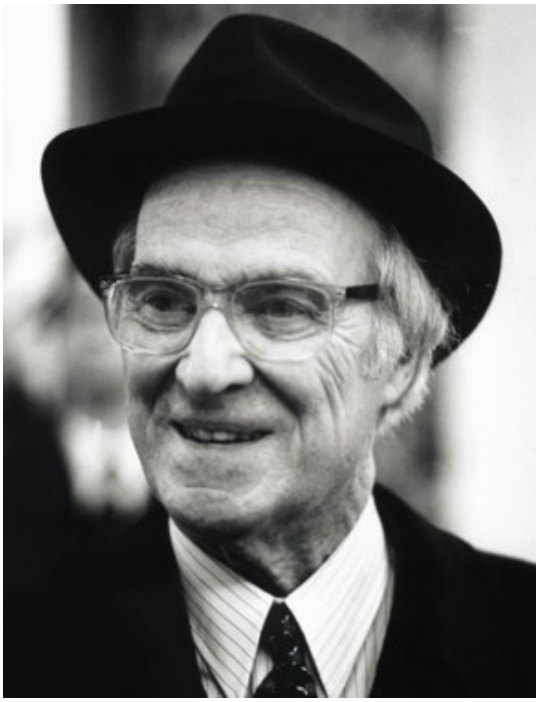
COUNCIL *on* FOREIGN RELATIONS

Twenty-Eighth Term Member Conference

New York, NY
October 26-27, 2023



The Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program is named in honor of longtime Council member Stephen Kellen who was deeply committed to the development of the next generation of foreign policy leaders. Throughout his life, Kellen made it a priority to cultivate meaningful relationships with young people, providing mentorship and guidance and investing in the future in substantive ways. He was instrumental in deepening the involvement of young men and women in conversations on international affairs and foreign policy at CFR. The program continues to be generously supported by the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation.

Meeting Courtesies

The presentations, discussions, and question-and-answer periods of plenary and breakout sessions are not for attribution, unless otherwise noted.

For virtual attendees:

To ask a question during the question-and-answer session, click on the "Raise Hand" icon on your Zoom window. When you are called on to speak, please accept the "Unmute Now" prompt, then proceed with your name and affiliation, followed by your question. Your video will remain off but your microphone will be unmuted.

For in-person attendees:

Please refrain from leaving the meeting early or arriving late.
It is discourteous to our speakers and disruptive to the audience.

Please remember to ***silence*** your electronic devices.

If you are called upon by the presider to ask a question during the question-and-answer session, please stand, wait for the microphone, and state your name and affiliation. Limit yourself to one concise question to allow as many members as possible to participate.

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is committed to maintaining an environment in which divergent perspectives are voiced and where participants are not subjected to verbal or physical harassment of any kind. All participants are expected to maintain the highest levels of civility and respect toward speakers, presiders, staff, guests, and one another.

PROGRAM

Thursday, October 26, 2023

In-Person Reception
4:45 p.m.–5:00 p.m.

Hybrid Plenary I:
Conflict in the Middle East: The Israel-Hamas War

5:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.

Speakers
Steven A. Cook
Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies and Director of the International Affairs Fellowship for Tenured International Relations Scholars, Council on Foreign Relations

Mai El-Sadany
Executive Director, Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy;
Human Rights Lawyer (speaking virtually)

Farah Pandith
Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (speaking virtually)

Mara E. Rudman
James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor, Miller Center, University of Virginia;
Former Senior National Security Official for Presidents Clinton and Obama;
CFR Member (speaking virtually)

Presider
Reena Ninan
Entrepeneur; Journalist; Founder, Good Trouble Productions; Former CFR Term Member

This session will be on the record. It will take place in person and be offered virtually via Zoom.

In-Person Reception
6:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m.

PROGRAM

Thursday, October 26, 2023

Hybrid Plenary II:
U.S.-China Relations: Balancing Cooperation, Competition, and Interdependence

6:30 p.m.–7:45 p.m.

Welcoming Remarks
Michael Froman
President, Council on Foreign Relations; Former CFR Term Member

Speakers
Ivan Kanapathy
Adjunct Professor, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University;
Senior Associate, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies;
Former Deputy Senior Director for Asia, National Security Council Staff (2018-2021);
CFR Member

Zongyuan Zoe Liu
Maurice R. Greenberg Fellow for China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Meg Rithmire
F. Warren McFarlan Associate Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School

Lingling Wei
Chief China Correspondent, *Wall Street Journal*; Author, *Superpower Showdown*

Presider
Karen Harris
Managing Director, Macro Trends Group, Bain & Company; CFR Member

This session will be on the record. It will take place in person and be offered virtually via Zoom.

In-Person Cocktail Reception
7:45 p.m.–9:00 p.m.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

In-Person Breakfast Reception
8:30 a.m.–9:15 a.m.

Hybrid Plenary III:
Series on Emerging Technology, U.S. Foreign Policy, and World Order: How Artificial Intelligence Is Reshaping Our World

9:15 a.m.–10:30 a.m.

Welcoming Remarks
Nancy Bodurtha
Vice President, Meetings and Membership, Council on Foreign Relations

Speakers
Michael Chui
Partner, McKinsey Global Institute; CFR Member (speaking virtually)

Jared Dunnmon
Vice President of Future Technologies, Our Next Energy;
Former Technical Director for Artificial Intelligence, Defense Innovation Unit;
CFR Term Member

Camille François
Senior Researcher, Columbia University

Presider
Kat Duffy
Senior Fellow for Digital and Cyberspace Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

This session will be on the record and offered virtually via Zoom.

In-Person Networking Break
10:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

Morning Breakout Sessions

11:00 a.m.–12:15 p.m.

***Sessions are located at the Council on Foreign Relations or the Cosmopolitan Club.*

Women's Political Representation: Progress and Barriers **4th Floor Dining Room (Cosmopolitan Club)**
Discussant: **Linda Robinson**, Senior Fellow for Women and Foreign Policy, CFR
Facilitator: **Heather Y. Hwalek**, Senior Program Advisor, Global Policy and Advocacy, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; CFR Term Member

The Geopolitical Implications of China's Economic Slowdown **AV Lab (CFR)**
Discussant: **Yanzhong Huang**, Senior Fellow for Global Health, CFR
Facilitator: **Isaac Stone Fish**, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Strategy Risks; CFR Term Member

The Gulf States Power Plays: **Altschul Room (CFR)**
Understanding the Region's Geopolitics and Strategy
Discussant: **Steven A. Cook**, Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies and Director of the International Affairs Fellowship for Tenured International Relations Scholars, CFR
Facilitator: **Jason B. Baker**, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Air Force; CFR Term Member

Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa and **Vance Room (CFR)**
What It Means for the Region
Discussant: **Michelle D. Gavin,** Ralphe Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies, CFR
Facilitator: **Raechel Haecker**, Director and Chief of Staff to the Chief Financial Officer, HubSpot; CFR Term Member

The Outlook for the War in Ukraine **Conservatory (CFR)**
Discussant: **Max Boot**, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow for National Security Studies, CFR
Facilitator: **Ryan Pettit,** Professional Staff Member, U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations; CFR Term Member

India's Increasing Geopolitical Power **1921 Room**
Discussant: **Manjari Chatterjee Miller,** Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, CFR
Facilitator: **Prashanth Rajan,** Vice President, Global Public Policy, Mastercard

Challenges in Rebuilding Ukraine **Library (CFR)**
Discussant: **Benn Steil**, Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics, CFR
Facilitator: **Claire Kaiser**, Head of Strategy and Senior Managing Director, McLarty Associates; CFR Term Member

China's Underground Historians and **Board Room (Cosmopolitan Club)**
Their Battle for the Future
Discussant: **Ian Johnson**, Stephen A. Schwarzman Senior Fellow for China Studies, CFR;
Author, *Sparks: China's Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future*
Facilitator: **Nicholas Frisch**, Resident Fellow, Information Society Project, Yale Law School; CFR Term Member

The Current Landscape of Cryptocurrency **Hauser Room (CFR)**
Discussants: **Carole House**, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council; Executive in Residence, Terranet Ventures, Inc.; and **Sina Kian**, Chief Operating Officer and General Counsel, Aleo; Technology, Security and Global Affairs Fellow, Strauss Center; Former CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Stephen J. Kurz**, Founding Partner, Global Head of Asset Management, Galaxy Digital; CFR Term Member

All breakout sessions will be not for attribution and in person only.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

Proceed to Lunch

12:15 p.m.–12:45 p.m.

