

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Monday, May 24, 2021
7:30 a.m. to 11:15 a.m. Eastern Time*

*Tuesday, May 25, 2021
7:30 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. Eastern Time*

*Wednesday, May 26, 2021
9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. Eastern Time*

Council of Councils Tenth Annual Conference

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

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

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

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

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

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INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

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Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

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Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

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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 Tenth Annual Conference
International Session Times (Please check your local time)

Monday, May 24, 2021

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

Tuesday, May 25, 2021

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

Wednesday, May 26, 2021

8:00 a.m.–9:00 a.m. Mexico City
9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo
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4:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Tel Aviv / Moscow
6:30 p.m.–7:30 p.m. New Delhi
8:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. Jakarta
9:00 p.m.–10:00 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore
10:00 p.m.–11:00 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo
11:00 p.m.–12:00 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Tenth Annual Conference
Final Agenda**

Monday, May 24, 2021

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

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.–8:15 a.m. *Session One*
The Biden Administration and the Future of Multilateralism

Speaker:
Jon Finer, *Assistant to the President and Principal Deputy National Security Advisor, National Security Council*

Moderator:
Robin Niblett, *Director and Chief Executive, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

8:15 a.m.–8:45 a.m. *Break*

8:45 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Session Two*
Contending With the Challenges of Nuclear Proliferation

Guiding questions: What are the main challenges facing the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) regime? How well is the half-century-old treaty adjusting to changing global power dynamics and new technologies? What would “success” look like at the NPT’s upcoming Review Conference, and what are prospects for achieving it? What do the North Korea and Iran experiences tell us about the nonproliferation regime and how it needs to be updated or amended?

Panelists:
Łukasz Kulesa, *Deputy Head of Research, Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*
Rakesh Sood, *Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Moderator:
Jo-Ansie van Wyk, *Lead Researcher, Atoms for Development Programme, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)*

10:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Break*

10:15 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Session Three*
A New Concert of Powers?

Guiding questions: Is a new concert of powers a desirable and feasible vehicle for promoting global stability, enhancing international cooperation, and resolving crises in the twenty-first century? What benefits and opportunities could such a scheme offer, and what drawbacks and risks could it present? How would such a proposed arrangement relate to the existing multilateral architecture? Does the proposed composition of such a concert—notionally China, India, Japan, Russia, the United States, and the European Union—and its structure—ongoing dialogue among permanent representatives at the highest diplomatic level—make sense?

Panelists:

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

Charles A. Kupchan, *Senior Fellow,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Moderator:

Selim Yenel, *President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

Tuesday, May 25, 2021

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

7:30 a.m.–8:30 a.m. *Session Four*

COVID-19 Vaccines and International Cooperation: A Briefing

Speaker:

John Nkengasong, *Director, Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention*

Moderator:

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

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Break*

9:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Session Five*

Trade and Trade Governance

Guiding questions: Is it possible to revive a truly multilateral global trading system, with the World Trade Organization (WTO) at its core? What could be done to reinvigorate the WTO's leadership in negotiating trade liberalization, rulemaking, and dispute settlement? Given obstacles to the "single undertaking" approach to trade liberalization, what sectors or issues are most ripe for plurilateral agreements among subsets of WTO members? Today's global economy has seen a proliferation of sectoral, bilateral, and regional trade agreements, which, while beneficial to members,

risk the fragmentation of the global trading system into exclusionary blocs with different rules. What if anything should or can be done to mitigate these risks? What role can or should the WTO play in preventing member states from using national security exceptions to unilaterally implement trade restrictions?

Panelists:

Jennifer A. Hillman, *Senior Fellow for Trade and International Political Economy, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Vera Thorstensen, *Professor at the School of Economics and Coordinator of the Global Trade and Investment Center, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)*

Moderator:

Seungjoo Lee, *Chair of the Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

Wednesday, May 26, 2021

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

9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Public Session*

The State of Global Governance in the Era of COVID-19

Panelists:

Chen Dongxiao, *President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

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

Nathalie Tocci, *Director, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Moderator:

Kori Schake, *Director of Foreign and Defense Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute (United States)*

Participant Biographies

Fonteh Akum

Fonteh Akum is executive director of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). Before joining ISS as senior researcher in the Peace and Security Research programme in 2017, 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 broader Central Africa. Akum has an MA from American University's 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 in Rome. He is also a fellow of the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program. His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and was a contributor to the *European Policy Analyst*, the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly publication on the European Union. He is the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis* and editor of *The Liberal Order and Its Contestations* and *The West and the Global Power Shift*. Alcaro holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

