

# COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

*An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations*

*Monday, November 9, 2020  
7:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Eastern Time*

*Tuesday, November 10, 2020  
7:30 a.m. to 11:15 a.m. Eastern Time*



# Council of Councils Ninth Annual Conference via Zoom

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*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

### ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

### AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

### BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

### BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

### CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

### CHINA

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

### FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

### GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

### INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

### INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

### ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

### ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

### JAPAN

Genron NPO

### MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

### NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

### POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

### RUSSIA

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

### SAUDI ARABIA

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

### SINGAPORE

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

### SOUTH AFRICA

Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

### SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

### TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

### UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

### UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

**Council of Councils Ninth Annual Conference**  
**International Start Times (Please check your local time)**

**Monday, November 9, 2020**

6:30 a.m.—9:30 a.m. Mexico City  
7:30 a.m.—10:30 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo  
9:30 a.m.—12:30 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro  
12:30 p.m.—3:30 p.m. London  
1:30 p.m.—4:30 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Lagos / Paris / Rome / Warsaw  
2:30 p.m.—5:30 p.m. Johannesburg / Pretoria / Tel Aviv  
3:30 p.m.—6:30 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow  
6:00 p.m.—9:00 p.m. New Delhi  
7:30 p.m.—10:30 p.m. Jakarta  
8:30 p.m.—11:30 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore  
9:30 p.m.—12:30 a.m. Seoul / Tokyo  
11:30 p.m.—2:30 a.m. Sydney

**Tuesday, November 10, 2020**

6:30 a.m.—10:15 a.m. Mexico City  
7:30 a.m.—11:15 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo  
9:30 a.m.—1:15 p.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro  
12:30 p.m.—4:15 p.m. London  
1:30 p.m.—5:15 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Lagos / Paris / Rome / Warsaw  
2:30 p.m.—6:15 p.m. Johannesburg / Pretoria / Tel Aviv  
3:30 p.m.—7:15 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow  
6:00 p.m.—9:45 p.m. New Delhi  
7:30 p.m.—11:15 p.m. Jakarta  
8:30 p.m.—12:15 a.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore  
9:30 p.m.—1:15 a.m. Seoul / Tokyo  
11:30 p.m.—3:15 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Ninth Annual Conference  
Agenda**

**Monday, November 9, 2020**

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

**Join details for the Monday and Tuesday sessions:**

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/98926918072>

Passcode: 9thCoCconf

Meeting ID: 989 2691 8072

7:30 a.m.–7:35 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)*

7:35 a.m.–8:35 a.m. *Session One*  
**Discussion on the U.S. Election**

*Speakers:*

**Jonathan Capehart**, *Editorial Board Member, The Washington Post*  
**Bret Stephens**, *Op-ed Columnist, The New York Times*

*Moderator:*

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

8:35 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Break*

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Two*  
**Great Power Relations and the Future of Global and Regional Order**

*Guiding questions: What are the main drivers behind the current great power tensions? What can the United States and China, as well as other actors, do to temper or at least circumscribe growing geopolitical frictions to avoid dangerous escalation? Are there countervailing forces of comity, and how might these be bolstered? How can Cold War alliances and regional security institutions adapt to the growing U.S.-China rift?*

*Panelists:*

**Richard N. Haass**, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*  
**Shao Yuqun**, *Director of the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau Studies program and Senior Fellow in the Center for American Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

*Moderator:*

**Memduh Karakullukçu**, *Founding Board Member, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m. *No Programming*

**Join details for the public session:**

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/92175375058>

Passcode: 562175

Webinar ID: 921 7537 5058

12:00 noon–1:00 p.m. *Public Session*

**The State of Global Governance**

*Panelists:*

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

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

**Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**, *Chief Executive,*  
*South African Institute of International Affairs* (South Africa)

