

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

*Tuesday, September 8, 2020
8:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Eastern Time*



Council of Councils Second Virtual Conference

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the 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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Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

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International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

**Council of Councils Second Virtual Conference
International Start Times**

Tuesday, September 8, 2020

7:00 a.m.—9:30 a.m. Mexico City

8:00 a.m.—10:30 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

9:00 a.m.—11:30 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

1:00 p.m.—3:30 p.m. London / Lagos

2:00 p.m.—4:30 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Johannesburg / Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

3:00 p.m.—5:30 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

5:30 p.m.—8:00 p.m. New Delhi

8:00 p.m.—10:30 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

9:00 p.m.—11:30 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

10:00 p.m.—12:30 a.m. Sydney

Council of Councils Second Virtual Conference Agenda

Tuesday, September 8, 2020

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

8:00 a.m.–8:05 a.m. *Welcoming Remarks:*
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)*

8:05 a.m.–9:35 a.m. *Session One*
The United Nations at Seventy-Five

Guiding questions: Seventy-five years after the United Nations was established, COVID-19 presents the already rickety international organization with the biggest test in its history. What has the COVID-19 pandemic revealed about the United Nation's relevance, its comparative strengths and weaknesses, and the most urgent priorities for its reform? Is the crisis likely to restore the United Nation's centrality in world politics, or accelerate its marginalization compared to other institutions? Can anything be done to prevent or reverse political paralysis within the Security Council, which remains the most important body for international peace and security?

Panelists:

Marianne Beisheim, *Senior Associate, Global Issues Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*
Gustavo de Carvalho, *Senior Researcher, Peace Operations and Peacebuilding Programme, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)*
Selim Yenel, *President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

Presider:

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

9:35 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Break*

9:45 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Briefing and Discussion*
COVID-19 Update: Strengthening International Cooperation on Vaccine Production and Distribution

Guiding questions: There are almost two hundred candidate vaccines against the novel coronavirus in development, with dozens of clinical trials under way around the world. How can production be scaled rapidly? What rules are needed to ensure global availability, equitable distribution, and that sufficient funds are pledged so that poorer countries are covered?

Speaker:

Richard J. Hatchett, *Chief Executive Officer, Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI)*

Moderator:

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

Marianne Beisheim

Marianne Beisheim is senior associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), where her focus is on sustainable development governance. She is an expert on the follow-up and review processes on the United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Among other things, she is a member of the UN Political Advisory Board of the German Federal Foreign Office, the steering group of the German Science Platform Sustainability 2030, and the Research Council of the United Nations Association Germany.

Margherita Bianchi

Margherita Bianchi is a researcher in the Energy, Climate, and Resources program at the Institute of International Affairs. She has previously worked at the European Parliament, in the Task Force of the Italian Group of Seven Presidency, and at the UN Environment Program. She also lectures at several Italian universities. She holds an undergraduate degree in political science and international relations from the Catholic University of Milan, a master's degree in European Affairs from the LUISS School of Government in Rome, and a master's degree in EU Law from the Institut d'études européennes, Brussels.

Steven Blockmans

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

Thomas J. Bollyky

Thomas J. Bollyky is director of the Global Health program and senior fellow for global health, economics, and development at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is also an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University. Bollyky 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. 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. Senate, and his work has appeared in many publications including *Foreign Affairs*, *New York Times*, *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. 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 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 board 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 non-traditional 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 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 chairperson in 2016. From 2011 to 2012, she was director of external relations at the ASEAN secretariat, and was a member of the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Conflict Prevention. She has published extensively on a broad range of security issues in Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic press. Her latest books, both single-authored and co-edited, include: *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies* and *Asia on the Move*.

