

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

Wednesday, March 30, 2022
7:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time



Council of Councils Fifth Virtual Conference

This meeting is made possible by the generous support of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. 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)

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Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

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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)

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Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

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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 Fifth Virtual Conference

International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

Wednesday, March 30, 2022

5:30 a.m.–8:00 a.m. Mexico City

7:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

8:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

12:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. Lagos / London

1:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Johannesburg/ Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

2:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

5:00 p.m.–7:30 p.m. New Delhi

6:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. Jakarta

7:30 p.m.–10:00 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

8:30 p.m.–11:00 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

10:30 p.m.–1:00 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Fifth Virtual Conference
Agenda**

Wednesday, March 30, 2022

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

Join details for sessions:
<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/96858065825>
Passcode: 443423
Meeting ID: 968 5806 5825

7:30 a.m.–8:45 a.m. *Session One*
The Crisis in Ukraine

Panelists:

Sławomir Dębski, *Director, Polish Institute of International Affairs* (Poland)
Igor Yurgens, *Chair, Institute of Contemporary Development* (Russia)

Moderator:

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies* (Singapore)

8:45 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Break*

9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Session Two*
Preparing for the Next Pandemic

Guiding questions: How can national governments and the multilateral system be better prepared for the next pandemic? From the many proposals made to improve future pandemic preparedness, what are the most important policies that world leaders should prioritize in 2022? In an increasingly divided world, where should the political center of gravity be for pursuing better pandemic preparedness—multilateral institutions, club mechanisms (e.g., G7, G20), regional organizations, or existing or new coalitions of states (e.g., Global Health Security Agenda, Health Silk Road)?

Panelists:

David P. Fidler, *Senior Fellow for Global Health and Cybersecurity, Council on Foreign Relations* (United States)
Oommen C. Kurian, *Senior Fellow and Head of the Health Initiative, Observer Research Foundation* (India)
Hasbullah Thabrany, *Professor of Health Policy and Insurance, University of Indonesia* (Indonesia)

Moderator:

Stefan Mair, *Director and Executive Chair,*

German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Participant Biographies

Riccardo Alcaro

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

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, president's chair for international relations and security studies, and head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Her research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in Asia-Pacific, global governance, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security and conflict prevention. Anthony is currently a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and is secretary-general for the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony served on the UN secretary-general's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and was its chair in 2016. She was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Secretariat from 2011 to 2012. She has published extensively on a broad range of political and security

issues in Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest books, both single-authored and coedited, include: *Nuclear Governance in the Indo-Pacific*, *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, and *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies*.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam, and editor-in-chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review*. 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 more than twenty academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

María Celia Toro

María Celia Toro is vice president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). She is also a professor and researcher at the College of Mexico's Center for International Studies and coordinator of the Mexico-United States-Canada program. Her research areas include international relations, Mexico's foreign policy, and the influence of drug trafficking in the U.S.-Mexico relationship. She is currently studying the changes in U.S.-Mexico security relations and border management. She has been a visiting scholar at Stanford University, Harvard University, and the University of Texas at Austin, and a visiting fellow at the University of California, San Diego's Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. She was editor of the journal *Foro Internacional* (1989–93), director of the College of Mexico's Center for International Studies (1997–2002), and director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Matías Romero Institute (2007–11). She has authored several books, book chapters, and articles, including "Las relaciones entre México y Estados Unidos: ¿El fin de una época?" in *Si persisten las molestias (Noticias de algunos casos de ceguera ilustrada)*; "America First: A Mexican Perspective on Trump's presidency," in *Donald J. Trump's Presidency: International Perspectives*; and "Vicisitudes del acercamiento mexicano a Estados Unidos," in *Integración en América del Norte (1994–2016): Reflexiones desde el PIERAN*. She most recently edited *Los acuerdos comerciales regionales y el TLCAN*. She holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from the College of Mexico and a master's degree in political science from Stanford University.

Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is vice president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), global fellow at the Wilson Center for International Scholars, and professor in Southern University's master's in public policy program at Southern University. He is also the author of *Argentina and the World: Keys for a Successful Integration*, *The Rebellion of Nations: Crisis of Liberalism and Rise of Popular Conservatism*, and *From Perpetual Twilight to Strategic Development*, as well as numerous articles published in magazines specialized in Argentina and abroad.