Sergio M. Alcocer

Sergio M. Alcocer is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, research professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's (UNAM) Institute of Engineering, and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA). Alcocer is also the president of Mexico Exponential, a think tank for the development of public policy and strategies for embracing exponential technologies. He is former undersecretary for North America in the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and undersecretary for strategic planning and technology development at the Mexican Ministry of Energy. He is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquake and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. Alcocer is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering, member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, honorary member and former president of the Mexican Society of Structural Engineering (SMIE), and former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. He was previously secretary general, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering at UNAM. He was also a nonexecutive member of the board of Empresas ICA and chair of the board of Iberdrola México. Alcocer has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona, the UNAM Prize for Young Academics, the Mexican Academy of Science's prize for research, the SMIE prize for structural housing engineering, and the American Concrete Institute's Charles S. Whitney Medal. Alcocer was inducted into the National Academy of Engineering for improvements to the seismic safety of buildings in developing countries through improved design standards and government policies. He received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from UTSA.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is director of the Centre for European Policy Studies and professor of European Union (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: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied in its outer periphery. He is an editor of 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. He directed the first two CFR-sponsored Independent Task Forces devoted to global health: *Improving Pandemic Preparedness: Lessons from COVID-19* and *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries*. Prior to coming to CFR, Bollyky served in a variety of positions in the U.S. government, most recently at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Congress and Canadian Parliament, and his work has appeared in publications including *Foreign Affairs*, the *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 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 Argentina in Chile (2016–19) and the United States (2003–07). He also served as national deputy and national senator representing the province of Mendoza, governor of Mendoza (1987–91), and minister of culture, education, and science of the province of Buenos Aires. In 1995, he ran for president of Argentina, obtaining second place with 30 percent of the vote. At the international level, 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 Our Democracy in America project. He is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, DC. He was an Eisenhower Global Fellow in Philadelphia and research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson

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

Martha Bridgman

Martha Bridgman is the editor of the South African Journal of International Affairs, the South African Institute of International Affairs' (SAIIA) peer reviewed and accredited journal, which publishes unsolicited articles from a broad range of authors. She has worked in academia, for the diplomatic service, and in the nongovernmental sector. She has also volunteered with the SAIIA Western Cape branch, holding various positions on the branch executive committee since 2000. She holds a BA in international relations from the University of California, Davis, an MSc in foreign service from Georgetown University, and a PhD in foreign policy analysis from the University of Stellenbosch.

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, president's chair for international relations and security studies, and heads the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Caballero-Anthony teaches courses on nontraditional security in Asia and security governance, is a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation, and has served as the secretary-general of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008. Caballero-Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in Asia-Pacific, global governance, human security and 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. She has published extensively on a broad range of Asia-Pacific political and security issues in peer-reviewed journals and international academic press. Her latest books include *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies* and *Asia on the Move*.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is the president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in the studies of the United Nations, Chinese foreign policy, and U.S.-China relations and has published extensively on UN reform and China's multilateral diplomacy. Chen is the editor in chief of the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing in Singapore. He is adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. Chen is also a high-level advisor to the independent team of advisors for the UN Economic and Social Council dialogue on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, member of the Association for Southeast Asian Nations' Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, senior advisor on economic diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the mayor of Shanghai's international business leaders' advisory council. He is also vice chair of the China National Association

of International Relations. Chen was recognized as a Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is chair of the East Asia Institute's National Security Center and 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 South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, and 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 *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 his PhD in international relations theory from Northwestern University.

Yose Rizal Damuri

Yose Rizal Damuri is the head of the department of economics at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research activities focus on international trade, regional integration, and value chain globalization. He serves as co-chair of the Indonesian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation and is a member of the governing board of the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA). He is active in many of research networks in East Asia, such as the Asia-Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade, ERIA's Research Institutes Network, and Think 20. Damuri is also active in several Indonesian policy forums, including as founder and research coordinator for the Indonesia Services Dialogue, a forum dedicated to services sector development in Indonesia. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University. His research interests include security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. He is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia-Pacific*, coauthored with Sarah Teo. He is also coeditor of the 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.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs and professor at Luiss University's School of Government. He was appointed as Italy's member of the European Commission in 2014. From 1972 to 2013, he served as a diplomat, permanent representative of Italy to the European Union, chief of staff to the Italian minister of foreign affairs, and director general for European

integration at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served at the United Nations and in Algeria, China, and France and was advisor to the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers. Nelli Feroci was previously a fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and a visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs. He holds a doctorate in international law from the University of Pisa and a postdoctoral specialization in international relations from the Italian Society for International Organizations in Rome.