*Moderator:*

**Kimberly Dozier**, *Global Affairs Analyst, CNN; and*  
*Contributor, TIME Magazine*

**Tuesday, November 10, 2020**

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

**Join details for the Monday and Tuesday sessions:**

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/98926918072>

Passcode: 9thCoCconf

Meeting ID: 989 2691 8072

7:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Session Three*

**Reforming Global Health Governance**

*Guiding questions: What does the pandemic tell us about the adequacy of the major institutions and rules governing global pandemic response, including the World Health Organization and its International Health Regulations, and the need to reform these? What have been the primary obstacles to more effective multilateral cooperation in confronting global public health emergencies? What can be done to help the multilateral system and national governments better prevent, anticipate, detect, and respond to pandemics, including in the development and distribution of vaccines and therapeutic treatments? What new rules and/or arrangements are required?*

*Panelists:*

**David Heymann**, *Distinguished Fellow, Global Health Programme,  
Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

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

**Swee Kheng Khor**, *Visiting Senior Fellow,  
United Nations University International Institute for Global Health (Malaysia)*

*Moderator:*

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

9:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Break*

9:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. *Session Four*

### **The Future of Climate Change Beyond the Paris Agreement**

*Guiding questions: How can the Paris Agreement be strengthened? What alternative approaches should be considered for tackling climate change? To what extent should trade agreements become a—or even the—principal venue for dealing with climate change?*

*Panelists:*

**James Bacchus**, *Global Fellow,  
Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

**Oliver Geden**, *Senior Fellow,  
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

*Moderator:*

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

11:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Wrap-up and Closing Remarks*

# Participant Biographies



### **Fonteh Akum**

Fonteh Akum is executive director designate at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). He also serves on the UN Development Program's Expert Working Group on Journeys out of Extremism 2.0. Before joining ISS in 2017 as senior researcher in the peace and security research programme, he worked in research, research management, and policy communication roles at the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, the UN University for Peace's Africa program, and at the International Monetary Fund headquarters in Washington, DC. Akum's research covers violent conflicts, governance, and human security in the Lake Chad Basin and the broader Central Africa region. Akum has an MA from the American University School of International Service and a PhD 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 (IAI) 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 Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly publication on the European Union (EU), the *European Policy Analyst*. 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.

### **James Bacchus**

James Bacchus is a global fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and the distinguished university professor of global affairs and director of the Center for Global Economic and Environmental Opportunity at the University of Central Florida. He is also the Pao Yue-Kong chair professor at Zhejiang University in Hangzhou, China, and an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute. He was a founding judge and twice chairman of the World Trade Organization's Appellate Body. Bacchus is a former U.S. representative and a former U.S. international trade negotiator. He served on the high-level advisory panel to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change's Conference of Parties during the negotiation of the Paris Agreement, and is a member of the advisory board for the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network's U.S. chapter. He has chaired the International Chamber of Commerce's global Commission on Trade and Investment Policy and the World Economic Forum's global council on sustainability governance. He is a member of the Roster of Panel Chairs for international dispute settlement under the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership and is a chairperson on the list of arbitrators appointed by Canada and the European Union under their Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement. For more than fourteen years, he chaired the global practice of the largest law firm in the United States and one of the largest in the world, Greenberg Traurig. He is the author of the books *Trade and Freedom* and *The Willing World: Shaping and Sharing a Sustainable Global Prosperity*.

### **Steven Blockmans**

Steven Blockmans is director 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*.

### **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 publications including *Foreign Affairs*, *New York Times*, *Science*, and the *New England Journal of Medicine*. He has served as a consultant to the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and as a temporary legal advisor to the World Health Organization. In 2013, the World Economic Forum named Bollyky as one of its global leaders under forty. Bollyky received a BA in biology and history from Columbia University and a JD from Stanford Law School.

### **José Octavio Bordón**

José Octavio Bordón is vice president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and director of CARI's United States committee. He is also president of the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equity and Growth's international advisory council. He previously served as ambassador of the Argentine Republic in Chile (2016–19) and ambassador to the United States (2003–07). He also served as national deputy and national senator representing the Province of Mendoza; governor of the Province of Mendoza (1987–91); and Minister of Culture, Education, and Science of the Province of Buenos Aires. In 1995, he ran for president of the Argentine Republic, obtaining second place with 30 percent of the votes. At the international level, among other positions, he served as a consultant for various international organizations, including the Inter-American Development Bank, the UN Development Program (UNDP), the World Bank, and the Organization of American States (OAS). He was head of the OAS Electoral Observation Mission for the presidential elections in the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Guatemala (2008–11). During this period, he served as a special advisor to the OAS secretary-general and was political director of the UNDP-OAS project *Our Democracy in America*. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, DC. He was an Eisenhower Global Fellow in Philadelphia (1997) and research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson

Center in Washington, DC (1992). In that same year he was visiting professor at Georgetown University's Center for Latin American Studies. He studied sociology at the Universidad del Salvador.

