# COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS



# COUNCIL OF COUNCILS THIRD VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

## COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



OCTOBER 7, 2021

7:30 A.M.–9:45 A.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME 1:30 P.M.–3:45 P.M. CENTRAL EUROPEAN TIME

#### Hosted by

The International Affairs Institute (IAI)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

#### **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.

#### **COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS**

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Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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TURKEY

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International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

**UNITED STATES** 

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

#### Council of Councils Third Virtual Conference International Start Times (Please check your local time)

#### October 7, 2021

6:30 a.m.–8:45 a.m. Mexico City

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

8:30 a.m.-10:45 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

12:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m. Lagos / London / Rabat

1:30 p.m.–3:45 p.m. Berlin / Bonn / Brussels / Cairo / Johannesburg / Kigali / Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

2:30 p.m.-4:45 p.m. Ankara / Istanbul / Jeddah / Tel Aviv / Moscow

5:00 p.m.-7:15 p.m. New Delhi

6:30 p.m.-8:45 p.m. Jakarta

7:30 p.m.–9:45 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

8:30 p.m.–10:45 a.m. Seoul / Tokyo

10:00 p.m.-12:15 a.m. Adelaide

10:30 p.m.-12:45 a.m. Sydney

### Council of Councils Third Virtual Conference Final Agenda

#### October 7, 2021

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

Join details for sessions:

https://cfr.zoom.us/j/99113720782

Passcode: 442737

Meeting ID: 991 1372 0782

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. Session One

The Role of the G20 in an era of Great Power Tensions

Guiding questions: What is the value added of the Group of Twenty (G20) on issues of global governance and multilateral cooperation? What should the G20's top priorities be? What would a successful outcome of the G20 summit in Rome look like? What can be done to maximize the success of the G20 going forward in an era of great power tensions? Can the G20 play a useful role in managing crises with geopolitical ramifications, such as the situation in Afghanistan?

Opening Remarks:

Thomas A. Bernes, Distinguished Fellow,

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Facilitator:

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

8:35 a.m.–8:45 a.m. Break

8:45 a.m.–9:45 a.m. Session Two

**G20** Briefing and Conversation

Speaker:

**Gelsomina Vigliotti**, Director General for International Financial Relations, Department of the Treasury, Italian Ministry of Economy and Finance

Moderator:

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

9:45 a.m. Closing Remarks

Speaker:

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

Participant Biographies

#### Mehmet Sait Akman

Mehmet Sait Akman is associate professor and director of the G20 Studies Centre at the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey. He also teaches international trade at TOBB University of Economics and Technology in Ankara. Akman previously was a visiting researcher at the European University Institute in Florence and the London School of Economics and Political Science and trained World Trade Organization bureaucrats on regional trade policy for the Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region. He served as the co-chair of the trade, investment, and growth task forces under T20 Saudi Arabia in 2020 and T20 Italy in 2021. Akman is currently a steering committee member of the Trade and Investment Research Network.

#### 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.

#### Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors program at the Institute of International Affairs in Rome. He is also a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program. His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and was 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.

#### 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 Exponencial, 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.

#### Thomas A. Bernes

Thomas A. Bernes is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation, where he served as president and executive director from 2009 to 2012. Bernes has over forty years of experience as a Canadian representative and official at international financial institutions, having held high-level positions at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and government of Canada. Bernes joined the Canada public service in 1970 and went on to serve at the OECD as head of its General Trade Policy division; the Department of Foreign Affairs; the Department of Finance, where he was appointed assistant deputy minister of international trade and finance in 1992 and Group of Seven finance deputy in 1995. In 1996, Bernes was elected executive director of the IMF for Canada, Ireland, and a number of Caribbean countries. In 2001, Bernes was appointed the executive secretary of the joint ministerial level IMF-World Bank Development Committee and also served as deputy corporate secretary to the World Bank Group. In 2005, Bernes was appointed as director of the IMF's Independent Evaluation Office, an independent internal watchdog. He is a graduate of the University of Manitoba.