Lunch

12:45 p.m.–1:45 p.m.
Lunch will be served at the Cosmopolitan Club.

NOTE: During lunch, tables will be hosted by term members who will facilitate informal discussions on the topics below. If you wish to participate, please look for a sign on the table indicating the number, topic, and term member name. Tables are filled on a first-come, first-served basis.

1. *Online Trust and Safety: How to Balance Rights in Times of Crisis*
   Ben Hassine, Principal, Responsible Technology, Omidyar Network

2. *The Role of Technology in Environmental and Socioeconomic Development*
   Barbara Blakely, Regional Head, Corporate Relations, Latin America and Caribbean, Shell

3. *Career Transitions and the Future of Work*
   Marco Casas, Incoming Executive Director of Strategy, Digital, and Innovation for Leading Financial Institution

4. *Balancing National Security Tradeoffs: Threats, Timelines, and Investments*
   Denise E. Der, Assistant Research Director, Office of Net Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense

5. *Economic Mobility in America*
   Joseph Gasparro, Governing Board Member, America Needs You; Investment Banking, RBC Capital Markets; Co-Author, *Investment Banking: Valuation, LBOs, M&A, and IPOs*

6. *Bridging the Gap Between Academia and the Professional World*
   Naima Green-Riley, Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

7. *Technology and Foreign Policy*
   Morgan Kaplan, Senior Policy and Communications Lead, Palantir Technologies

8. *Demystifying Nuclear Power*
   Peter A. Mathias, Partner, Alumni Ventures Group;
   and **Tao Tan**, Partner, Perception Capital Partners

9. *What's Next for Argentina*
   Kezia McKeague, Regional Director, McLarty Associates

10. *Closing the Civil-Military Gap*
    Christian A. Moree, Chief of Staff and Managing Director, Quest Partners

11. *Means and Ends: U.S. Defense Budget and Strategy*
    Ryan C. Pettit, Professional Staff Member, U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

Lunch (continued)

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m.

12. *Founders and Funders: Investing in GovTech*
    Allegra Richards, Emerging Technology and National Security, In-Q-Tel;
    and **Tianyi "Tian Tian" Xin**, Special Projects Lead, Operations and Compliance, Istari Digital

13. *Allyship in the Workplace*
    Margaret E. Richardson, Chief of Staff, Director, Devex

14. *Tech Innovation in Great Power Competition*
    Dhruv Singh, Founder and Managing Partner, DEWS Holdings

15. *Content and Culture as National Identity in a Multi-Polar World*
    Steven Sunmonu, Vice President, The Raine Group LLC

16. *Women in the Workforce*
    Christine Wozniak, Senior Manager, Global Regulatory Operations, Carrot Fertility

17. *The Global Mental Health Crisis*
    Maureen Trantham, Senior Vice President, Head of Strategy & Social Impact and Philanthropy Operations, Sesame Workshop

In the East-West Room (Fourth Floor):

18. *Great Power Competition and Climate Change*
    Michael Cox, Investment Analyst, Wellington Management Company, LLP

19. *ESG and the Role of the Private Sector in Public Policy*
    Joshua Goldman, Senior Vice President, Blackstone

20. *Climate and Conflict*
    Lindsay Iversen, Adjunct Senior Fellow, American Security Project

21. *Food Systems in a Changing Climate*
    David Kanter, Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, New York University

22. *Designing Cities for a Changing Climate*
    Lauren Racusin, Senior Lead, Urban Planning, Economic Development, and Sustainability, Bloomberg Associates

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Proceed to Concurrent Plenary Sessions

1:45 p.m.–2:30 p.m.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

In-Person Concurrent Plenary Sessions
2:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m.

Session I: *Rockefeller Room*

COP28 and Beyond: Does Multilateral Climate Diplomacy Work?

Speakers

David Kanter
Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, New York University; CFR Term Member

Jay L. Koh
Cofounder and Managing Director, The Lightsmith Group; CFR Member

Jennifer Schuch-Page
Senior Advisor for Asia, Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, U.S. Department of State; CFR Term Member

Presider

Chloe Demrovsky
President and Chief Executive Officer, Disaster Recovery Institute International; CFR Term Member

Session II: *Peterson Hall*

The EU, War Against Ukraine, and Geopolitics of Europe

Speakers

Emma Ashford
Senior Fellow, Reimagining U.S. Grand Strategy Program, Stimson Center; CFR Term Member

Miriam Elder
Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, CFR

Matthias Matthijs
Senior Fellow for Europe, CFR

Presider

Mark Hannah
Senior Fellow, Eurasia Group Foundation; Creator and Host, *None Of The Above*; Former CFR Term Member

All concurrent plenary sessions are on the record.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

Networking Break
3:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m.

Afternoon Breakout Sessions

4:00 p.m.–5:15 p.m.

***Sessions are located at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

The Rise of Industrial Policy and Potential for a Subsidies War **Altschul Room (CFR)**
Discussant: **Jennifer A. Hillman**, Senior Fellow for Trade and International Political Economy, CFR (virtual)
Facilitator: **Ashwin Kaja**, Co-Chair, International Trade, China, Covington & Burling; General Counsel, American Chamber of Commerce in China; CFR Term Member

Navigating the Future: A Discerning Examination of U.S. Space Policy **Hauser Room (CFR)**
Discussants: **Lyndsey Gray**, AAAS Science and Technology Policy Fellow, International Security and Nonproliferation Bureau, U.S. Department of State; Affiliate Fellow, Space Diplomacy Lab, Duke University; CFR Term Member; and **Benjamin Schmitt,** Senior Fellow, Department of Physics and Astronomy and Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, University of Pennsylvania; Cofounder, Space Diplomacy Lab, Duke University; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Kate van Dam**, Head of Strategy, SkyFi; Officer, U.S. Marine Corps Cyberspace Command; Former CFR Term Member

Democratic Backsliding and the Global Threat to LGBTQ+ Communities **Library (CFR)**
Discussants: **Charlotte Clymer**, Founder and Writer, *Charlotte's Web Thoughts*; CFR Term Member; and **Ari Shaw**, Senior Fellow and Director of International Programs, The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Margaret Richardson**, Chief of Staff, Director, Devex; CFR Term Member

The Future of the Iranian Regime **Conservatory (CFR)**
Discussant: **Ray Takeyh**, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies, CFR; Former Senior Advisor on Iran, U.S. Department of State
Facilitator: **Rennie A. Silva**, Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Department of State; CFR Term Member

Latin America Update **Vance Room (CFR)**
Discussant: **Leland Lazarus**, Associate Director of National Security Policy Program, Jack D. Gordon Institute for Public Policy; Florida International University; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Conor Sanchez**, Stakeholder Engagement Manager for Policy Development, Meta; CFR Term Member

Cybersecurity Threats at Home and Abroad **Peterson Hall (CFR)**
Discussants: **Veronica Glick**, International Affairs Fellow in National Security, CFR; Former CFR Term Member; and **Abbas Ravjani**, Privacy and Public Policy Manager, Meta; Former CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Jamie Mannina**, Joint Staff, U.S. Department of Defense; CFR Term Member

The Continuing Israeli Palestinian Conflict **A/V Lab (CFR)**
Discussants: **Kevin Rachlin**, Vice President of Public Affairs, J Street; CFR Term Member; and **Loren M. Voss**, Visiting Assistant Professor, National Security, Cybersecurity, and Foreign Relations, George Washington University Law School; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Carrie A. Lee,** Chair, Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S. Army War College; CFR Term Member

Challenges and Opportunities for Emerging Markets **1921 Room (CFR)**
Discussant: **Ben Harburg**, Managing Partner, MSA Capital; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: **Liz Wangu**, Senior Associate Attorney, Clifford Chance U.S. LLP; CFR Term Member

All breakout sessions will be not for attribution and take place in person only.

