurity in the Global Age: Biological Weapons, Public Health, and the Rule of Law* (co-author); and *SARS, Governance, and the Globalization of Disease*. He holds a BCL from the University of Oxford, JD from Harvard Law School, MPhil in international relations from the University of Oxford, and BA from the University of Kansas.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and the director and founder of Ifri's Russia/NIS Center. Before joining Ifri, Gomart was an assistant professor at 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 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.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his eighteenth 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.

Yanzhong Huang

Yanzhong Huang is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he directs the Global Health Governance roundtable series. He is also a professor and director of global health studies at Seton Hall University's School of Diplomacy and International Relations, where he developed the first academic concentration among U.S. professional international affairs schools that explicitly addresses the security and foreign policy aspects of health issues. He is the founding editor of *Global Health Governance: The Scholarly Journal for the New Health Security Paradigm*. Huang has written extensively on China and global health. He is the author of *Governing Health in Contemporary China* and *Toxic Politics: China's Environmental Health Crisis and Its Challenge to the Chinese State*. He has also published numerous reports, journal articles, and book chapters, including articles in *Survival*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Public Health*, *Bioterrorism and Biosecurity*, and the *China Leadership Monitor*, as well as opinion pieces in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *South China Morning Post*, among others. He is a life member of CFR, a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and a board member of the Institute of Global Health. He previously was a research associate at the National Asia Research Program, a public intellectuals fellow at the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, an associate fellow at the Asia Society, a visiting senior research fellow at the National University of Singapore, and a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He has taught at Barnard College and Columbia University. He obtained his BA and MA from Fudan University and his PhD from the University of Chicago.

Godwin S. Ichimi

Godwin S. Ichimi is currently a senior research fellow at the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs. His research focuses on international political economy with an emphasis on international development cooperation and human security issues, particularly in the context of South-South relations. He has served as a consultant and institutional representative at several national and international organizations. Previously, he was in the private sector for a decade where he co-facilitated projects on

training, resource mobilization, and other related services for high net worth local and multinational companies, particularly those operating in the fast moving consumer products sectors in Nigeria and other West African markets. He holds a PhD in politics and international relations from the University of Aberdeen.

Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi

Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi is a research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. Her research interests include women and peacebuilding processes, conflict-related sexual violence, women, peace and security frameworks, and security sector reforms. She also teaches courses on foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, and international law, among others. She is an alumnus of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, and has published locally and internationally. She holds a BSc in political science, a master's in international law and diplomacy, and an MSc in political science from the University of Lagos. She also holds a PhD in political science from Babcock University.

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 serves as founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum, chairs the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting, and advises a UK-based technology investment platform and a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization on rebuilding social cohesion through new approaches to communication. 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.

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.

Seungjoo Lee

Seungjoo Lee is chair of the East Asia Institute's Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center and professor of political science and international relations at Chung-Ang University. His research focuses on the economy-security nexus, international economic order in cyberspace, and digital trade policy. Lee previously taught at the National University of Singapore and Yonsei University. He has held various positions in academic associations in Korea such as the Korean Political Science Association and the Korean Association of International Studies. In 2019, he served as chair of the organizing committee for the 2019 World Congress of Korean Politics and Society. Lee is coauthor of *The Political Economy of Change and Continuity in Korea: Twenty Years After the Crisis*. He also edited *Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration?*, *International Political Economy in Cyberspace*, and *Korea's Middle Power Diplomacy*. His publications have appeared in various journals such as *Asian Survey*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Korean Political Science Review*, and *Pacific Review*. Lee received his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

Lei Shaohua

Lei Shaohua is associate professor of Peking University's School of International Studies (SIS), deputy chair of SIS' Department of International Organization and International Public Policy, and a senior research fellow at Peking University's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. Lei's research fields include Chinese politics and public policy and U.S.-Sino relations. His publications include "Sublimating Contentious Chinese Politics into Local Public Administration," "China's Domestic Politics and its Foreign Policy" in *International Order and China's Global Participation*, "Beyond Geopolitics: Industrial Policy and Great Power Competition," "The Change of Global Industrial Structure and Political Cleavages," and "Rethinking of American Net Assessment: Theory and Method." He is currently researching and writing "Global Value Chain and Sino-U.S. Competition." He received his doctorate in political science from the University of Utah.

Marlos Lima

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

Liu Kan

Liu Kan is an associate professor and associate research fellow for the Institute for Global Governance Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. His research is focused on global health governance and international health cooperation. He has been a long time teacher and researcher on diving and hyperbaric medicine, as well as diving site medical support work. He is a member of the Chinese Society of Applied Physiology, Chinese Medical Association's Marine Medicine Branch, and the Diving Alert Network's Diving Advisory Group for the Asia-Pacific region.