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 the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *New York Times*, and the Australian press, among others. 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 the University of New South Wales and studied as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, where he received a master's degree and doctorate in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and the director and founder of Ifri's Russia/NIS Center. Before joining Ifri, Gomart was an assistant professor at Sorbonne University and a cadet officer. His work has focused on the former Soviet Union and wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. He was previously a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at King's College London's Department of War Studies. Gomart's recent publications include *Notre Intérêt National*, edited with Thierry de Montbrial; *Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?*, edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitique*; and *Guerres Invisibles: Nos prochains défis géopolitiques*. He is a member of the strategic review committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017 and a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique Etrangère*, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

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 advisor 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 advisor to the Delors Committee, which developed plans for the Economic and Monetary Union of the

European Union. He has been a member of high-level advisory bodies to the French and Belgian governments and has advised numerous central banks and governments, including those of the United States, Greece, and the United Kingdom. He has published extensively on international economic affairs, including monetary and fiscal policy, exchange rates, banking, and climate change. He is the author of several books and editor of *Économie Internationale* and *International Finance*. He has taught at several leading European universities and contributes a globally syndicated column on European economic issues to Project Syndicate. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Steven Gruzd

Steven Gruzd is head of the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). He rejoined SAIIA in this capacity in 2013 after spending two years as senior researcher and diplomatic liaison at the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. He first joined SAIIA in 2003 as the research manager of the New Partnership for Africa's Development and Governance programme, also serving as head of its successor programme on Governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism in 2008. He also worked as a researcher and research coordinator at the Centre for Development and Enterprise from 1999–2003. He has published widely on governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism, and keenly follows African political developments and South African foreign policy. He hosted a magazine community radio talk show on 101.9 ChaiFM, and has made numerous radio and television appearances. Gruzd holds a BA in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand and an MSc in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Guan Guihai

Guan Guihai is executive vice president of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University. He is also associate professor at Peking University's School of International Studies, director of Peking University's Center for Modern Russian Studies, consultant to the Chinese Ministry of Education's subcommittee on Sino-Russian cooperation, and editorial board member of the academic journal *Region*. His academic interests include Russian diplomacy, Sino-Russian relations, Chinese and Russian contemporary political and social transitions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and the social-political development of Central Asian countries. His publications include *Great Europe: Honor and Dream*, *Yeltsin's Years in Power*, and more than thirty articles in Chinese, English, Japanese, and Russian. Guan was a visiting scholar at the University of Minnesota from 2004 to 2005 and a visiting professor at the University of Vienna and the University of Würzburg from 2012 to 2013. Guan has a BA and an MA from Peking University and a PhD from Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Richard N. Haass

Richard N. Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his eighteenth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations. He has served as senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush, as the State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell, and in various

positions in the Defense and State departments during the Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan administrations. He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of fourteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His latest book is *The World: A Brief Introduction*. A Rhodes scholar, he holds master's and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Oxford University and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees.

Jennifer A. Hillman

Jennifer A. Hillman is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a professor at the Georgetown University Law Center. Hillman has had a distinguished career in public service. In 2012, she completed her term as one of seven members serving on the Appellate Body, the highest court of the World Trade Organization (WTO). As a commissioner at the U.S. International Trade Commission, she adjudicated trade remedy cases and conducted trade-related economic studies. Through her work as general counsel at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR), Hillman was involved in all litigation matters coming before panels of the North American Free Trade Agreement or the WTO. She negotiated bilateral agreements with forty-five countries while serving as USTR's ambassador and chief textiles negotiator. Before joining USTR, she was the legislative director for U.S. Senator Terry Sanford (D-NC). Hillman was a partner in the law firm of Cassidy Levy Kent, a senior transatlantic fellow for the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and a member of the selection panel for the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation. She serves on the board of visitors of the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. She is a graduate of Harvard Law School and Duke University.

Sunjoy Joshi

Sunjoy Joshi is chair and chief executive of the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). Over the past ten years, he has spearheaded ORF's rise as India's premier think tank on global affairs. 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 has previously been the government-nominated 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. He was also managing director of the Madhya Pradesh Energy Development Agency and served as chair of M.P. Windfarms. Joshi took premature retirement in 2009 to pursue his academic interest in energy, climate change, technology, and development. Joshi has been a visiting associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies and a distinguished visitor to Stanford University's energy and sustainable development program. He speaks and publishes on the world of technology, energy, and development and started the YouTube show *India's World*, which features commentary on global and current affairs in Hindi. 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 chair of the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Science Park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yasushi Kudo

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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. He is also convener of CSIS's disaster management research unit, which was established in 2018. He earned his PhD in political science at Northern Illinois University on a Fulbright scholarship.