PROGRAM

Friday, October 27, 2023

Networking Break
5:15 p.m.–5:45 p.m.

Hybrid Keynote Plenary:
A Conversation With Rajiv Shah

5:45 p.m.–6:45 p.m.

Speaker
Rajiv Shah, President, Rockefeller Foundation; Former Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 2010-15; Author, *Big Bets: How Large-Scale Change Really Happens*; CFR Member

Presider
Michael Froman
President, Council on Foreign Relations; Former CFR Term Member

This session will be on the record. It will take place in person and be offered virtually via Zoom.

In-Person Cocktail Reception
6:45 p.m.–8:00 p.m.

Speaker and Presider Biographies

Conflict in the Middle East: The Israel-Hamas War

Steven A. Cook

Steven A. Cook is Eni Enrico Mattei senior fellow for Middle East and Africa studies and director of the International Affairs Fellowship for tenured international relations scholars at CFR. He is an expert on Arab and Turkish politics as well as U.S.-Middle East policy. Prior to joining CFR, Cook was a 2001–02 research fellow at the Brookings Institution and a 1995–96 Soref research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is the author of *False Dawn: Protest, Democracy, and Violence in the New Middle East*; *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*, which won the 2012 gold medal from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy; and *Ruling but Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. His next book is *The End of Ambition: America's Past, Present, and Future in the Middle East*. Cook is a columnist at *Foreign Policy* magazine. He has also published widely in international affairs journals, opinion magazines, and newspapers and is a frequent commentator on radio and television. His work can also be found on CFR.org. Cook holds a BA in international studies from Vassar College, an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and an MA and a PhD in political science from the University of Pennsylvania.

Mai El-Sadany

Mai El-Sadany is the executive director of the Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy (TIMEP). She was previously TIMEP's managing director and legal and judicial director. She has previously worked at the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, among other organizations. El-Sadany's published work has covered legal and constitutional issues in Egypt, human rights issues in Syria, transitional justice in the Middle East, and the split between Sudan and South Sudan. She holds a BA in political science from Stanford University and a JD and certificate in refugees and humanitarian emergencies from the Georgetown University Law Center.

Mara E. Rudman

Mara E. Rudman is a senior counselor at American Progress, where she advises on creating smart strategies and finding the path to turn ideas into action and action into results. Rudman was most recently executive vice president for policy at American Progress. From 2004 to 2009, she worked as the senior vice president for strategic planning and then was a senior fellow and founder of Middle East Progress. She is also a Schlesinger distinguished professor at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. She serves on the 2022 National Defense Strategy Commission and the Howard University College of Arts and Sciences board of visitors. Rudman's government positions have included serving as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs in the Barack Obama and Bill Clinton administrations, deputy envoy and chief of staff for the U.S. Department of State's office of the special envoy for Middle East peace, and assistant administrator for the Middle East at the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Conflict in the Middle East—The Israel-Hamas War (continued)

Farah Pandith

Farah Pandith is an adjunct senior fellow at CFR, a foreign policy strategist, and a former diplomat. Pandith, a pioneer in the field of countering violent extremism (CVE), has been a political appointee in the George H.W. Bush, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama administrations. From 2015 to 2017, she served on the secretary of homeland security's Homeland Security Advisory Council, chairing its subcommittee on countering violent extremism. She was a senior advisor and commissioner on the Center for Strategic and International Studies' CVE Commission Report and is a senior advisor at the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). Pandith was appointed the first special representative to Muslim communities in June 2009 by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Previously, she was senior advisor to the assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs. From 2004 to 2007, Pandith served as the National Security Council's director for Middle East regional initiatives. Prior to that, she was chief of staff of the Bureau for Asia and the Near East for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). In 2004, she spent two months in Afghanistan developing a public outreach strategy. She also served at USAID from 1990 to 1993 on the administrator's staff and as the special assistant to the director of policy. From 1997 to 2003, Pandith was vice president of international business for ML Strategies and served as a commissioner on Massachusetts Governor Paul A. Cellucci's bipartisan Asian Advisory Commission. She also serves on the advisory boards for the Asian American Foundation, America Abroad Media, the National Security Initiative, the Council for Responsible Social Media, and the Aspen Institute and ADL's Civil Society Fellowship. She formerly served on the boards of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the Tribeca Film Institute, and the Women in Public Service Project. The Muhammad Ali Center named Pandith the first-ever Muhammad Ali Global Peace laureate, and in 2013, she was awarded the Secretary's Distinguished Honor Award. Her book, *How We Win: How Cutting-Edge Entrepreneurs, Political Visionaries, Enlightened Business Leaders, and Social Media Mavens Can Defeat the Extremist Threat*, was published in 2019. Pandith received a bachelor's degree in government and psychology from Smith College and a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where she specialized in international security studies, Islamic civilizations and southwest Asia, and international negotiation and conflict resolution.

Reena Ninan—presiding

Reena Ninan is a television journalist who has worked as a White House correspondent, foreign reporter, and news anchor for CBS, ABC, and Fox News. She recently started her own media company, Good Trouble Productions. Her company produces the parenting and mental health podcast *Ask Lisa: The Psychology of Parenting*.

U.S.-China Relations: Balancing Cooperation, Competition, and Interdependence

Ivan Kanapathy

Ivan Kanapathy served on the White House's National Security Council staff as director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia and deputy senior director for Asian affairs from 2018 to 2021. In that capacity, he staffed and advised the president and national security advisor, and led U.S. government interagency policy development and implementation on relations and engagement with China and Taiwan—including shepherding the most comprehensive and significant U.S. policy shift toward China in four decades. From 2014 to 2017, he worked at the American Institute in Taiwan, representing U.S. interests and advising on military and security issues in Taipei. Earlier in his career, Kanapathy spent a year studying in Beijing and traveling throughout China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia as a U.S. Marine Corps foreign area study fellow; he later led the development and implementation of the service's global security cooperation strategy and policies at the Pentagon. As a naval flight officer, Kanapathy accumulated 2,500 flight hours, served three years as an F/A-18 weapons officer and tactics instructor at the U.S Navy Fighter Weapons School, and deployed to the Middle East and Western Pacific five times, earning several combat awards and decorations. He holds an AA and diploma, with highest honors, in Chinese–Mandarin from the Defense Language Institute; a BS in physics and economics from Carnegie Mellon University; and an MA in East Asia security studies from the Naval Postgraduate School.

Zongyuan Zoe Liu

Zongyuan Zoe Liu is a fellow for international political economy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Her work focuses on international political economy, global financial markets, sovereign wealth funds, supply chains of critical minerals, development finance, emerging markets, energy and climate change policy, and East Asia-Middle East relations. Her regional expertise is in East Asia, specifically China and Japan, and the Middle East, specifically Gulf Cooperation Council countries. Prior to joining CFR, Liu was an instructional assistant professor at Texas A&M University's Bush School of Government and Public Service in Washington, DC, where she taught courses on global economy, economic statecraft, and Chinese foreign policy. She joined the Bush School after postdoctoral fellowships at the Columbia-Harvard China and the World program and the Center for International Environment and Resource Policy at Tufts University's Fletcher School. Liu was a research fellow at the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies and a research associate at the New York University Stern Center for Sustainable Business. She was also a visiting research fellow at the Institute for International Monetary Affairs in Tokyo, Bank of Mitsubishi-UFJ, and the Delma Institute in Abu Dhabi. Liu taught courses on Asian energy security and political risk analysis at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. She is the author of *Can BRICS De-dollarize the Global Financial System?* and *Sovereign Funds: How the Communist Party of China Finances Its Global Ambitions*. She is also a CFA charterholder. Liu received her BA in history from Shandong Normal University in Jinan, China, her MA in international relations from George Washington University's Elliott School of International Studies, and her PhD in international relations from Johns Hopkins University.