Günther Maihold

Günther Maihold has been deputy director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) since 2004, and is an honorary professor in political science at the Free University of Berlin. Previously, Maihold was a lecturer at Gerhard-Mercator University GH Duisburg and the Free University of Berlin's Institute for Latin American Studies. From 2011 to 2015, he assumed the German Academic Exchange Service's Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt chair at Mexico's National University and El Colegio de México. He spent eight years abroad working as a project manager in social policy consulting in Costa Rica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama, and at the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Department for Latin America and the Caribbean. In 1999, he was appointed director of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation's Ibero-American Institute in Berlin. Before that, Maihold was a research fellow at the University of Regensburg's Institute for Scientific Policy and Public Law. He studied sociology and political science and received his PhD from the University of Regensburg.

Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), which he joined in 2012. Medhora is a member of the *Lancet* and *Financial Times* Commission on Governing Health Futures 2030 as well as the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, which is co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz. He 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.

Melanie Müller

Melanie Müller is a senior associate with a focus on Southern Africa at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). She also heads the research project "Approaches for Transnational Governance of Sustainable Commodity Supply Chains." She has conducted research in

various countries of the Southern African Development Community region as well as in Ghana and Niger, and published on political and socioeconomic developments in Southern Africa, as well on migration and on resource governance in Africa. Before joining SWP in 2017, she worked as a research associate and lecturer at Free University of Berlin and as a consultant for public and private actors with a focus on resource governance.

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.

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 and 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*.

Harsh V. Pant

Harsh V. Pant is director of research and head of the Strategic Studies programme at the Observer Research Foundation. He is also a professor of international relations at King's College London and director (honorary) of Delhi University's Delhi School of Transnational Affairs. His current research is focused on Asian security issues. His most recent books include *New Directions in India's Foreign Policy: Theory and Praxi*, *India's Nuclear Policy*, *The US Pivot and Indian Foreign Policy*, *Handbook of Indian Defence Policy*, and *India's Afghan Muddle*. Pant writes regularly for various Indian and international media outlets including the *Japan Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *The National*, *Hindustan Times*, and *Telegraph*.

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 MAs and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan

Rajeswari Pillai Rajagopalan is the director of the Centre for Security, Strategy, and Technology at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). In 2020, she was also a non-resident Indo-Pacific fellow at the Perth USAsia Centre. From 2018 to 2019, Rajagopalan was the technical advisor to the UN Group of Governmental Experts on the Prevention of Arms Race in Outer Space. In 2012, she was a visiting professor at the National Chung Hsing University's Graduate Institute of International Politics. Rajagopalan joined ORF after serving as an assistant director at the National Security Council of India's secretariat from 2003 to 2007. Prior to that, she was a research officer at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses. Rajagopalan has authored or edited nine books, including *Global Nuclear Security: Moving Beyond the NSS*, *Space Policy 2.0*, *Nuclear Security in India*, *Clashing Titans: Military Strategy and Insecurity among Asian Great Powers*, and *The Dragon's Fire: Chinese Military Strategy and Its Implications for Asia*. She has published research essays in edited volumes, and in peer reviewed journals such as *India Review*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, *Air and Space Power Journal*, *International Journal of Nuclear Law*, and *Strategic Analysis*. Her work has also appeared in the *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Times of India*, and *Economic Times*. As a senior Asia defense writer for *The Diplomat*, she writes a weekly column on Asian strategic issues. She has been invited to speak at international fora including the United Nations

Disarmament Forum, the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Conference on Disarmament, ASEAN Regional Forum, and the European Union.

Carlos Javier Regazzoni

Carlos Javier Regazzoni is consultant member of the Argentine Council for International Relations on global health issues, as well as a medical doctor and politician. Regazzoni joined the City of Buenos Aires as deputy minister in the Ministry of Social Development and was later appointed as CEO of the city health-care system for public servants in the city of Buenos Aires. From 2011 to 2015, he was the undersecretary of economic and financial management and resource management of the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires. He is also the former chief executive director of the National Institute of Social Services for Retirees and Pensioners, the largest state-owned medical insurance agency in Latin America for retired people, reporting directly to the president of the country. He is currently an independent consultant in public health and pharmaceuticals public policies. In 2017, he was elected city counselor in one of the largest municipalities in Argentina. He has earned several awards because of his investigations on sustainable health care for old age and on the impact of university education on the workforce. Regazzoni is author of two books on public health and education and editor of other four on health and public administration. He was an Argentine Eisenhower fellow and was in the Latin America Development Leadership Program at Harvard Kennedy School. After graduating as a doctor in 1992, Regazzoni earned a biostatistics diploma and a PhD in biomedical sciences from the University of Buenos Aires, and a diploma in philosophy from Austral University.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental is president of the consulting firm Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Mexico and 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. Rozental is the lead nonexecutive board member at HSBC Mexico, chairs the bank's remuneration and succession committee, and serves on its audit and risk committee. He also 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.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is founder and chair of the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Saudi Arabia with a worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe. He is an