Gustavo de Carvalho

Gustavo de Carvalho joined the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 2014 as a senior researcher in the Peace Operations and Peacebuilding programme in Pretoria, South Africa. Before joining ISS, he worked as an analyst at the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes in Durban, South Africa, and as a researcher at Global Witness in London, England. De Carvalho is experienced in capacity development, policy support, and peace and security research in Africa, focusing particularly on multilateralism. He holds a bachelor's in international relations from the University of Brasilia and a master's degree in African studies from the University of Oxford.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is dean and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. His research interests include security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. 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. Emmers has written articles for peer-reviewed journals including *Asian Survey*, *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, and the *Pacific Review*, as well as numerous book chapters in edited volumes. He completed his MSc and PhD in the international relations department of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

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 the Sorbonne and a cadet officer. He has focused on the former Soviet Union as well as wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. He was previously a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, a visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at the Department of War Studies at King's College London. Gomart'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; and *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitiques*. A member of the Strategic Review Committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017, he is also a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique Etrangère*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Neuma Grobbelaar

Neuma Grobbelaar is the research director at the South African Institute of International Affairs, a leading African foreign policy think tank based at the University of the Witwatersrand. A former South African diplomat, she is an experienced foreign policy and development expert with twenty-eight years of specialist research, project, research management, fundraising, and policy experience. Her areas of research include the intersection between foreign policy, regional integration, and human development; the role of the private sector in African development initiatives; and South Africa's role as an emerging development partner in Africa. She has participated and contributed toward developing evaluation criteria for South-South cooperation through her participation in the Network of Southern Think Tanks activities, contributed to the OECD development anthology on development risks for the Global South, participated in a Delphi-style consultation process for the German Development Cooperation Ministry through its Future Development Policy Global Partnerships division to frame German development cooperation toward 2030, and contributed to the Swiss Development Cooperation Agency's internal strategic reframing of its development cooperation policy. She has participated in numerous international, national, and regional conferences on South African foreign policy, peace-building, development cooperation, and commercial diplomacy. She has peer-reviewed and quality assured countless papers, articles, and opinion pieces and has a wide network of foreign policy and development cooperation associates—both regionally and internationally.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros has been director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) since 2000. In 2020, he holds a Fulbright fellowship and is a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley. Gros is also currently an adviser to the European Parliament and a member of the European Systemic Risk Board's Advisory Scientific Council. Gros previously worked at the International Monetary Fund and collaborated with the European Commission as economic adviser 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 advised numerous central

banks and governments, including Greece, the United Kingdom, and the United States. He has published extensively on international economic affairs, including on monetary and fiscal policy, exchange rates, banking, and climate change. He is the author of several books and editor of *Economie 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 Haass

Richard Haass is in 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 the senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush, 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 Carter and 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.

Cyprian Heen

Cyprian Heen is currently the interim director-general of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and director of Nigeria's Foreign Service Academy. He has held senior diplomatic appointment positions in several of Nigeria's missions across the world.

Godwin Ichimi

Godwin Ichimi is a research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. His major research interest focuses on South-South cooperation and international political economy. He has served in several national and international positions as a consultant and institutional representative.

Dhruva Jaishankar

Dhruva Jaishankar has been director of the U.S. Initiative at the New Delhi-based Observer Research Foundation (ORF) since 2019. He is also a non-resident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Australia and is a frequent media commentator, presently writing a monthly column for the Hindustan Times. Jaishankar was previously a fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at Brookings India in New Delhi and the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, from 2016 to 2019. From 2012 to 2016, he was a transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund (GMF) in Washington, DC. From 2009 to 2012, he was programme officer with GMF. Prior to that, he worked as a research assistant at the Brookings Institution and as a news writer and reporter for CNN-IBN television in New Delhi. From 2015 to 2016, he was a visiting fellow at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. Jaishankar holds a bachelor's degree in history and classics from Macalester College and a master's degree in security studies from Georgetown University.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding board member of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the first president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu also serves as the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative, Kanunum and the chairman of the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting. 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 received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yasushi Kudo