U.S.-China Relations: Balancing Cooperation, Competition, and Interdependence (continued)

Meg Rithmire

Meg Rithmire is the F. Warren MacFarlan associate professor in Harvard Business School's the business, government, and international economy unit. Her work focuses on China's role in the world, including Chinese outward investment and lending practices and economic relations between China and other countries, especially the United States, and her primary expertise is in the comparative political economy of development with a focus on China and Asia. Her first book, *Land Bargains and Chinese Capitalism*, examines the role of land politics, urban governments, and local property rights regimes in the Chinese economic reforms. Her forthcoming book, *Precarious Ties: Business and the State in Authoritarian Asia*, investigates the relationship between capital and the state and globalization in Asia, comparing China, Indonesia, and Malaysia from the early 1980s to the present and examining how governments attempt to discipline business and how business adapts to different methods of state control. Rithmire holds a PhD in government from Harvard University.

Lingling Wei

Lingling Wei is the chief China correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* and coauthor of *Superpower Showdown*. She covers China's political economy, focusing on the intersection of business and politics. Wei is among a team of reporters and editors whose work was a 2021 Pulitzer Prize finalist. Born and raised in China, she got her start covering U.S. real estate and has won many awards for her China coverage. Wei has an MA in journalism from New York University.

Karen Harris—presiding

Karen Harris is managing director of the macro trends group at Bain & Company. In this role, she is responsible for developing the firm's insights about global macroeconomics, macro social trends, and geopolitics. The group's proprietary research includes work on trends driving global growth in GDP and capital markets, as well as specific geographic analyses (including China, the United States, and the Eurozone). Harris frequently works with institutional investors to embed macro strategy into their investment strategies and due diligence efforts. Harris is regularly featured in major media outlets, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *Harvard Business Review*, *Forbes*, *Economic Times of India*, Caijing China, and *CEO Forum* Australia, Bloomberg, and FOX Television. Harris is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and the Economics Club of New York. She is also a Global Futures council member for the World Economic Forum, as well as a member of the Community of Chief Economists. She is on the external advisory board of Harvard University's master in design engineering program and an international council member for the Belfer School at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. She also serves on the board of Helen Keller International, a global nonprofit focusing on health and nutrition. Harris holds BAs in economics and international relations from Stanford University, an MBA from Harvard Business School, and a JD from Columbia Law School.

U.S.-China Relations: Balancing Cooperation, Competition, and Interdependence (continued)

Michael Froman—welcoming remarks

Ambassador Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations. He previously served as vice chairman and president of strategic growth at Mastercard and chairman of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth. He was also a distinguished fellow at the Council from 2017 to 2023. Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from June 2013 to January 2017. From January 2009 to June 2013, he served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs, where he was responsible for coordinating policy on international trade, finance, energy, climate change, and development issues, and served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits. Prior to joining the Obama administration, Froman held a number of roles at Citigroup. He was also a senior fellow at the Council and a resident fellow at the German Marshall Fund. In the 1990s, Froman spent seven years in the U.S. government. He served as chief of staff and as deputy assistant secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. He also worked at the White House as director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and the National Economic Council. Froman received a bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and a law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*.

Series on Emerging Technology, U.S. Foreign Policy, and World Order: How Artificial Intelligence Is Shaping Our World

Michael Chui

Michael Chui is a partner at the McKinsey Global Institute, McKinsey's business and economics research arm. He leads research on how disruptive technologies and innovation affect business, the economy, and society. He has led McKinsey research in such areas as data and analytics, social and collaboration technologies, the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, robotics and automation, and biological technologies. He is a global cosponsor of the Asians at McKinsey affinity network and serves on the internal advisory council for the McKinsey Institute for Black Economic Mobility. Chui is a frequent speaker at major global conferences, and his research has been cited in leading publications around the world. As a McKinsey consultant, he has served clients in the high-tech, media, and telecom industries on strategy, innovation and product development, information technology, sales and marketing, mergers and acquisitions, and organization. He is also on the boards of the James Irvine Foundation and the Asia Society of Northern California. Prior to joining McKinsey, he served as the first chief information officer of the city of Bloomington, Indiana, where he rebuilt the enterprise architecture using open-source technologies and led a project that resulted in Bloomington becoming the first community in the world to offer both live and archived video streaming of public meetings on the web. Before that, Chui was founder and executive director of HoosierNet, Inc., a nonprofit cooperative internet service provider that offered dial-up and broadband access to the internet to consumers, nonprofits, governments, and businesses.

Jared Dunnmon

Jared Dunnmon is currently vice president of future technologies at Our Next Energy and senior advisor to the director for strategic initiatives at the Defense Innovation Unit (DIU), where he was technical director for artificial intelligence (AI) from 2020 to 2023. During that time, Dunnmon also served as a founding member of the office of the undersecretary of defense for policy's Office of Emerging Capabilities Policy. Prior to DIU, he was an intelligence community postdoctoral fellow in computer science at Stanford University, where he was advised by Chris Ré at the Stanford Artificial Intelligence Laboratory. Dunnmon holds a BS from Duke University; both an MSc and an MBA from the University of Oxford, where he studied as a Rhodes Scholar, and a PhD from Stanford University.

Series on Emerging Technology, U.S. Foreign Policy, and World Order: How Artificial Intelligence Is Shaping Our World (continued)

Camille François

Camille François serves on the faculty of the Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where she teaches trust & safety and oversees a program on artificial intelligence and democracy. She also serves as the senior director for trust and safety at Niantic, a pioneering augmented reality and gaming company. François was previously chief innovation officer at Graphika—a cybersecurity company focused on detecting disinformation networks—where she oversaw the science, investigations, data analysis, product, and consulting teams. Previously, she was a principal researcher at Google, where she led a novel approach to countering violent extremist narratives online. At the Algorithmic Justice League, she co-led the development of bug bounties for algorithmic harms. She is an affiliate of the Harvard Berkman-Klein Center for Internet and Society and of the French Institute of Geopolitics at Paris 8 University, a Fulbright scholar and a young leader of the French-American Foundation. In 2023, French President Emmanuel Macron appointed her to help steer a national consultative assembly, called États Généraux, on information and society. François has been recognized by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology "35 Innovators under 35," and *Time* magazine's "100 Next" Global Leaders. Her work has been featured in media and documentaries around the world, in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, WIRED, Le Monde, GLOBO, among others. She is the author of the *Actors, Behaviors, Content: A Disinformation ABC,* which influenced how major platforms approach online content moderation, and was among the first to document the phenomenon of government-backed networked harassment. She holds a master's degree in human rights from the French Institute of Political Sciences and a master's degree in international security from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

Kat Duffy—presiding

Kat Duffy is a senior fellow for digital and cyberspace policy at CFR. Duffy has more than twenty years' experience operating at the nexus of emerging technology, democratic principles, corporate responsibility, and human rights. Most recently, she directed the task force for a trustworthy future web at the Atlantic Council's Digital Forensic Research Lab, where she served as a resident senior fellow and published the task force's comprehensive report, *Scaling Trust on the Web*. As the founder and CEO of RightsDuff Strategies, she has advised companies, governments, and nongovernmental organizations on building socially responsible business practices within the technology sector. Through her previous work at the U.S. Department of State and in the nonprofit sector, Duffy oversaw the implementation of more than $100 million in foreign assistance and philanthropy to support democracy, rights, and governance initiatives across the globe. Her work included some of the first public-private partnerships between high-risk civil-society actors in emerging markets and private cybersecurity firms. Duffy began her international career in Colombia, where she served as a junior professional officer with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. She served for five years on the board of the Global Network Initiative and the board of directors for Atlas Corps, and was a founding member of Atlas Corps' advisory board. Duffy was named an expert advisor for the World Economic Forum's Partnering with Civil Society in the Fourth Industrial Revolution Initiative and has lectured at Yale, Stanford, and Georgetown Universities on technology policy and innovation. She received her BA from Yale University and her JD from the University of Michigan, where she was a Darrow scholar and Bates fellow. She has lived and worked in Colombia, Cuba, South Africa, and Tunisia.

