Council of Councils
Ninth Annual Conference via Zoom

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.
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UNITED KINGDOM
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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

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
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Join details for the Monday and Tuesday sessions:
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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 at 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 Étrangère, and Revue des Deux Mondes. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

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**

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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. Simonson Leal studied civil engineering at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and received a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

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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.