Jusuf Wanandi

Jusuf Wanandi is senior fellow and cofounder of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta, Indonesia, and vice chair of the board of trustees of the CSIS Foundation. He is vice chair of the Indonesian National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation and co-chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, Indonesia. He is also president and director of the publishing company of the *Jakarta Post*, vice chair of the board of trustees of Prasetiya Mulya University, and chair of the Panca Bhakti University Foundation. A lawyer by training, Wanandi was assistant professor of law at the University of Indonesia and has served in various national and international organizations in the course of his career. He was co-chair of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council from 2009 to 2015. He served as secretary of the Indonesian Supreme Advisory Council from 1964 to 1965, secretary-general of the National Education Council in 1965, and four-term representative of the People's Consultative Assembly. He was active in the Golkar Party between 1979 and 1988 as a member of the Central Board in various capacities. He has written extensively in national and international magazines and newspapers and has edited a number of books on political and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region. He also published his political memoir, *Shades of Grey*, in 2013 and his contributions from thirty years at the *Jakarta Post*, *Testimony of Changes*, in 2017.

Amos Yadlin

Amos Yadlin is former executive director of Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Israel's leading strategic think tank—a position he held from November 2011 to May 2021. His areas of expertise include strategy and national security, 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. He served as the IDF's chief of defense intelligence from 2006 to 2010, the IDF attaché to the United States from 2004 to 2006, and commander of the IDF military colleges and the National Defense College from 2002 to 2004. A former deputy commander of the Israeli Air Force, Yadlin has commanded two fighter squadrons and two air bases. He accumulated about five thousand 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 European Union task forces. She oversees and coordinates GRF's international projects, distinguished guest series, and roundtable meetings. Before she started her career at an international law firm in New York, Yalınkılıç worked at Western Policy Center in Washington, DC, and at the Turkish mission to the United Nations. Prior to joining GRF, she specialized in strategy and business development and served as a communication consultant to several companies. Yalınkılıç graduated from Georgetown University with a BS in foreign affairs concentrating in culture, politics, and minorities and holds an MSc in social and public communication from the London School of Economics and Political Science with specializations in corporate communications and social psychology.

Robert Yates

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

Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. He served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (2019), undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs (2017–18), ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union (2011–17), deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy (2009–11), and ambassador to Vienna (2005–09). He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations (1999–2005) and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels (1994–99), the United Nations in New York (1988–92), the Embassy of Turkey in Kabul (1984–86), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1981–84).

Ye Yu

Ye Yu is associate research fellow at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. Her research and consultancy work center on China's role in global economic governance with a focus on multilateral financial institutions. Ye is a visiting fellow at Yale University and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. She earned her PhD in international economic law from Fudan University.

Igor Yurgens

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

Zha Daojiong

Zha Daojiong is a professor of international political economy at Peking University's School of International Studies and was recently named the Lowy Institute-Rio Tinto China Analyst fellow. His areas of expertise are Chinese energy policies and Asian food and water security. Zha is a consultant to several Chinese government agencies, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries and Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. He serves on the board of counselors of the Chinese Communist Party Department of International Affairs' Chinese Association for International Understanding.

Minghao Zhao

Minghao Zhao is nonresident senior fellow at the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University, senior fellow at the Center for American Studies at Fudan University, and adjunct senior fellow at Tsinghua University's Center for International Security and Strategy. He is a member of the Chinese National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific. Prior to joining Fudan University in 2019, Zhao served as a senior fellow and deputy director for strategic

studies at the China Center for Contemporary World Studies, the think tank for the international department of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee (IDCPC). He has been a visiting scholar at research institutions in the United States, Italy, Japan, and Taiwan. Zhao authored *Strategic Restraint: Is New-Type Sino-U.S. Relationship Possible* and *The Belt and Road Initiative and China's Connectivity-Oriented Global Diplomacy*. He is the author of over forty peer-reviewed scholarly articles and book chapters, and his opinion pieces have been featured in media outlets such as the *Diplomat*, the *People's Daily*, and the *New York Times*, among others. He has contributed policy papers for the Center for American Progress, National Bureau of Asian Research, and Institute of International Affairs, among others. He has been awarded the IDCPC prize for excellence in policy research several times. Zhao holds a BA in art studies, an MA in diplomatic history, and a PhD in international relations from Peking University and an LLM in international human rights law from Lund University and Peking University.