Series on Emerging Technology, U.S. Foreign Policy, and World Order: How Artificial Intelligence Is Shaping Our World (continued)

Nancy D. Bodurtha—welcoming remarks

Nancy D. Bodurtha is vice president of Meetings and Membership at CFR. She manages the planning and execution of over two hundred events annually in New York and Washington, DC, and oversees CFR's membership application process and member relations. She also directs the Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program. Previously, she held several positions within CFR's Meetings and Studies Programs. Bodurtha received an AB from Hamilton College and an MA from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS).

COP28 and Beyond: Does Multilateral Climate Diplomacy Work?

David Kanter

David Kanter is an associate professor of environmental studies at New York University. His research examines the interconnected challenges of nitrogen pollution, food security, and sustainable development, with a particular focus on the scientific, socioeconomic, and legal dimensions of returning to a safe planetary boundary for nitrogen; and balancing the multiple, often competing objectives of sustainable agriculture, from environmental protection to human well-being. Kanter uses an interdisciplinary set of research methods to investigate those issues, including earth systems and economic time series modeling and expert elicitation and legal analysis. Prior to NYU, he was a postdoctoral research fellow at Columbia University's Earth Institute. Kanter received his BSc. in chemistry and law from the University of Bristol in the United Kingdom and his MA and PhD in science, technology, and environmental policy from Princeton University.

Jay L. Koh

Jay L. Koh is cofounder and managing director of the Lightsmith Group. Previously, he was a managing director and partner of Siguler Guff, a global alternative investment firm with over $10 billion under management. Before that, he was the head of investment funds and chief investment strategist at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, where he led the agency's $2.6 billion active emerging markets private equity program. From 2007 to 2009, Koh led private equity and illiquid investing for Africa, Europe, and the Middle East at R3 Capital. From 2000 to 2007 and from 1993 to 1995, he focused on direct growth equity investing as a principal at the Carlyle Group. From 1998 to 2000, he served as a law clerk to Justice David H. Souter of the U.S. Supreme Court and to Judge Michael Boudin of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. He is also founder and chair of the Global Adaptation and Resilience Investment Working Group, a private investor-led initiative launched in Paris at the twenty-first Conference of the Parties, and is an official partner of the UN Secretary General's A2R Climate Resilience Initiative. Koh serves as an adjunct professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. Koh serves on the board of the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority and the advisory committee to NY Green Bank. He holds a bachelor's degree in economics from Harvard College, a master's degree in management from the University of Oxford, and a law degree from Yale Law School.

COP28 and Beyond: Does Multilateral Climate Diplomacy Work? (continued)

Jennifer Schuch-Page

Jennifer Schuch-Page is a senior advisor to Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry at the U.S. Department of State. In that capacity, she leads strategic initiatives and engagement in the Indo-Pacific to accelerate action on climate and clean energy. Specializing in energy/climate, technology, trade, and economic policy, Schuch-Page draws on nearly fifteen years of experience working on U.S. strategic and economic engagement in the Indo-Pacific region from Australia to India to Japan. Previously, she worked in the private sector for a decade, where she served as a principal at the Asia Group and advised U.S. corporate executives in the energy, tech, and manufacturing sectors on Asia's political economy, trade, and investment policy regimes. Schuch-Page was previously a nonresident fellow with the National Bureau of Asian Research, an inaugural participant in Aspen Strategy Group's Rising Leaders program, and a participant in the Pacific Forum's U.S.-Australia Next-Generation Leaders program. She has lived and worked in Indonesia and Japan. Schuch-Page holds a BA in international affairs from George Washington University and an MA in international economics and Southeast Asia and China studies from Johns Hopkins University.

Chloe Demrovsky—presiding

Chloe Demrovsky is the president and CEO of Disaster Recovery Institute (DRI) International, the oldest and largest nonprofit helping organizations worldwide prepare for and recover from disasters by providing education, accreditation, and thought leadership in business continuity, disaster recovery, cyber resilience, and related fields. Previously, she served for three years as the organization's executive director. She was an editor for the 2017 and 2023 versions of The Professional Practices for Business Continuity Management, the coordinator for the first International Glossary for Resilience, and the international editor for *Thrive International* blog and *Thrive! Iberoamérica*, DRI's Spanish-language publication. Demrovsky is a senior *Forbes* contributor; has appeared on CBS News, MSNBC, CNBC, Fox, Bloomberg, Sky News and Cheddar; and has served as a source for the Associated Press, the BBC, *USA Today*, the *Financial Times*, ABC News, and many other outlets. She is a global advisory board member for Plastic Omnium, a board and executive committee member of the French-American Foundation, vice-chair of board of advisors for Bard College at Simon's Rock, board director for the DRI Foundation, an advisory board member for *Crisis Response Journal*, and a member of the International Standards Organization's technical committee for societal security and resilience. Demrovsky is an adjunct professor and the first executive in residence in the global affairs master's program's global economy concentration at the NYU School of Professional Studies. She was recognized as a Crain's New York 2023 Notable Leader in Sustainability, a U.S.-Japan Foundation Scott M. Johnson fellow, a French-American Foundation 2019–20 Young Leader, and a British-American Project fellow. Demrovsky holds a BA from Bard College at Simon's Rock and an MS from New York University.

The EU, War Against Ukraine, and Geopolitics of Europe

Emma Ashford

Emma Ashford is a senior fellow with the Stimson Center's Reimagining U.S. Grand Strategy program. Ashford works on various issues related to the future of U.S foreign policy, international security, and the politics of global energy markets. She has expertise in the politics of Russia, Europe, and the Middle East. Ashford is also a nonresident fellow at the Modern War Institute at West Point and an adjunct assistant professor in Georgetown University's security studies program. Prior to joining the Stimson Center, Ashford was a senior fellow with the Atlantic Council's New American Engagement Initiative, which focused on challenging the prevailing assumptions governing U.S. foreign policy. She was also a research fellow in defense and foreign policy at the Cato Institute, where she worked on the U.S.-Saudi relationship, sanctions policy, and U.S. policy towards Russia, as well as U.S. foreign policy and grand strategy more broadly. She is the author of *Oil, the State, and War: The Foreign Policies of Petrostates*, which explored the international security ramifications of oil production and export in states such as Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. Ashford writes a biweekly column, It's Debatable, for *Foreign Policy*, and her long-form writing has been featured in publications such as *Foreign Affairs*, the *Texas National Security Review*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *National Interest*, and *War on the Rocks*, among others. Ashford holds a PhD in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia.

Miriam Elder

Miriam Elder is the Edward R. Murrow press fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. She is a reporter and editor with particular expertise in Russia, U.S. foreign policy, and gender issues. Her work at CFR focuses on the role of historical memory in the building of sustainable democracies, specifically as it relates to Ukraine. She also edits nonfiction books on a range of topics, including tech, U.S. politics, and art. In 2020, she served as an executive editor at *Vanity Fair*, leading the *Hive*, the magazine's hub for politics, tech, and business coverage. In 2019, she covered the reelection campaign of Donald Trump as a senior reporter for BuzzFeed News and became part of a newsroom-wide effort to report on the coronavirus pandemic. Elder became the founding world editor at BuzzFeed News in 2013, creating and leading a team of correspondents around the world with focuses on gender, LGBTQ+ issues, tech policy, culture, and more. Previously, she worked as a foreign correspondent in Russia from 2002 to 2003 and again from 2006 to 2013, charting the rise of Vladimir Putin first by covering his consolidation of control over Russia's energy industry for the *Moscow Times*, and then for the *Guardian,* where she was Moscow bureau chief. She was the first journalist at an English-language outlet to profile opposition leader Alexei Navalny and the punk-protest group Pussy Riot, and followed the trials against both closely. Elder has been published in *New York Magazine*, the *Atlantic, Foreign Policy,* the *Financial Times*, and other outlets. She graduated from Barnard College with a BA in women's studies and from Johns Hopkins University with an MA in international relations.