### **Mely Caballero-Anthony**

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations 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 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 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 Association of Southeast Asian Nations secretariat, and was a member of the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Conflict Prevention. 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*.

### **Romy Chevallier**

Romy Chevallier is a senior researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). Chevallier spends much of her time at SAIIA analyzing issues related to the governance of Africa's natural resources, specifically looking at the importance of nature-based policy options to address many of the continent's climate challenges. She is also an advocate for community-centered approaches to natural resource management. Chevallier's recent work includes strengthening the Southern African Development Community's climate change strategy and enhancing the inclusion of nonstate actors in the region's nationally determined contributions toward the Paris Agreement.

### **Chaesung Chun**

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

### **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.

### **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 the coeditor of the forthcoming *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.

### **Michael Fullilove**

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

### **Luca Franza**

Luca Franza is head of the energy, climate, and resources program at the Institute of International Affairs. He is also an associate fellow at the Clingendael International Energy Programme in The Hague, Netherlands, and a lecturer on energy at Sciences Po's Paris School of International Affairs. He graduated with a degree in political science from the Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali and with a degree in international security with a specialization in international energy from Sciences Po. He also earned a PhD from the University of Groningen.

### **Oliver Geden**

Oliver Geden is a senior fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and a research associate at the University of Oxford's Institute for Science, Innovation, and Society. His work focuses on European and global climate policy, including the governance of carbon dioxide

removal and solar radiation management. Geden has been a visiting scholar at the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, the Max Planck Institute for Meteorology, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, and the University of California, Berkeley, among others. During his time at SWP, he has been seconded to the policy planning units of both the German Federal Foreign Office and German Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy. Geden is a lead author for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Sixth Assessment Report. He holds a PhD in social anthropology from Humboldt University Berlin.

### **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 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; 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.

### **Daniel Gros**

Daniel Gros is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), previously serving as director of CEPS for twenty years. He holds a Fulbright fellowship and is a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley. Gros is also 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.

### **Ari Heistein**

Ari Heistein is a research fellow and chief of staff to the director at the Institute for National Security Studies in Israel. His research focuses on U.S. foreign policy, the U.S.-Israel relationship, Israeli strategy vis-à-vis Iran, and the Yemeni civil war. His writings have been published in a variety of international media outlets, including *Al-Arabiya*, *Atlantic*, *Cipher Brief*, *Foreign Policy*, *Jewish Review of Books*, and *War on the Rocks*. He received his BA in Middle Eastern studies from Princeton University and his MA from Tel Aviv University.

### **Ernest J. Herold**

Ernest J. Herold is executive director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies–Americas in Washington, DC. He is responsible for promoting the institute's research and consulting programs, as well as building relationships and programs for North and South America. Herold has enjoyed a career in international affairs study and practice, primarily between posts in the United States and Europe. Most recently, he was an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security and associate at Cypress International, a defense consulting firm in Alexandria, Virginia. He previously served at NATO headquarters as deputy assistant secretary-general for the Defence Investment Division and is a retired U.S. Army colonel and a former IBM executive. In addition to his military awards and decorations, he has been recognized for significant contributions by the German, Italian, and Ukrainian governments. Herold has a BS from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, an MS in foreign service from Georgetown University, an MS in strategic studies from the U.S. Air Force Air University, and diplomas from the French Joint Staff and Armaments War Colleges in Paris.