Patricia Zúñiga

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

Speaker Biographies

Jon Finer

Jon Finer serves as assistant to the president and principal deputy national security advisor. He most recently served as the deputy for foreign policy and national security on the Biden–Harris transition team. During the Obama–Biden Administration, he held several senior foreign policy and national security roles, including as chief of staff and director of policy planning at the U.S. Department of State, as senior advisor to Deputy National Security Advisor Antony Blinken, as special advisor to the Middle East advisor, and as foreign policy speechwriter to then-Vice President Joe Biden. Finer began his career as a journalist in Asia and covered several conflicts, including the Iraq War, as a foreign correspondent for the *Washington Post*. He has also previously held positions in academia, at think tanks, and in the private sector. He has an AB from Harvard University; MPhil from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes scholar; and JD from Yale Law School.

John Nkengasong

John Nkengasong serves as the first director of the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). He is a leading virologist with nearly thirty years of work experience in public health. In 2020, he was appointed as one of the World Health Organization director general's special envoys on COVID-19 preparedness and response. He is also an adjunct professor at Emory University's School of Public Health and serves on several international advisory boards, including the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Initiative and the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative. Prior to his appointment at the Africa CDC, he was the acting deputy principal director of the Center for Global Health and chief of the International Laboratory Branch at the U.S. CDC's division of Global HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis. From 1993 to 1995, Nkengasong worked as chief of the Institute of Tropical Medicine's Virology Laboratory in Antwerp, Belgium, and in 1994 he joined the U.S. CDC as chief of the Virology Laboratory in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. He has authored over 250 peer-reviewed articles in international journals and published several book chapters. He has received numerous awards and honors for his significant contributions to public health, including the Sheppard Award, the U.S. CDC's William Watson Medal of Excellence, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's 2020 Global Goalkeeper award, and Côte d'Ivoire's Knight of Honour Medal. He was knighted as a Senegalese Officer of the Lion and knighted in Cameroon. He holds a master's degree in tropical biomedical science from the Institute of Tropical Medicine and a doctorate in medical sciences from the University of Brussels.

Kori Schake

Kori Schake is director of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Before joining AEI, Schake was the deputy director general of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. She has had a distinguished career in government, working at the U.S. State Department, U.S. Department of Defense, and the National Security Council. She has also taught at Stanford University, United States Military Academy, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, National Defense University, and the University of Maryland. Schake is the author of five books, including *America vs the West: Can the Liberal World Order Be Preserved?*; *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony*; and *State of Disrepair: Fixing the Culture and Practices of the State Department*. She is also the coeditor, along with former U.S. Secretary of Defense

Jim Mattis, of *Warriors & Citizens: American Views of Our Military*. Schake has been widely published in policy journals and the popular press, including in CNN.com, *Foreign Affairs*, *Politico*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. She is a contributing writer at *The Atlantic* and *War on the Rocks*. Schake has a BA in international relations from Stanford University, MPM from the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, and MA and PhD in government and politics from the University of Maryland.

Observer Biographies

Henry Alt-Haaker

Henry Alt-Haaker is senior vice president at the Robert Bosch Stiftung and has headed the Strategic Partnerships and Robert Bosch Academy department since January 2020. The department includes the foundation's programs addressing political decision-makers, think tank partnerships, science in society portfolio, and the Robert Bosch Academy. As such, the department contributes to the foundation's activities in all its thematic areas. Alt-Haaker joined the foundation in August 2013 as program officer and later served as a senior project manager.

Rene M. Kern

Rene M. Kern is an advisory director at General Atlantic, a global growth equity investment firm, where he has worked since 1996. Kern served as partner and managing director of General Atlantic from 1998 to 2018. During his career, he led the firm's European and Latin American business, financial services practice, and capital partnering team. He also served on the firm's executive, investment, and portfolio committees. Kern joined General Atlantic after six years with Morgan Stanley in New York and London and two years with Bain & Company in Boston. He is a fellow and vice chair of the University of Pennsylvania's Joseph H. Lauder Institute, member of the University of California, Berkeley's executive committee, and foundation board and co-president of the Rene Kern Family Foundation, a philanthropy which is supporting not-for-profit organizations in education, climate change, and health care in the United States. He earned a BS in business administration from the University of California, Berkeley's Haas School, MBA from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, and an MA in international studies from the University of Pennsylvania's School of Arts and Sciences.

Terrence Mullan

Terrence Mullan is assistant director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he primarily focuses on coordinating the work of the Council of Councils. From 2011 to 2016, he was manager of the president's office at the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States, the national trade association representing the leading producers and marketers of distilled spirits. He previously worked in the offices of Senator Roland W. Burris as a legislative aide and Senator Paul G. Kirk Jr. as a legislative correspondent. From 2014 to 2015, he was a Frederic Bastiat fellow at George Mason University's Mercatus Center. Mullan earned a BBA in international business and economics from George Washington University and an MA in international commerce and policy from George Mason University.