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

Sergey Kulik

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

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio is a member of the Argentine Council for International Relations and has served as ambassador of the Argentine Republic to the Russian Federation, and concurrently to Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, since 2016. He is also a professor of

international relations and foreign policy at the University of Buenos Aires and the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina. He previously served as director of planning and strategic analysis at the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreign policy advisor to the governor of Buenos Aires, foreign policy advisor to the vice president of Argentina, deputy chief of mission at the Argentine Embassy in the United States, chief of staff to the undersecretary of defense and minister of defense, and was posted at the permanent mission of Argentina to the United Nations. He earned a BS in politics and is a PhD candidate at the City University of New York.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

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

Seungjoo Lee

Seungjoo Lee is a professor in the department of political science and international relations at Chung-Ang University. His current areas of research include East Asia regionalism, mega-regional free trade agreements and the economic-security nexus, middle power diplomacy, and development cooperation.

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, prospective scenarios and future studies, and decision-making under uncertainty. Lima has been involved in many private and public initiatives abroad and in Brazil. He is an economist at the Brazilian School of Economics, a visiting professor at many universities in Latin America, founding member of the Latin American Group for Public Administration (GLAP/IIAS), and a member of the American Academy of Management. Lima holds a master's degree in public administration and a PhD in management from FGV.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than seventy fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. He has been a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Iowa and the University of Texas, and served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council in 1996 and 1997. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge*, hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*, and cohosts the weekly podcast *The World Next Week*. His most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize.

Omotola A. Ilesanmi

Omotola A. Ilesanmi is a research fellow in the Department of Research and Studies at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. Her research interests include women and peace building, conflict-related sexual violence, women peace and security frameworks, gender and security, and security sector reforms. She also teaches courses in Nigerian foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, and international law. She is an alumnus of the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Accra, Ghana, and has published locally and internationally. She holds a BSc in political science, master's degree 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, Ilishan-Remo.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Fyodor Lukyanov is chairman of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, the oldest Russian nongovernmental organization providing expertise in the field of security and foreign affairs. He is editor in chief of *Russia in Global Affairs*, a journal published in Russian and English with the participation of *Foreign Affairs* since 2002. Lukyanov is also research director of the Valdai Discussion Club and member of the presidium of the Russian International Affairs Council. Additionally, he is a research professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Mao Ruipeng

Mao Ruipeng is associate research fellow at the Institute for Global Governance Studies and secretary-general of the Center for Studies on Theories and Practices of Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. His research focuses on United Nations governance and reform. He was previously a professor at the Shanghai University of International Business and Economics and a visiting scholar at Davidson College in North Carolina from 2013 to 2014. He is the author of *United States and the Reform of United Nations Security Council*, and the Chinese translator of *Arms and Influence* by Thomas C. Schelling and *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council* by Ian Hurd. He holds a BA in international politics from Shandong University and a PhD in international relations from Fudan University.

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze joined the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 2009, and is currently head of special projects in the office of the executive director, where she explores new areas of work for ISS and helps to inform institutional strategy. Her areas of interest are international criminal justice, international human rights law, and migration trends and policy. A lawyer, strategist and analyst, before joining the ISS, Maunganidze worked as a junior legal advisor and human rights education officer. She received a master of laws degree in fundamental rights litigation and international human rights law from the University of South Africa.

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 also serves on the boards of the Institute for New Economic Thinking and the McLuhan Foundation, as well as on the advisory boards of the World Trade Organization Chairs program and the United Nations University–Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology. Previously, he served on CIGI's former International Board of Governors and was vice president of programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre. He has written extensively on monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, and development economics in professional and nontechnical journals, and edited several books, including *Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries*, which he coedited with José M. Fanelli. He also coedited *Canada-Africa Relations* and *Crisis and Reform*, the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes in the Canada Among Nations book series. Medhora earned his BA, MA, and PhD in economics from the University of Toronto, where he also subsequently taught for a number of years.