Chen Dongxiao

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

Cayley Clifford

Cayley Clifford is a researcher in the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). She leads SAIIA's Russia-Africa project and has a keen interest in the African Peer Review Mechanism. She was previously a researcher at Africa Check, the continent's leading fact-checking organization, and a Konrad Adenauer Stiftung scholar at SAIIA, where she provided research assistance to the African Governance and Diplomacy programme. She holds a master's degree in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Yose Rizal Damuri

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research focuses on international trade, regional integration, and globalization of value chains. Damuri is also the research coordinator of the Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated to the development of the services sector in Indonesia. He is active in many research institute networks in East Asia, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia's (ERIA) Research Institutes Network, and Think 20. He serves as the co-chair of the Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation and is a member of ERIA's governing board. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

Sławomir Dębski

Sławomir Dębski is a foreign policy expert who has advised all Polish governments since 2000. He has been director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) since 2016, a position he also held from 2008 to 2010. He is also editor-in-chief of *Polski Przegląd Dyplomatyczny (Polish Diplomatic Review)*. In 2010, he became a special appointee of the Minister of Culture and National Heritage to establish the Center for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding (CPRDiP) and was director of CPRDiP from 2011 to 2016. He was editor of the Russian-language quarterly *Evropa* from 2001 to 2010 and was a member of the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Matters from 2008 to 2015. He is the author of *Between Berlin and Moscow: German-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, one of the most acclaimed

monographs about the Soviet-German alliance between 1939 and 1941. Dębski received a PhD in history from Jagiellonian University.

Ralf Emmers

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

David P. Fidler

David P. Fidler is senior fellow for global health and cybersecurity at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is an expert in international law, cybersecurity, national security, global health, and space policy, and currently serves as a member of the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine's Committee on Planetary Protection. Fidler has been a visiting scholar at the University of Oxford and London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, a Fulbright New Century Scholar, and a Truman Scholar from Kansas. Fidler's publications include *Advanced Introduction to Cybersecurity Law* (forthcoming); *The Snowden Reader* (editor and contributor); *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned* (coeditor and contributor); *Responding to National Security Letters: A Practical Guide for Legal Counsel* (coauthor); *Biosecurity in the Global Age: Biological Weapons, Public Health, and the Rule of Law* (coauthor); and *SARS, Governance, and the Globalization of Disease*. He holds a BA from the University of Kansas, an MPhil and a BCL from the University of Oxford, and a JD from Harvard Law School.

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 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 *Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?*, edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; *L'Affolement du Monde: 10 Enjeux Géopolitique*; *Guerres Invisibles: Nos prochains défis géopolitiques*; and *Comment préparer 2050? De la 'prévoyance' à la 'grande stratégie,'* coauthored with Martin Briens. 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 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.

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. From 1999 to 2003, he worked as a researcher and research coordinator at the Centre for Development and Enterprise. 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 the 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 Peking University's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. 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 Ministry of Education's subcommittee on Sino-Russian cooperation, and an editorial board member of the academic journal *Region*. His academic interests include Russian diplomacy, Sino-Russian relations, China's and Russia's contemporary political and social transitions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and social-political development in Central Asian countries. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Minnesota (2004–05) and a visiting professor at the University of Vienna and the University of Wurzburg (2012–13). His publications include *Great Europe: Honor and Dream*, *Yeltsin's Years in Power*, and over thirty articles in English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian. Guan earned a BA and an MA from Peking University and a PhD from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his nineteenth 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.

Marc Hecker

Marc Hecker is director of research and communications at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). He is also editor-in-chief of *Politique étrangère* and a research fellow at the Security Studies Center. He previously taught a course on terrorism and asymmetric warfare at Sciences Po for several years and spent one academic year at Trinity College, Dublin. Hecker has published several books, including *War 2.0: Irregular Warfare in the Information Age*, *Intifada française?*, and *La Guerre de vingt ans. Djihadisme et contre-terrorisme au XXIe siècle*. He has published articles in major journals and newspapers, including *Policy Review*, *Internationale Politik*, *Commentaire*, *Etudes*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Les Echos*, and *Libération*. He graduated from Sciences Po Strasbourg and holds a master's degree in international relations and a doctorate in political science from Pantheon-Sorbonne 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.

Markus Kaim

Markus Kaim is a senior fellow in the International Security research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He is also an adjunct professor at the University of Zurich, Hertie School of Governance, and Bucerius Law School. He was Helmut Schmidt fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington from 2019 to 2020. He has taught as a visiting scholar at the Carleton University's Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, as a DAAD professor for German and European studies at the University of Toronto, and as an adjunct professor of foreign policy and international relations at the University of Konstanz.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is founding board member of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the first president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu serves as founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum, chairs the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting, and advises a UK-based technology investment platform and a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization on rebuilding social cohesion through new approaches to communication. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of Istanbul Technical University's (ITU) ARI Science Park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*, with two former Turkish undersecretaries of foreign affairs and intelligence. Karakullukçu received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University.