The EU, War Against Ukraine, and Geopolitics of Europe (continued)

Matthias Matthijs

Matthias Matthijs is senior fellow for Europe at the Council on Foreign Relations and associate professor of international political economy at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). He is an award-winning author and teacher and an expert on European political economy, the politics of economic ideas, and regional integration. At SAIS, Matthijs teaches graduate courses in international relations, comparative politics, and international economics. He served as the chair of the European Union Studies Association's executive committee from 2019 to 2021. He was a visiting assistant professor at SAIS Europe in Bologna, Italy, in spring 2010 and from 2016 to 2017. From 2008 to 2010, Matthijs taught at American University's School of International Service. Additionally, he previously served as a consultant for the Economist Intelligence Unit from 2009 to 2011 and for the World Bank's Foreign Investment Advisory Service from 2005 to 2007. Matthijs is editor, with Mark Blyth, of *The Future of the Euro* and author of *Ideas and Economic Crises in Britain From Attlee to Blair (1945–2005)*. The latter is based on his doctoral dissertation, which received the Samuel H. Beer Prize for best dissertation in British politics by a North American scholar, awarded by the American Political Science Association's British Politics Group. Matthijs is currently working on a book-length manuscript that examines the collapse of national elite consensus around European integration. He is also the author of peer-reviewed articles published or forthcoming in journals such as *Comparative European Politics*, *Governance,* and *Government and Opposition*. He has written articles and essays *for Current History, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy,* the *Journal of Democracy,* and *Survival,* and is a frequent contributor to English- and Dutch-language news media. He was an inaugural recipient of the Johns Hopkins Catalyst Award for his work as a promising early-career investigator. Matthijs received his BA in applied economics from the University of Antwerp, Belgium, and his MA and PhD in international relations from Johns Hopkins University.

Mark Hannah—presiding

Mark Hannah is a senior fellow at the Eurasia Group Foundation, where he explores the possibilities and benefits of a U.S. foreign policy less dependent on military might. Hannah is a political partner at the Truman National Security Project. He is creator and host of the foreign policy podcast *None of the Above.* Hannah recently led a research initiative focused on media freedom at New York University's Institute for Public Knowledge. He is an affiliate of Columbia University's Global Freedom of Expression initiative, a former board member of the National Association for Media Literacy Education, and a member of PEN America. He teaches at New York University and previously taught graduate courses at The New School and Queens College. A former public affairs strategist at Edelman Public Relations, Hannah has advised well-known corporate and nonprofit clients, and continues to do so on an ad hoc basis as principal of Gristmill Public Affairs, LLC. A veteran of the Kerry and Obama presidential campaigns, he was a regular commentator on MSNBC, FOX News, and CNBC during the Obama administration. His writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Guardian*, *Politico* magazine, *Time* magazine, *USA Today*, *Foreign Policy*, PBS.com, NBCNews.com, and elsewhere. His research has been cited widely, including by the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Economist*, and *Foreign Affairs*. He is the author of *The Best "Worst President": What the Right Gets Wrong About Barack Obama.* Hannah received a BA from the University of Pennsylvania, an MS from Columbia University, and a PhD from the University of Southern California.

A Conversation With Rajiv Shah

Rajiv Shah

Rajiv Shah serves as president of the Rockefeller Foundation. In 2009, he was appointed as administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) by President Obama and unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Shah reshaped the $20 billion agency's operations in more than seventy countries by elevating the role of innovation, creating high-impact public-private partnerships, and focusing U.S. investments to deliver stronger results. He secured bipartisan support that included the passage of two significant laws—the Global Food Security Act and the Electrify Africa Act. He led the U.S. response to the Haiti earthquake and the West African Ebola pandemic and served on the National Security Council. Prior to his USAID appointment, Shah served as chief scientist and undersecretary for research, education, and economics at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, where he created the National Institute for Food and Agriculture. He founded Latitude Capital, a private equity firm focused on power and infrastructure projects in Africa and Asia, and served as a distinguished fellow in residence at Georgetown University. Previously, he served at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, where he created the International Financing Facility for Immunization, which helped reshape the global vaccine industry and save millions of lives. In October 2023, Shah published *Big Bets: How Large-Scale Change Really Happens*, where he shares a dynamic new model for realizing transformative change, inspired by his own work and that of the Rockefeller Foundation on some of the biggest humanitarian efforts of the twenty-first century. He has received several honorary degrees, the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award, and the U.S. Global Leadership Award. Shah is a graduate of the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania's Perelman School of Medicine, and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

Michael Froman—presiding

Ambassador Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations. He previously served as vice chairman and president of strategic growth at Mastercard and chairman of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth. He was also a distinguished fellow at the Council from 2017 to 2023. Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from June 2013 to January 2017. From January 2009 to June 2013, he served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs, where he was responsible for coordinating policy on international trade, finance, energy, climate change, and development issues, and served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits. Prior to joining the Obama administration, Froman held a number of roles at Citigroup. He was also a senior fellow at the Council and a resident fellow at the German Marshall Fund. In the 1990s, Froman spent seven years in the U.S. government. He served as chief of staff and as deputy assistant secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. He also worked at the White House as director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and the National Economic Council. Froman received a bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and a law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*.

Discussant and Facilitator Biographies

Morning Breakout Session Discussants

Max Boot

Max Boot is a historian, best-selling author, and foreign policy analyst. He is the Jeane J. Kirkpatrick senior fellow in national security studies at CFR and a columnist for the *Washington Post*. Before joining the Council on Foreign Relations in 2002, Boot was the op-ed editor at the *Wall Street Journal* and, before that, an editor and writer at the *Christian Science Monitor*. He has been a CNN analyst and a regular guest on MSNBC, NPR, the BBC, and many other radio and television programs. He received a 2018 Great Immigrant Award from the Carnegie Corporation, and the *Forward* named him one of the fifty most influential Jewish Americans. Boot is now writing a biography of Ronald Reagan. His previous biography, *The Road Not Taken: Edward Lansdale and the American Tragedy in Vietnam*, was a *New York Times* bestseller and a finalist for the 2019 Pulitzer Prize in biography. Boot has authored several books, including the *New York Times* bestseller *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present* and *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, which won the 2003 General Wallace M. Greene Jr. Award from the Marine Corps Heritage Foundation as the best nonfiction book pertaining to Marine Corps history and appears on military professional reading lists. He has also been a regular contributor to the *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, the *New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, *Commentary*, and many other publications. Boot holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of California, Berkeley and a master's degree in history from Yale University.

Steven A. Cook

Steven A. Cook is Eni Enrico Mattei senior fellow for Middle East and Africa studies and director of the International Affairs Fellowship for tenured international relations scholars at CFR. He is an expert on Arab and Turkish politics as well as U.S.-Middle East policy. Prior to joining CFR, Cook was a 2001–02 research fellow at the Brookings Institution and a 1995–96 Soref research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is the author of *False Dawn: Protest, Democracy, and Violence in the New Middle East*; *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*, which won the 2012 gold medal from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy; and *Ruling but Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. His next book is *The End of Ambition: America's Past, Present, and Future in the Middle East*. Cook is a columnist at *Foreign Policy* magazine. He has also published widely in international affairs journals, opinion magazines, and newspapers and is a frequent commentator on radio and television. His work can also be found on CFR.org. Cook holds a BA in international studies from Vassar College, an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and an MA and a PhD in political science from the University of Pennsylvania.

Morning Breakout Session Discussants

Michelle D. Gavin

Michelle D. Gavin is the Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies at CFR. She has over twenty years of experience in international affairs in government and nonprofit roles. She was formerly the managing director of the Africa Center. From 2011 to 2014, she was the U.S. ambassador to Botswana and served concurrently as the U.S. representative to the Southern African Development Community (SADC). During Gavin's tenure, the U.S and Botswana launched the most ambitious HIV prevention study in the world; Botswana hosted Southern Accord, the 1,400-strong joint SADC-U.S. military exercise; and the U.S. embassy helped to found Botswana's first American Chamber of Commerce. Prior to that, she was a special assistant to President Obama and the senior director for Africa at the National Security Council, where she helped originate the Young African Leaders Initiative and led major policy reviews of Sudan and Somalia. Before joining the Obama administration, Gavin was an international affairs fellow and adjunct fellow for Africa at CFR. Earlier in her career, she worked in the U.S. Senate, where she was the staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on African Affairs, director of international policy issues for Senator Russ Feingold, and legislative director for Senator Ken Salazar. She serves on the board of directors of Points of Light and the Africa-America Institute. Gavin earned her BA from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and received an MPhil from the University of Oxford.