#### Agnes Binagwaho

Agnes Binagwaho is the vice chancellor and cofounder of the University of Global Health Equity (UGHE), a Rwandan initiative of Partners in Health. Binagwaho also serves as a professor of pediatrics at UGHE, senior lecturer at Harvard Medical School's Department of Global Health and Social Medicine, and adjunct clinical professor of pediatrics at Dartmouth's Geisel School of Medicine. She is a member of several editorial, advisory, and directors' boards, including the Rockefeller Foundation board of trustees and the African Union Commission on African COVID-19 Response, is a member of the U.S. National Academy of Medicine and the World Academy of Sciences, and is a fellow of the African Academy of Sciences. She previously worked in various high-level Rwandan government positions between 2002 and 2016, including as the minister of health, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Health, and executive secretary of Rwanda's National AIDS Control Commission. After returning to her native Rwanda in the late 1990s, she worked for twenty years in the public health sector, first as a clinician in public hospitals. She has published over 220 peer-reviewed articles and was named among the 100 Most Influential African Women for 2020 and 2021. She completed her MA in pediatrics at the Université de Bretagne Occidentale and her MD at the Université Libre de Bruxelles.

#### Fabrizio Botti

Fabrizio Botti is senior fellow in the field of economics and finance at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI) and Intesa Sanpaolo fellow. He is also research fellow at Guglielmo Marconi University, where he teaches economics and real estate market economics. He is core member of Minerva Laboratory on Gender Diversity and Gender Inequality at Sapienza University of Rome's Department of Statistics. Previously he was Marie Curie fellow at the University of Cambridge's faculty of economics and politics and visiting fellow at the University of Florida's Center for African Studies.

#### Nicolas J.A. Buchoud

Nicolas J.A. Buchoud is co-chair of the T20 infrastructure task force, fellow at the Global Solutions Initiative and O.P. Jindal Global University's Centre for Sustainability, and honorary member of the Indonesian Creative Cities Network. He is also president of the think tank Grand Paris Alliance for Metropolitan Development, founding principal of Renaissance Urbaine strategic advisory, and coeditor of *Intersecting*. He holds a master's degree in urban and regional planning from Sciences Po Paris and a master's degree in Chinese history from Paris-Sorbonne University.

#### **Creon Butler**

Creon Butler is the director of the Global Economy and Finance program and research director of Trade, Investment, and New Governance Models at Chatham House. He joined Chatham House from the United Kingdom (UK) cabinet office, where he served as director for international economic affairs in the National Security Secretariat and Group of Seven and Group of Twenty sous-sherpa, advising on global policy issues such as climate change, natural resource security, global health threats, and the future of the international economic architecture. He designed and organized the UK's global Anti-Corruption Summit in May 2016. Butler first joined the cabinet office in 2013 as director in the European and Global Issues secretariat, advising the prime minister on international economic and financial issues, including country-specific developments in China and Germany and global challenges such as antimicrobial resistance and anticorruption, among other issues. He was also deputy high commissioner in New Delhi from 2006 to 2009. Earlier in his career, he served in the Bank of England, HM Treasury, and in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, where he was director for economic policy and chief economic advisor.

#### 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). Caballero-Anthony teaches courses on nontraditional 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. Caballero-Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in Asia-Pacific, global governance, human security and nontraditional security, nuclear security, and conflict prevention. From 2015 to 2017, she was vice president—at-large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and is a

member of 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 Asia-Pacific political and security issues in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. 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.

#### Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is secretary-general of the Argentine Council for International Relations, (CARI), global fellow at the Wilson Center for International Scholars, and a professor in Austral University's master's in public policy program. He is a columnist for the news website Infobae. He is also the author of *La Argentina y el Mundo: Keys to a Successful Integration* and *The Rebellion of Nations: Crisis of Liberalism and Rise of Popular Conservatism*, as well as numerous articles published in magazines specialized in Argentina and abroad.

#### Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is the 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 the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing in Singapore. He is adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. Chen is also 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.

#### Jane Drake-Brockman

Jane Drake-Brockman is industry professor at the University of Adelaide's Institute for International Trade in Australia. She is widely recognized as one of Asia-Pacific's foremost experts on trade and competitiveness in services. She is founder and director of the Australian Services Roundtable, has served on the executive committee of the Hong Kong Coalition of Services Industries, and co-convenes the Asia Pacific Services Coalition. Drake-Brockman is a member of the G20 Trade and Investment Research Network and co-chair of this year's T20 Taskforce on Trade, Investment, and Growth. She is lead author of 2021 T20 Policy Brief: "Digital Trade: Top Trade Negotiation Priorities for Cross-Border Data Flows and Online Trade in Services." Drake-Brockman has served with the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Secretariat, and the International Trade Centre. A former diplomat, she was chief economist in

Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and minister at the Australian delegation to the European Union in Brussels.