Robin Niblett

Robin Niblett has been director of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) since 2007. He is a nonexecutive director of Fidelity European Values PLC investment trust, has been a special advisor to the United Kingdom House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee since 2015, and a member of the World Economic Forum Global Future Council on International Security since 2016. From 2001 to 2006, he was executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. Niblett is an expert on United Kingdom foreign policy, European political and economic security, and transatlantic relations. His commentary and analysis have appeared in *Daily Telegraph*, *Financial Times*, and *Washington Post*, among others. He holds a BA, an MPhil, and a DPhil from the University of Oxford.

Verónica Ortiz Ortega

Verónica Ortiz Ortega has been executive director of the Mexican Council on Foreign Affairs (COMEXI) since October 2019. She is also a member of the National Consulting committee for the Mexican Institute of Finance Executives and the Private Sector Economic Studies Center (CEESP/CCE). Since 2013, she has been an independent political analyst for domestic and international corporations and audiences. Ortiz also writes a bi-weekly editorial for *El Heraldo de México* and cohosts the series "Incurtionando" on the Mexican Congress public network with journalist Leonardo Curzio. From 2008 to 2012, she was a consulting partner with GEA, Grupo de Economistas y Asociados. Ortiz started her legal practice in the international firm Baker & McKenzie, and then joined the legal office of the president, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Mexican Banking and Securities Commission. She earned a law degree from the Universidad Panamericana and pursued graduate courses on law and society at Oxford University.

Carola Ramon-Berjano

Carola Ramon-Berjano is an executive committee member at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). Currently, she is the undersecretary of Multilateral and Bilateral Economic Negotiations at the Ministry of Foreign Relations and Worship of the Argentine Republic. At CARI, she is also the director of the Latin American Affairs committee, co-chair of CARI's China working

group, and a member of the Asia Committee. She was deputy director of the Think 20 policy and research team during Argentina's presidency of the Group of Twenty. An international policy analyst, Ramon-Berjano's main focus is economic integration, globalization, regional disparities, and development, with a particular interest in China and Latin America. Ramon-Berjano previously worked at the University of Hong Kong's Asia Case Research Center. She has published papers on Chinese economic development in journals such as the *Chinese Geographical Science* and *Asian Studies*, and has contributed to many publications and book chapters as well numerous conferences, courses, seminars, and interviews in Argentina and abroad.

Gilead Sher

Gilead Sher heads the Center for Applied Negotiations and is a senior researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies. Sher is also the Brochstein fellow in Middle East peace and security at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, chairs the executive board of Sapir Academic College, is a senior partner at the law firm Gilead Sher & Co., and serves on several corporate executive boards and public councils. Sher is an Israeli Defense Forces colonel who served in reserve service as an armored corps brigade commander and a deputy division commander. He was recently a visiting professor and Israel studies fellow at Georgetown University. In 2016, he was a lecturer on law at Harvard Law School and in 2001 he was a guest lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. Previously, Sher was chief of staff and policy coordinator to former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, a senior negotiator at the Camp David summit and Taba talks, and a delegate to the 1994–95 Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement negotiations. He is the author of *The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations, 1999–2001* and coeditor of *Negotiating in Times of Conflict* and *Spoiling and Coping with Spoilers*. Sher holds an LL.B from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is the chief executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs. She is a regular commentator in South African and foreign media. She has published on various aspects of South Africa's foreign policy, the role of emerging powers in Africa, the BRICS, the Group of Twenty (G20), and South-South and development cooperation. She is the co-chair of the Think 20 task force on the G20, development cooperation, and the Sustainable Development Goals. Most recently she has collaborated with scholars across five continents on the forthcoming *Handbook on Development Cooperation for Achieving the 2030 Agenda*, and the co-edited volume *Values, Interests and Power: South African Foreign Policy in Uncertain Times*, which will be published in 2020.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS). He served as dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016, was president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019, and was president of the Korean Studies of 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 serves on a number of government advisory committees, including those of the Korea National Diplomatic Academy; the Northeast Asian History