Carole House

Carole House is a nonresident senior fellow at the Atlantic Council GeoEconomics Center. She recently served as the director for cybersecurity and secure digital innovation for the White House National Security Council (NSC). House joined the NSC from the U.S. Treasury's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network (FinCEN), where she led cybersecurity, virtual currency, and emerging technology policy efforts as a senior cyber and emerging technology policy officer. Prior to FinCEN, she worked as a presidential management fellow supporting the White House Office of Management and Budget's Cyber and National Security Unit and the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs on cybersecurity, supply-chain risk management, and critical infrastructure protection policy issues. House is a former U.S. Army captain who served in chemical defense and military intelligence until 2014, including a deployment to Kandahar Province, Afghanistan, from 2012 to 2013 in support of Operation Enduring Freedom. She holds a BA in international affairs from the University of Georgia and an MA in security studies from Georgetown University.

Morning Breakout Session Discussants

Yanzhong Huang

Yanzhong Huang is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he directs the Global Health Governance roundtable series. He is also a professor and director of global health studies at Seton Hall University's School of Diplomacy and International Relations, where he developed the first academic concentration among U.S. professional international affairs schools that explicitly addresses the security and foreign policy aspects of health issues. He is the founding editor of *Global Health Governance*: *The Scholarly Journal for the New Health Security Paradigm*. Huang has testified before U.S. congressional committees multiple times and is regularly consulted on global health issues and China by major media outlets, the private sector, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations. He is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and a board member of the Institute of Global Health (Georgia), as well as co-chair of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Working Group on U.S.-China Cooperation on Health Security. He previously was a research associate at the National Asia Research program, a public intellectuals fellow at the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, an associate fellow at the Asia Society, a visiting senior research fellow at the National University of Singapore, and a visiting fellow at CSIS. He has also taught at Barnard College and Columbia University. Huang has written extensively on China and global health. He is the author of *Governing Health in Contemporary China*, *Toxic Politics: China's Environmental Health Crisis and Its Challenge to the Chinese State*, and *The COVID-19 Pandemic and China's Global Health Leadership*. His scholarly work and opinion pieces have appeared in many publications, including *Foreign Affairs*, the *China Leadership Monitor,* the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *American Journal of Public Health*. In 2006, he coauthored the first scholarly article that systematically examined China's soft power. Huang obtained his BA and MA from Fudan University and his PhD from the University of Chicago.

Ian Johnson

Ian Johnson is Stephen A. Schwarzman senior fellow for China studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. He joined CFR in 2021 after a long career in journalism, during which he won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of China. He taught at the Beijing Center for Chinese Studies and has served as an advisor to academic journals, such as the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Between 2009 and 2020, Johnson lived in China, working there until 2020 as a writer for the *New York Times*, and the *New York Review of Books*, among other publications. From 2001 to 2009, he lived in Germany as the *Wall Street Journal*'s Germany bureau chief and senior writer. From 1997 to 2001, he covered macroeconomics, China's World Trade Organization accession, and social issues for the *Wall Street Journal*, and between 1994 and 1996, he worked as a newspaper correspondent in China with the Baltimore *Sun*. Johnson has won two awards from the Overseas Press Club, an award from the Society of Professional Journalists, Stanford University's Shorenstein Journalism Award, and the American Academy of Religion's Best In-Depth Newswriting Award. Johnson was a 2006–07 Nieman fellow at Harvard University and later received research and writing grants from the Open Society Foundation, the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, and the Alicia Patterson Foundation. In 2020, he received an inaugural Robert B. Silvers Foundation Grant for Works in Progress. He was also awarded a 2020-2021 National Endowment for the Humanities Public Scholars fellowship. Johnson has published four books and contributed chapters to four others. He is author of *Sparks: China's Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future*, as well as *The Souls of China: The Return of Religion After Mao*, *Wild Grass: Three Stories of Change in Modern China*, and *A Mosque in Munich: Nazis, the CIA, and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in the West*. He contributes to the CFR blog *Asia Unbound* and frequently to other media outlets in the United States. He studied in Beijing from 1984 to 1985 and then in Taipei from 1986 to 1988. From 1988 to 1992, he attended graduate school in West Berlin and covered the fall of the Berlin Wall and German unification.

Morning Breakout Session Discussants

Sina Kian

Sina Kian is chief operating officer and general counsel at Aleo, a start-up building a decentralized blockchain that uses cryptography to provide significantly enhanced data security and privacy capabilities. He has also served as an advisor at the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board, and currently serves as an advisor to SentiLink, a company that provides identity verification and fraud prevention services. Kian's background is in law, policy, and finance. He served as a vice president at Blackstone and then as a director at Kennedy Lewis, where he led investments in technology across sectors. Previously, Kian practiced law at WilmerHale, where he worked on appellate litigation in federal courts around the country, including the Supreme Court, and with the Strategic Response Group, a bipartisan group that assists clients in navigating multifaceted challenges with legal, public policy, and media dimensions. He clerked on the Washington circuit for Judge Thomas B. Griffith and Judge David S. Tatel, and on the Supreme Court for Chief Justice John G. Roberts, Jr. Kian is a graduate of Stanford Law School.

Leland Lazarus

Leland Lazarus serves as associate director of national security at Florida International University's Gordon Institute for Public Policy. He is an expert on China-Latin America relations and manages a team of researchers and interns that collect data on U.S. national security issues. From 2021-2022, Lazarus served as the special assistant and speechwriter to the commander of U.S. Southern Command, and was a State Department diplomat in China and the Caribbean. Fluent in both Mandarin and Spanish, he holds an MA at the Tufts Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and a BA from Brown University.

Manjari Chatterjee Miller

Manjari Chatterjee Miller is senior fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at CFR. She is also a research associate in the Contemporary South Asian Studies program at the University of Oxford's School of Global and Area Studies. An expert on India, China, South Asia, and rising powers, Miller is currently on leave from Boston University's Frederick S. Pardee School of Global Studies, where she is a tenured associate professor of international relations and the director of the Pardee Center's Rising Powers Initiative. She has been a nonresident fellow at the Atlantic Council, a fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center of Science and International Affairs, a visiting associate professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, and a visiting scholar at Australian National University's Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Crawford School of Public Policy. She is the author of *Why Nations Rise: Narratives and the Path to Great Power* and *Wronged by Empire: Post-Imperial Ideology and Foreign Policy in India and China*. Miller is also the coeditor of the *Routledge Handbook of China-India Relations*, a monthly columnist for the *Hindustan Times*, and a frequent contributor to policy and media outlets in the United States and Asia. She has published numerous articles in peer-reviewed and policy journals, and chapters in edited books. She serves on the international advisory board of Chatham House's *International Affairs* journal and the editorial board of the National Bureau of Asian Research's *Asia Policy* journal, and her research has been supported by grants and fellowships from multiple institutions. Miller received a BA from the University of Delhi, an MSc from the University of London, and a PhD from Harvard University. She was a postdoctoral fellow in Princeton University's China and the World program.

Morning Breakout Session Discussants

Linda Robinson

Linda Robinson is a senior fellow for women and foreign policy at CFR. She is a distinguished author, analyst, and prize-winning former foreign correspondent with forty years of experience in international affairs and national security. Her research and journalism have taken her around the world, and she frequently lectures at international conferences. She has testified before Congress multiple times. At CFR, Robinson is writing a book on global women's leadership. Her areas of research and writing also include women's political participation and economic empowerment. Robinson was a senior policy researcher at the RAND Corporation from 2013 to 2022, where she also directed the Center for Middle East Public Policy from 2020 to 2022. Her wide-ranging research at RAND received five awards. She coauthored over twenty RAND publications including *Rethinking U.S. Strategy in the Middle East: Sustainable Partnerships, Strategic Investments*; *Making Victory Count After Defeating ISIS*; and *Improving Strategic Competence: Lessons From 13 Years of War*. Robinson has also authored books such as *One Hundred Victories*, *Tell Me How This Ends*, *Masters of Chaos*, and *Intervention or Neglect*. She has published widely in major newspapers and foreign affairs journals and provided commentary on PBS's *Washington Week in Review* and other programs. Robinson was previously a fellow at CFR, the Wilson Center, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, and Harvard University's Nieman Foundation for Journalism. She was a foreign correspondent and senior writer for *U.S. News and World Report* and senior editor of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. In government service, Robinson served as chair of the Army War College Board of Visitors, for which she received the Outstanding Civilian Service Award. She has also served in other advisory capacities, most recently as senior advisor at the U.S. State Department for the U.S. Strategy to Prevent Conflict and Promote Stability.