#### Karim El Aynaoui

Karim El Aynaoui is executive president of the Policy Center for the New South. He is also executive vice president of the Mohammed VI Polytechnic University (UM6P) and dean of UM6P's Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences. From 2005 to 2012, he worked at the Central Bank of Morocco as the director of economics, statistics, and international relations. Previously, he served as an economist at the World Bank. He holds scientific and advisory positions in various institutions, including the Malabo-Montpellier Panel, the Moroccan Capital Market Authority, and the French Institute of International Relations. He is also advisor to the CEO and chairman of the OCP Group, serves as a board member of the OCP Foundation, and is a global member of the Trilateral Commission. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Bordeaux.

#### **Ralf Emmers**

Ralf Emmers is dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University. His research interests include security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. He is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs, including *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, coauthored with Sarah Teo. He is also coeditor of the Oxford Handbook on Peaceful Change in International Relations. He completed his MSc and PhD in the London School of Economics and Political Science's international relations department.

#### **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 Notre Intérêt National, edited with Thierry de Montbrial; Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?, edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitique; and Guerres Invisibles: Nos prochains défis géopolitiques. 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.

#### **David Gordon**

David Gordon is senior advisor for geoeconomics and strategy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), where he provides direction and leadership to the IISS multiyear project on China's Belt and Road Initiative. He also supports IISS's program on geoeconomics, geopolitics, and strategy. He writes extensively on global political and economic risks, great power rivalry, and U.S. foreign and national security policy. Prior to joining IISS, Gordon had a long career in both government and the private sector. He served as director of policy planning in the U.S. State Department and as vice chair of the U.S. National Intelligence Council. After leaving government service, he was chairman and head of research for the global political risk advisory firm Eurasia Group. He has also taught at the University of Michigan, Michigan State, the University of Nairobi, and Georgetown University. Gordon received his bachelor's degree from Bowdoin College and his master's and doctorate from the University of Michigan.

#### **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 the Balkans.

#### Elisabeth Gronen

Elisabeth Gronen is a researcher in the Transformation of Economic and Social Systems program at the German Development Institute (DIE). Her current work focuses on the 2022 Group of Seven comprehensive progress report on development related commitments. Last year, she formed part of DIE's fifty-sixth postgraduate-programme course, where she researched governance approaches for urban transformation toward zero carbon. Gronen holds a master's degree in societies, globalisation, and development from the University of Bonn.

#### **Daniel Gros**

Daniel Gros is a distinguished fellow and member of the board at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), previously serving as director of CEPS for twenty years. Gros is also an advisor to the European Parliament. He recently served as a member of the European Systemic Risk Board's advisory scientific council, held a Fulbright fellowship, and was a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley. Gros previously worked at the International Monetary Fund and collaborated with the European Commission as economic advisor to the Delors Committee, which developed plans for the Economic and Monetary Union of the European Union. He has been a member of high-level advisory bodies to the French and Belgian governments and has advised numerous central banks and governments, including those of the United States, Greece, and the United Kingdom. He has published extensively on international economic affairs, including monetary and fiscal policy, exchange rates,

banking, and climate change. He is the author of several books and editor of *Économie Internationale* and *International Finance*. He has taught at several leading European universities and contributes a globally syndicated column on European economic issues to Project Syndicate. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

#### 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.

#### 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.

#### Łukasz Kulesa

Łukasz Kulesa is deputy head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, where he supervises the institute's research on international security, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the European Union. His areas of expertise include nuclear and conventional deterrence, arms control, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Russian security policy, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the transatlantic security relationship. From 2014 to 2019, he was research director of the European Leadership Network. From 2010 to 2012, Kulesa served as the deputy director of the Strategic Analyses Department at the National Security Bureau. His most recent publications include *Toward a New Equilibrium: Minimizing the Risks of NATO and Russia's New Military Posture* and *Preparing for the Worst: Are Russian and NATO Military Exercises Making War in Europe More Likely?*. Kulesa holds a master's degree in international relations and European studies from the Central European University and is a graduate of the law department of the Jagiellonian University.

#### Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio is the secretary-general of the Argentine Council for International Relations. He is also a professor of international relations and foreign policy at the University of Buenos Aires, Austral University, and the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina. He is a career diplomat. From 2017 to 2020, he served as ambassador of Argentina to Russia and concurrently to Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. He previously served as director of policy planning and strategic analysis at the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2015–17), foreign policy advisor to the vice president of Argentina (2003–08), deputy chief of mission at the Argentine Embassy in the United States (2000–03), and undersecretary of defense (1993–96) and was posted at the permanent mission of Argentina to the United Nations (1983–89). In 2018, he won the Konex Award in diplomacy. He earned a master's degree in international politics and is a doctoral candidate at the City University of New York.

#### Abla Abdel Latif

Abla Abdel Latif is currently chair of the Presidential Advisory Council for Economic Development and executive director and director of research of the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies. She is also a member of the Central Bank of Egypt's coordinating council has been a board member of the National

Bank of Egypt—the first woman in this position—for over six years and has been the main economic advisor to the president of Egypt since 2015. In 2013, she was honored with membership in the Committee of Fifty, whose mission was to draft Egypt's constitution following the events of June 30, 2013. In that capacity, she officially represented the Egyptian Federation of Industries and was one of only five women on the committee. She is also a cofounder and board member of the Egyptian Center for Public Opinion Research (BASEERA) and the El Nidaa Foundation for job creation for women and youth. She was previously advisor to the minister of industry after the January 2011 revolution. In addition to her over-twenty-year teaching career as professor of economics at the American University in Cairo, she has been selected to be a lifetime research fellow at the Economic Research Forum. Latif received a special award for outstanding achievement and excellence in research from Sussex University and a faculty excellence teaching award from the American University in Cairo. She earned a bachelor's in economics from the American University in Cairo and a master's and doctorate in economics from the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.

#### 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.

#### Hervé Lemahieu

Hervé Lemahieu is the director of research at the Lowy Institute, where he is responsible for the institute's team of experts and oversees its research output. In the interim, he also directs the Power and Diplomacy program. His main research focus is on the implications of Asia's economic transformation for war, peace, and the global balance of power in the twenty-first century. He joined the institute in 2016 to develop the Asia Power Index, which is an annual data-driven assessment that maps the changing distribution of power in the region. He specializes in methodologies to improve technical understanding of critical issues, including the Global Diplomacy Index and COVID Performance Index. Lemahieu writes on Australian foreign policy, great power competition and middle power diplomacy, global governance and multilateralism, and Southeast Asia with a focus on Myanmar. He has convened a number of bilateral and trilateral strategic dialogues between the United States, Australia, France, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and the European Union and has also presented his research at the World Economic Forum. Lemahieu joined the Lowy Institute from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, where he was research associate for political economy and security. In an earlier role

at Oxford Analytica, he consulted on early warning and geopolitical risk for governments and international organizations. Lemahieu has an MSc in global governance and diplomacy from the University of Oxford and an MA in international relations and modern history from the University of St Andrews.

#### **Marlos Lima**

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

#### James M. Lindsay

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#### **Robin Niblett**

Robin Niblett has been director and chief executive of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) since 2007. He is co-chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Futures Council on Geopolitics and served as chair of its Global Agenda Council on Europe from 2012 to 2013. From 2015 to 2017, he was a special adviser to the House of Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee and chair of the Experts Group for the 2014 North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit. In 2013, he was chair of the British Academy's Steering Committee of Languages for Security Project, and from 2010 to 2020 he was a nonexecutive director of Fidelity European Values Investment Trust. From 2001 to 2006, he was executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Niblett is a frequent panelist at conferences on geopolitics, Europe, and transatlantic relations. He is the author of several books, including Global Britain, Global Broker and Britain, the EU and the Sovereignty Myth, and editor and coauthor of America and a Changed World: A Question of Leadership. His commentary and analysis have appeared in Foreign Affairs, Newsweek, the Financial Times, the Washington Post, the Times, the Daily Telegraph, the Guardian, and Reuters, among others, and he is a regular commentator on Bloomberg Surveillance and CNN International. In 2012, the Polish government awarded him the Bene Merito medal. He was appointed Companion of St. Michael and St. George in the 2015 New Year's Honors. He holds a BA, an MPhil, and a DPhil from the University of Oxford.