### **David Heymann**

David Heymann is a medical epidemiologist, professor of infectious disease epidemiology at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and a distinguished fellow in Chatham House's global health programme. From 1989 to 2009, he held various leadership positions in infectious diseases at the World Health Organization (WHO), and in 2003 headed the WHO global response to SARS in his role as executive director of communicable diseases. In 1976, after spending two years working in India on smallpox eradication, Heymann joined the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and was a member of the CDC team that investigated the first Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo and stayed on in sub-Saharan Africa for thirteen years in various field research positions on Ebola, monkeypox, Lassa Fever, malaria, and other tropical diseases. Heymann has published over 250 peer-reviewed articles and book chapters, is editor of the *Control of*

*Communicable Diseases Manual*, and is an elected member of the United Kingdom Academy of Medical Sciences and the U.S. National Academy of Medicine.

### **Yanzhong Huang**

Yanzhong Huang is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he directs the Global Health Governance roundtable series. He is also a professor and the 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 schools of international affairs 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*. Huang has testified before U.S. congressional committees many times and regularly is consulted by major media outlets, the private sector, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations on global health issues and China. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and a board member of the Institute of Global Health (Georgia). 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.

### **Sunjoy Joshi**

Sunjoy Joshi is chairman of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He began his career with the government in India as a member of the Indian Administrative Service in 1983, serving in various capacities for twenty-five years. His last posting with the government of India was as joint secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. He joined ORF to pursue his primary interests in energy and the environment. He has previously been director of the boards of national energy companies such as the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC), ONGC Videsh Limited, Oil India Limited, Mangalore Refinery, and Petrochemicals Limited, and has wide experience in administering fiscal and contractual regimes for oil and gas. Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies as well as distinguished visitor to Stanford University's program on energy and sustainable development. Joshi also takes a keen interest in social development, serving as vice president of the Mountain Children's Foundation, a not-for-profit group working with rural children in the Himalayas. He earned a master's degree in English literature from Allahabad University and a master's degree in development studies from the University of East Anglia, Norwich.

### **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 also serves as 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.

### **Swee Kheng Khor**

Swee Kheng Khor is a visiting senior fellow at the UN University International Institute for Global Health and an independent consultant for the World Health Organization. He specializes in health systems, health policies, and global health using a generalist and a systems viewpoint. Previously, he held progressively senior roles in four practice areas (clinical medicine, refugee and disaster relief, clinical research, and pharma anticorruption), covering more than ninety countries across Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. He holds postgraduate degrees in internal medicine from the Royal College of Physicians of the United Kingdom, in public health from the University of California, Berkeley, and in public policy from Oxford 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 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.

### **Seungjoo Lee**

Seungjoo Lee is chair of the East Asia Institute's Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center and a 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 has 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 the chair



of the organizing committee for the 2019 World Congress of Korean Politics and Society. Lee is the 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.

### **Sook Jong Lee**

Sook Jong Lee is a senior fellow at the East Asia Institute, where she served as president from 2008 to 2018. A professor of public administration at Sungkyunkwan University, she directs the university's East Asia Collaboration Center with the support of the National Research Foundation of Korea. She has also directed the Asian Democracy Research Network since its formation in 2015. Lee participates in the Council of Councils, Trilateral Commission, and other transnational networks for research and policy studies. Since 2015, she has served as a World Movement for Democracy steering committee member. Her research interests include multilateralism, democracy, and civil societies, focusing on Japan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries. Previously, Lee was a research fellow at the Sejong Institute, a professional lecturer at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and the German Institute for Global and Area Studies. Her recent publications include *Keys to Successful Presidency in South Korea*, *Korea's Role in Global Governance for Development Cooperation*, and *Transforming Global Governance with Middle Power Diplomacy*. Lee received her PhD in sociology from Harvard University.