expert on Gulf politics and strategic issues, author and editor of numerous publications, and frequent contributor to major international media channels such as Al Arabiya, the BBC, CNN, and France 24. In 2015 and 2017, Sager chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He holds a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University with a focus on Gulf security affairs.

Patrycja Sasnal

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

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos has been the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs since 2005. In 2021 she was appointed as a member of the UN High-Level Advisory Board on Economic and Social Affairs. With more than twenty-six years of experience in the field of politics and international relations, Sidiropoulos's expertise lies in South Africa's foreign policy, South-South cooperation, and the role of emerging powers in Africa. She is a regular commentator in South African and foreign media and the editor in chief of the *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 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 has also coedited two books exploring the rise of the new development cooperation providers: *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns?* 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.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Underwood International College at Yonsei University. 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.

Paola Testori Coggi

Paola Testori Coggi is special advisor of the Italian Technological Cluster of Life Sciences Alisei. She is also a member of the Italian delegation to the European Union's Horizon Europe health cluster. Testori Coggi previously served as president of the Italian Medicines Agency's Price and Reimbursement committee. She spent much of her career within the European Commission, where she was most recently director general for health and consumers. She has been awarded Italy's Cross of Merit. Testori Coggi is a biologist with a master's degree in ecotoxicology and an honorary doctorate in veterinary medicine.

Manuel Trajtenberg

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

Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç

Nigar Ağaoğulları Yalınkılıç is executive director of Global Relations Forum (GRF). She joined GRF in 2009 as a program director and has coordinated GRF's task forces on energy and security as well as its

track two projects with Russia. She has served as the director for GRF's various international initiatives and has taken an active role in the institution's Middle East and European Union task forces. She oversees and coordinates GRF's international projects, distinguished guest series, and roundtable meetings. Before she started her career at an international law firm in New York, Yalınkılıç worked at Western Policy Center in Washington, DC, and at the Turkish mission to the United Nations. Prior to joining GRF, she specialized in strategy and business development and served as a communication consultant to several companies. Yalınkılıç graduated from Georgetown University with a BS in foreign affairs concentrating in culture, politics, and minorities and holds an MSc in social and public communication from the London School of Economics and Political Science with specializations in corporate communications and social psychology.

Robert Yates

Robert Yates is executive director of Chatham House's Centre For Universal Health. He is an internationally recognized expert on universal health coverage and progressive health financing. His principal area of expertise is in the political economy of universal health coverage, with a focus on advising political leaders and government ministries on how to plan, finance, and implement national universal health coverage reforms. He has previously worked as a senior health economist with the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and the World Health Organization, advising numerous governments in Asia and Africa on health financing policy and health system reforms. Yates is a member of the Health for All Thematic Group of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network. He received his BA in natural sciences and economics from Queens' College Cambridge and his MBA from Leeds University.

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 Co-operation and Development (1981–84).

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is chair of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development and professor and head of the department of risk management and insurance at Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He is also president of the All-Russian Insurance Association, the Russian Association of Motor Insurers, and the National Union of Liability Insurers and a member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, the management board of the

Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and the Russian International Affairs Council. He graduated from Moscow State University.

Szymon Zaręba

Szymon Zaręba is head of the Global Issues programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He is also an assistant professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences. His research interests include various issues of international and EU law and jurisprudence, mostly those arising within the post-Soviet space and the Middle East. He also closely follows the developments at the Council of Europe and United Nations and its specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization. He has participated in several collaborative research projects, mostly on international recognition, human rights protection, and global health management. He earned an LLM in law and an MA in international relations from the University of Warsaw and a PhD in law from the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Law Studies.