Yasushi Kudo

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

Oommen C. Kurian

Oommen C. Kurian is senior fellow and head of the Health Initiative at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He studies India's health sector reforms within the broad context of the Sustainable Development Goals, with a focus on financing and governance structures.

Tatiana Kastueva-Jean

Tatiana Kastueva-Jean has been the director of the Russia/NIS Center at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) since 2014. Kastueva-Jean is the chief editor of the *Russie.Nei.Visions* collection. She holds a degree from the State University of Ekaterinbourg, a dual master's degree in international relations from the University of Sciences Po and Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and a master's of advanced studies in international relations from the University of Marne-la-Vallée.

Ricardo Ernesto Lagorio

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

Seungjoo Lee

Seungjoo Lee is chair of the East Asia Institute's Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center and professor of political science and international relations at Chung-Ang University. His research focuses on the economy-security nexus, international economic order in cyberspace, and digital trade policy. Lee previously taught at the National University of Singapore and Yonsei University. He has held various positions in academic associations in Korea such as the Korean Political Science Association and the Korean Association of International Studies. In 2019, he served as chair of the organizing committee for the 2019 World Congress of Korean Politics and Society. Lee is coauthor of *The Political Economy of Change and Continuity in Korea: Twenty Years After the Crisis*. He also edited *Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration?*, *International Political Economy in Cyberspace*, and *Korea's Middle Power Diplomacy*. His publications have appeared in various journals such as *Asian Survey*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Korean Political Science Review*, and *Pacific Review*. Lee received his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

Li Chen

Li Chen is associate professor at the Renmin University of China and director of Renmin University's Center for International Security and Strategy. He is also a nonresident fellow at Tsinghua University's Center for International Security and Strategy. His research interests include strategic and diplomatic history, contemporary security and military strategy, and U.S.-China security relations. He has published articles in leading journals such as the *Journal of Strategic Studies* and *China Military Science*. He also frequently participates in various track two dialogues on Asia-Pacific security. Li received his MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science and Peking University and his PhD from the University of Cambridge.

Marlos Lima

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

James M. Lindsay

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 six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program. He has written widely on the American foreign policymaking 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 chair 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 chair 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' executive board. He joined SWP in 1992 as a research associate, 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 doctoral scholar in the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze

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Stefano Vella is vice president of the Friends of the Global Fund Europe, where he promotes the Global Fund's fight against AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria and builds coalitions with high-level partners and officials. He is also involved in the operations and implementation of programs of HIV community care in Ethiopia, mother and child health in Malawi, Tuberculosis in Angola, and HIV treatment of pregnant women in Ethiopia and Uganda. Vella has researched the clinical development of antiretroviral therapy, HIV resistance to antiretroviral drugs, the mechanisms of immune reconstitution, the care and treatment of coinfections such as Tuberculosis health needs assessments, and the operation and implementation of research programs in resource limited settings. He also has extensive experience in the clinical management of internal medicine and infectious disease patients. In 2017, Vella was appointed director of the Italian National Institute of Health's Center for Global Health. From 2017 to 2018, he served as president of the board of the Italian Medicines Agency, but resigned in 2018 because of a disagreement with the Italian government policy on the health of migrants. From 2016 to 2018, he was a member of the Joint UN Programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS) scientific and technical advisory committee. From 2015 to 2018, he served as vice president of the French National Agency for Research on AIDS and Viral Hepatitis's scientific council. From 2014 to 2017, he was a member of the U.S. National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases' Aids Clinical Trials Group strategic agenda committee. From 2003 to 2016, he was the director of Istituto Superiore di Sanità's Department of Pharmacology and Therapeutic Research, where he oversaw the research activities of over 270 staff members. In 2013, he chaired the panel that developed the World Health Organization guidelines on HIV treatment and care and was a member of the panel that revised the guidelines in 2016. From 2004 to 2007, he was a member of the European Medicines Agency's scientific advice working group. From 2003 to 2004, he was a member of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria's (GFTAM) technical review panel. He subsequently served as the Italian member of GFTAM's board, and is currently a member of the Italian constituency. From 2000 to 2002, he served as president of the International AIDS Society (IAS) and chaired the first IAS Conference on HIV Pathogenesis and Treatment in 2001 and the fourteenth International Conference on AIDS in 2002. He received his MD from the University of Rome, achieved specialty degrees in both infectious diseases and internal medicine, and did his postdoctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

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