Foundation; the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the South Korean Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Energy. Sohn has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian political economics, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His recent publications include *Japan and Asia's Contested Order* and *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Stewart M. Patrick

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Luis Rubio is chairman of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI) and Mexico Evalúa. He also serves on the boards of two investment funds and Coca-Cola FEMSA. He has served on the board of directors of the National Human Rights Commission of Mexico City and is a member of the Trilateral Commission and Halifax International Security Forum's agenda working group. Before joining México Evalúa, Rubio was planning director of Citibank in Mexico and served as an advisor to Mexico's secretary of the treasury. Rubio has published on political, economic, and international subjects. He is a contributing editor of *Reforma* and his analyses and opinions often appear in the United States, Mexico, and Europe in publications such as the *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, NPR, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He is also a frequent speaker at major international conferences. He is author or editor of fifty-one books, including *Unmasked: Lopez Obrador and The End of Make-Believe*, *A World of Opportunities*, and *A Mexican Utopia: the Rule of Law Is Possible*. Rubio is the winner of the 1985 Association of Professional Researchers for Advancement book award, the 1993 Dag Hammarskjöld Medal, and the 1998 National Journalism Award for op-ed pieces. He holds a diploma in financial management and MMBA and an MA and PhD in political science from Brandeis University.

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Amos Yadlin is the executive director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Israel's leading strategic think tank. His primary areas of expertise include strategy and national security; the changes in the Middle East; the Iranian nuclear challenge; U.S.-Israel relations; force buildup and the defense budget; intelligence; cyber-related challenges; civil-military relations; and the military ethics of fighting terror. Prior to joining INSS, Yadlin served over forty years in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with ten years as a member of the IDF general staff. From 2006 to 2010, he served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence; from 2004 to 2006, as the IDF attaché to the United States; and from 2002 to 2004, as commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College. A former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases. He accumulated about 5,000 flight hours and flew more than 250 combat missions. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for Galilee, and Operation Tamuz, which destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Yadlin holds a BA in economics and business administration from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an MPA from Harvard University.

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Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has been the president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the 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 under-secretary 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), served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels (1994–99), to the United Nations in New York (1988–92), to the Turkish Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan (1984–86), and to the OECD in Paris (1981–84).

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Szymon Zaręba is head of the Global Issues programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). 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 United Nations and the Council of Europe. He has participated in several collaborative research projects, mostly on international recognition and human rights protection. He is also an assistant professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences. He earned an LLM in law and an MA in international relations from the University of Warsaw and a PhD in law from the Institute of Law Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Speaker Biography

Richard J. Hatchett

Richard J. Hatchett is chief executive officer of the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI), a partnership of public, private, philanthropic, and civil organizations that will finance and coordinate the development of vaccines against high priority public health threats and vaccine platform technologies to respond rapidly to emerging infectious diseases with pandemic or epidemic potential. Prior to joining CEPI, Hatchett most recently served as acting director of the U.S. Biomedical Advanced Research and Development Authority (BARDA), after serving for five years as BARDA's chief medical officer and deputy director. At BARDA, Hatchett oversaw programs to develop medical countermeasures against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear threats, pandemic influenza, and emerging infectious diseases, and led or helped lead the development of vaccines, therapeutics, and diagnostics for a number of emerging viruses, including the H3N2v and H7N9 influenza viruses, MERS, Ebola, and Zika. Previously, Hatchett served on the White House Homeland Security Council under President George W. Bush and was a member of the White House National Security staff under President Barack Obama. He is a recipient of the Health and Human Service secretary's award for distinguished service and a five-time recipient of the National Institute of Health director's merit award. A graduate of Vanderbilt University and the Vanderbilt University Medical School, he completed a residency in internal medicine at the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center and a fellowship in medical oncology at Duke University Medical Center.