### **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.

### **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.

### **Stefan Mair**

Stefan Mair is director and executive chairman of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). His areas of expertise are German and European Union foreign and security policy, geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics, and trade and foreign economic policy. From 2010 to 2020, he was a member of the Federation of German Industries (BDI) executive board. He joined SWP in 1992 as a research associate, eventually serving as a member of the executive board from 2009 to 2010, research director from 2007 to 2009, and head of the Middle East and Africa research division from 2001 to 2007. He earned his doctorate from the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich and was a PhD scholar at the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

### **Carole Mathieu**

Carole Mathieu is a research fellow in the Center for Energy and Climate at the French Institute for International Relations (Ifri). Her research areas primarily cover climate change policies and the transformation of energy systems, European energy policy, and security of gas supply. Prior to joining Ifri, she was an analyst at the French Energy Regulatory Commission from 2010 to 2014. She has been actively involved in defining and defending the positions of the French regulation in discussions with European institutions, network and infrastructure operators, and market players. Her work focused on the harmonization of European gas network and market rules and on questions relating to the energy security of the EU's gas supply. She has regularly conducted training sessions at the French Gas Association on EU energy policy and on energy markets regulation. She holds a master's degree in public administration, energy, from Sciences Po Paris, and has also studied at Boston College.

### **Ottilia Anna Maunganidze**

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze joined the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 2009, and is 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 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 UN 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 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 the *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 biweekly editorial for *El Heraldo de México* and cohosts the series *Incursionando* on the Mexican Congress public network with journalist Leonardo Curzio. From 2008 to 2012, she was a consulting partner with Grupo de Economistas y Asociados (GEA). 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 the University of Oxford.

### **Stewart M. Patrick**

Stewart M. Patrick is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance and the director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). From 2005 to 2008, he was a research fellow at the Center for Global Development, where he directed

research and policymaking at the intersection of security and development. Patrick has also served on the U.S. State Department's policy planning staff, where he was responsible for U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and a range of global and transnational issues. Prior to government service, he was a research associate at New York University's Center on International Cooperation. He has taught at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and at New York University. The author of *The Sovereignty Wars: Reconciling America With the World*, Patrick has also written, cowritten, or edited five books, including *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. He also writes the *Internationalist* blog for CFR. Patrick graduated from Stanford University and received two MAs and a PhD in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar.

### **Andrés Rozental**

Andrés Rozental was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). He is president of his consulting firm, Rozental & Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Mexico and Latin America. He is also active in nongovernmental organizations and projects relating to global governance, migration policy, climate change, Latin American politics, and promoting democracy. He was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, including serving as ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–97), deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83). Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He is a senior policy adviser to Chatham House and sits on the International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council. Rozental holds nonexecutive board positions in several multinational companies. He is the lead nonexecutive board member at HSBC Mexico and chairs the bank's remuneration and succession committee as well as being on the audit and risk committee. He also currently holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, Ingredion, and Wintershall DEA in Mexico. The author of four books on Mexican foreign policy, Rozental holds a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas and a master's degree in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

### **Luis Rubio**

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 *Financial Times*, *International Herald Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, NPR, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He is author or editor of fifty-one books, including *Unmasked*, *A World of Opportunities*, and *A Mexican Utopia*. 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.

### **Abdulaziz Sager**

Abdulaziz Sager is founder and chairman 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, BBC, CNN, and France 24. Sager also chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 2015 and 2017. Sager 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 (PISM), 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.

### **Shao Yuqun**

Shao Yuqun is director of the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau Studies program and senior fellow in the Center for American Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Her major research areas include U.S. foreign policy, particularly toward Asia, U.S.-China relations, cross-strait relations, and Chinese foreign policy. Shao joined SIIS in 2003 after she earned her PhD in international relations at Fudan University.

### **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 also 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*. She holds an LL.B from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

### **Elizabeth Sidiropoulos**

Elizabeth Sidiropoulos is 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; Brazil, Russia, India, and China (the BRICs); the Group of Twenty (G20); and South-South and development cooperation. She is 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 coedited volume *Values, Interests and Power: South African Foreign Policy in Uncertain Times*.

### **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.

### **Leigh Morris Sloane**

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

### **Yul Sohn**

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS). He was president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019, served as dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016, 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.