#### 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. 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. Osaghae has served as chair of the UN Economic Commission for Africa's panel on quality assurance assessment, chair

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#### 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.

#### 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.

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Samir Saran is the president of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), India's premier think tank. His research focuses on issues of global governance, climate change and energy policy, technology and media, and India's foreign policy. He curates the Raisina Dialogue, India's annual flagship platform on geopolitics and geoeconomics, and is the founder of CyFy, India's annual conference on cybersecurity and internet governance. He spearheads ORF's efforts to foster new international partnerships and incubate young leaders' networks and youth-led conversations globally. Saran is a member of the World Economic Forum (WEF) Regional Action Group, a part of WEF's Global Future Council on Geopolitics, and served as a commissioner of the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace. He is a member ORF America's board of directors and serves on the board of Microsoft's Digital Peace Now Initiative. Saran has authored four books and written several academic papers and book chapters. He is featured regularly in Indian and international print and broadcast media. His latest publications include *The New World Disorder and the Indian Imperative* coauthored with Shashi Tharoor and *Pax Sinica: Implications for the Indian Dawn* coauthored with Akhil Deo.

#### 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.

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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

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#### **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.

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Damian Wnukowski is an analyst and acting coordinator of the Asia-Pacific program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. His research focuses on East Asia (mainly China), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and international economic relations. He earned an MA in international relations with a specialization in non-European studies from the University of Warsaw and studied foreign trade at the Warsaw School of Economics.

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#### 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).

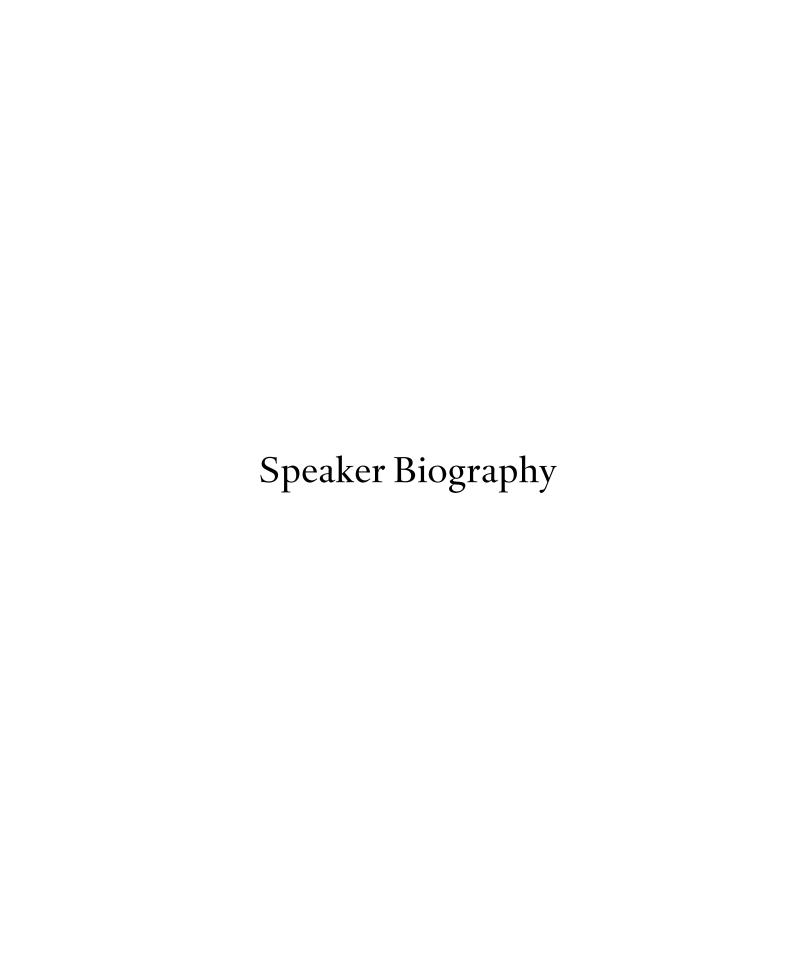
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