Patricia Zúñiga

Patricia Zúñiga is the director general of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. She also works on gender equality projects, primarily with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and most recently with the Mexican Ministry of Education. From 2018 to 2021, she was project manager and head of the liaison office of the hydrocarbons program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's (UNAM) Institute of Geology. From 2017 to 2018, she coordinated the innovation group to support and advise the Mexican Ministry of Economy's negotiators during the North American Free Trade Agreement renegotiations. Zúñiga served as executive director of the Academy of Engineering (2015–18); technical secretary of the Scientific and Technological Consultative Forum (2002–14), which serves as an external consultative body for the executive and legislative branches of the Mexican government; director of promotion and scientific development for Mexico's National Council for Science and Technology (1993–2002); and external advisor to member states' radiation safety and capacity building at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) (1993–2000). She led the IAEA's International Program on Control and Safe Use of Radiation Sources (1988–93). She has received numerous awards, including the UN Distinguished Service Award (1992) and the National Institute for Women in Mexico City's *Omecihuatl* Medal. Zúñiga graduated from the faculty of sciences at UNAM.

Speakers

Joanne Liu

Joanne Liu is a professor at McGill University's School of Population and Global Health with a focus on pandemic preparedness and response and health emergencies. She recently served as member of the Independent Panel on Pandemic Preparedness and Response, contributing to a set of comprehensive recommendations to protect people from future outbreaks. She served as international president of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) from 2013 to 2019. At the helm of MSF, she has been a leading voice on medical humanitarian crises, namely in the Ebola outbreak of West Africa, attacks on hospitals, and forced displacement crises and has coordinated with world leaders at the highest levels. Liu's role builds on a career of field work with MSF, including over twenty medical-humanitarian field assignments. Liu's operational work has ranged from introducing comprehensive care for survivors of sexual violence to developing a telemedicine platform for connecting doctors in rural areas with specialists worldwide. Liu remains a practicing doctor, both in the field with MSF and also through hospital shifts in her home town of Montreal. She holds a fellowship in pediatric emergency medicine from New York University's School of Medicine, an international master's in health leadership from McGill University, and an MD, CM from McGill University School of Medicine in Montreal.

Justice Nonvignon

Justice Nonvignon is an associate professor and health economist at the University of Ghana, Legon's School of Public Health. He teaches health economics, health systems leadership and evaluation, and health policy, and supervises undergraduate and graduate students at the University of Ghana and other universities. Nonvignon is currently chair of the Global Evaluation and Monitoring Network for Health, a global network of academic institutions with significant experience in teaching and research on monitoring and evaluation; co-chair of Ghana Ministry of Health's Health Technology Assessment Technical Working Group; vice chair of the Africa Centres of Disease Control and Prevention Health Economics Unit's Technical Advisory Group; and member of the University of Ghana's Health Economics, Systems, and Policy Research Network. He is also an adjunct assistant research professor at New York University's College of Global Public Health, honorary senior research fellow at the University of Strathclyde, adjunct faculty at the Public Health Foundation of India, and a member of the International Health Economics Association, Health Technology Assessment International, African Health Economics and Policy Association, and African Economic Research Consortium Research Network. He has served as principal or co-investigator of research funded by several national, regional, and international public and private sector entities. He has consulted for PATH, the World Bank, WHO, UN Children's Fund, Department for International Development, U.S. Agency for International Development, and other national agencies in Ghana. Nonvignon has published dozens of articles in peer-reviewed journals, reviewed manuscripts for several peer-review journals, and is currently associate editor of BMC Health Services Research. He holds a BA in economics from the University of Cape Coast, an MA in economics from the University of Dar es Salaam, and a PhD in public health and health economics from the University of Ghana.

Observers

Hannah Cameron

Hannah Cameron is a senior program officer at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. At the Gates Foundation she has held a variety of positions within the Global Policy and Advocacy team, most recently supporting and coordinating policy and resource mobilization efforts across the Europe, Middle East, and East Asia region. Prior to joining the foundation, Cameron led the health team in a boutique public affairs company working for a variety of clients in the private and non-profit sectors. She has also worked in the UK Department of Education and the European Parliament. Cameron holds an LLM in international law and international relations from the Brussels School of International Studies and a master's in public health from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Brad Tytel

Brad Tytel serves as strategy lead for the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation's policy and advocacy response to the COVID-19 pandemic and has also been supporting the design of the foundation's emerging, longer-term strategy to strengthen and improve equity in future pandemic preparedness and response. He previously served as a policy advisor to the foundation's India regional program; led government relations in the Nigeria country program; and coordinated advocacy for the fiscal policy and immunization teams. Prior to joining the foundation, Tytel was vice president at Global Health Strategies, an international advocacy and communications consultancy, where he managed campaigns touching five continents. Trained as a journalist and in international development, Tytel holds degrees in journalism from New York University and in peace and development studies from Amherst College.