### **Philips Jusario Vermonte**

Philips Jusario Vermonte is executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia, where he is also principal investigator of CSIS public opinion surveys. Vermonte's research interests include comparative politics, voting behavior, electoral politics, and political parties in Indonesia. His recent publications include "The Increased Number of Female Members of Parliament;" "What Happened in the Early Years of Democracy: Indonesia's Experience," coauthored with Rizal Shiddiq in the *Middle East Development Journal*; and "Indonesia's 2014 Elections: Practical Innovations and Optimistic Outcome," in the *Journal of Asian Politics and Policy*. He earned his PhD in political science at Northern Illinois University on a Fulbright Scholarship.

### **Amos Yadlin**

Amos Yadlin is executive director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Israel's leading strategic think tank. His 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.

### **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 EU 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 and politics as well as 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); 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 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris (1981–84).

### **Yu Tiejun**

Yu Tiejun is an associate professor at Peking University's School of International Studies and vice president of the university's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. He was a Fulbright visiting scholar at MIT's security studies program (2018–2019), visiting scholar at Stanford University and Harvard University (2005–2006), and studied at the University of Tokyo (1998–2000). Yu is executive editor in chief of *China International Strategy Review* and has written extensively on international security, East Asian international relations, and China's foreign and defense policy. He was awarded Peking University's Excellent Teaching Award and Distinguished Research Award in 2010 and 2017, respectively. Yu received his BA, MA, and PhD from Peking University.

### **Igor Yurgens**

Igor Yurgens is chairman of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR), 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.

# Speaker Biographies

### **Jonathan Capehart**

Jonathan Capehart is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and member of the *Washington Post* editorial board, where he writes about politics and social issues, and hosts the “Cape Up” podcast. He is also an MSNBC Contributor, who regularly serves as a substitute anchor, and has served as a guest host on “Midday on WNYC” on New York Public Radio. Capehart is a regular moderator of panels at the Aspen Ideas Festival and for the Aspen Institute, the Center for American Progress, and at the Atlantic Dialogues conference and the German Marshall Fund’s Brussels Forum. He has also moderated sessions at the Atlantic’s Washington Ideas Forum and for the Connecticut Forum. Capehart was deputy editorial page editor of *New York Daily News* from 2002 to 2004, and served on that paper’s editorial board from 1993 to 2000. In 1999, his sixteen-month editorial campaign to save the famed Apollo Theatre in Harlem earned him and the board the Pulitzer Prize for Editorial Writing. Capehart left *Daily News* in July 2000 to become the national affairs columnist at Bloomberg News, and took a leave from this position in February 2001 to serve as a policy adviser to Michael Bloomberg in his first successful campaign for New York City mayor. He earned a BA in political science from Carleton College.

### **Kimberly Dozier**

Kimberly Dozier is a *TIME Magazine* contributor, and has served as a CNN global affairs analyst since 2014. Dozier was executive editor for TheCIPHERBrief.com from 2017–18, and covered national security and intelligence for the AP and The Daily Beast between 2010 to 2018, after seventeen years as an award-winning CBS News correspondent. She has covered the Iraq and Afghan wars, conflict and peacemaking from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, and the national security policy of Presidents George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump. She covered the Iraq war for CBS News from 2003, until being wounded in a car bombing in 2006. She recounts the attack, the loss of her team, and the months it took to recover in best-selling memoir, *Breathing the Fire: Fighting to Survive and Get Back to the Fight*, with proceeds going to military-related charities. She was also the first journalist and first woman to hold the General Omar Bradley Chair at the U.S. Army War College.

### **Bret L. Stephens**

Bret L. Stephens joined *New York Times* as an op-ed columnist in April 2017. His column appears Tuesday and his weekly Conversation with Gail Collins appears on Monday. Stephens came to *New York Times* after a long career with *Wall Street Journal*, where he was most recently deputy editorial page editor and, for eleven years, a foreign affairs columnist. Before that, he was editor in chief of *Jerusalem Post*. There, he oversaw the paper’s news, editorial, and digital operations and its international editions, and also wrote a weekly column. He has reported from around the world and interviewed many world leaders. Stephens is the author of *America in Retreat: The New Isolationism and the Coming Global Disorder*. He is the recipient of numerous awards and distinctions, including three honorary doctorates and the 2013 Pulitzer Prize for commentary. He was raised in Mexico City and holds a BA from the University of Chicago and an MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science.