Benn Steil

Benn Steil is senior fellow and director of international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. He is the lead writer of the Council's *Geo-Graphics* economics blog and the creator of eight web-based interactives: "Global Monetary Policy," "Global Imbalances," "Global Trade," "Global Growth," "Global Energy," "Sovereign Risk," "China's Belt and Road," and "Central Bank Currency Swaps." Prior to joining the Council in 1999, he was director of the International Economics program at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Steil has written and spoken widely on international finance, monetary policy, financial markets, and economic and diplomatic history. He has testified before the U.S. House, Senate, and Commodity Futures Trading Commission, and is a regular op-ed writer and commentator on CNBC. Steil is the author of *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*, *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order*, and *Money, Markets, and Sovereignty*. He holds a BSc in economics from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School. He received his mPhil and DPhil (PhD) in economics from Nuffield College, Oxford, where he was also a Lloyd's of London Tercentenary Foundation research fellow.

Morning Breakout Session Facilitators

Jason B. Baker

Jason B. Baker is an air force lieutenant colonel currently serving as a policy analyst at the Defense Threat Reduction Agency, focusing on the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe treaty and the Vienna Declaration. Previously, he led a team of advisors performing security cooperation with the U.S. Military Training Mission to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Baker has numerous deployments in the Middle East and North Africa region, which have included over six hundred combat flying hours, and also joint and coalition operational planning experience in the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) operations center. He earned a master's in international service from American University, focusing on national security and foreign policy. He is a former national security fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and a Middle East Policy Council 40 Under 40 awardee.

Nicholas B. Frisch

Nicholas B. Frisch is a resident fellow at Yale Law School's Information Society Project, researching media, technology, and culture in the Chinese-speaking world. He holds a PhD from Yale University's East Asian studies department and has reported from Asia for the *New Yorker*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *Foreign Affairs*.

Raechel Haecker

Raechel Haecker is the chief of staff to the CFO at HubSpot. Prior to HubSpot, she was a senior manager for global strategic initiatives at Meta, where she led case operations in support of the Oversight Board. Before Meta, she spent two years as the global sector manager for defense and security at BCG, where she led the development of strategic initiatives to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of U.S./U.S.-allied defense and security agencies. Haecker also spent over two years at Deloitte, and nine years in the U.S. Intelligence Community, including three years as the NIC's principal deputy national intelligence officer for Africa.

Heather Y. Hwalek

Heather Yang Hwalek is a senior program officer for global policy and advocacy at the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. She previously held roles in the foundation's communications division and the office of the chief executive officer. Before joining the Gates Foundation, Hwalek was a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Department of State, where she served in U.S. Embassies in Tokyo and Pretoria and the U.S. Consulate in Guangzhou, in addition to the office of the secretary and additional roles in Washington. She is an alumna of the Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellowship. Hwalek holds a BA in anthropology from Columbia University and an MA in international relations from Yale University.

Claire Kaiser

Claire Kaiser is head of strategy and senior managing director, Eurasia at McLarty Associates, where she helps clients navigate policy and regulatory issues in Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. She also leads the firm's geopolitical risk analysis for clients. A historian of Russia and Eurasia, Kaiser is also an adjunct professor at Georgetown University. She is the author of *Georgian and Soviet: Entitled Nationhood and the Specter of Stalin in the Caucasus*, a book on the politics of nationality in Georgia, and she is now working on a biography of Georgia's former President Eduard Shevardnadze.

Morning Breakout Session Facilitators

Stephen J. Kurz

Stephen J. Kurz is the global head of asset management at Galaxy and a member of Galaxy's founding team. In addition, Kurz is a member of the firm's management committee and serves as chair of the ESG steering committee. Before joining Galaxy, he cofounded Outer Realm, an enterprise-focused immersive software company (sold in 2022). Previously, he was a principal and head of business development at River Birch Capital, where he led global capital formation efforts. Prior to that, he was a vice president at Fortress Investment Group, where he held strategy, product specialist, and capital formation roles in New York and Singapore. Kurz started his career as a capital markets analyst in the fixed income division of Lehman Brothers. He holds a BA in economics from Cornell University.

Ryan Pettit

Ryan Pettit serves as professional staff member on the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. A Senate staffer since 2008, he previously served on the Budget Committee, Veterans' Affairs Committee, and as Senator Patty Murray's national security advisor. As a civil affairs specialist in the Marines, he deployed to Ramadi and Habbaniyah, Iraq, and Helmand, Afghanistan. Pettit has three times been awarded the Combat Action Ribbon, as well as the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal—three awards with combat "V ." He received a bachelor's degree from George Mason University and a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Prashanth Rajan

Prashanth Rajan is a vice president of global public policy at Mastercard. Prior to joining Mastercard, he worked as a consultant at APCO Worldwide and KPMG. Rajan previously served as a Foreign Service officer in the U.S. Department of State, with nearly a decade of experience working overseas and in Washington. His diplomatic service covered China, India, and Pakistan. He also staffed Secretaries of State Hillary Clinton and John Kerry in the executive secretariat. Rajan holds a BA from New York University and an MBA from George Washington University.

Isaac Stone Fish

Isaac Stone Fish is the founder and CEO of Strategy Risks, which enables clients to mitigate regulatory, political, compliance, and environmental, social, and governance (ESG) risks in both the United States and China. He also serves as a *Washington Post* global opinions contributing columnist, a contributor to CBSN, an adjunct at the Center for Global Affairs at New York University (NYU), a visiting fellow at the Atlantic Council, and a columnist on China risk at *Barron*'s. He is a Truman National Security Project fellow, and a senior advisor to the Korea Society. Stone Fish served as a senior fellow at the Asia Society's Center on U.S.-China Relations and the German Marshall Fund, and as the Asia editor at *Foreign Policy* magazine. Formerly a Beijing correspondent for *Newsweek*, he spent seven years living in China and has visited every province, municipality, and special administrative region. He is an experienced speaker on U.S.-China relations, and his views on international affairs are widely quoted on major news media such as CBS, CNN, and NPR, as well as in Bloomberg, the *Guardian*, and the *New York Times*. Stone Fish is the author of *America Second: How America's Elites are Making China Stronger*, which discusses how American political and business leadership's deep ties to China and affect the United States.

Afternoon Breakout Session Discussants

Charlotte Clymer

Charlotte Clymer is a writer, communications consultant, transgender activist, and military veteran. She writes *Charlotte's Web Thoughts*, a popular Substack newsletter about politics, religion, and culture. It was named a finalist for the Outstanding Blog Award at the 2023 GLAAD Media Awards, featured at the 2022 SXSW Conference and Festival, and will be anthologized in a forthcoming textbook for young writers by W. W. Norton and Company. Clymer was most recently named to the thirteenth class of political fellows at the Georgetown Institute of Politics and Public Service in the fall of 2021 and previously served as the director of communications and strategy at Catholics for Choice, a reproductive rights advocacy organization. Prior to that, she was the press secretary for Rapid Response at the Human Rights Campaign, the nation's largest civil rights organization dedicated to advancing LGBTQ equality. Her political and social commentary has been quoted by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and numerous other outlets. Her writing has been published in *USA Today*, *Cosmopolitan, Glamour, GQ,* the *Independent*, and other publications. She has also been a guest commentator on MSNBC, CNN, BBC, *CBS Sunday Morning*, and various public radio programs. In 2022, she was nominated by Washington, DC, Mayor Muriel Bowser to serve on the DC Human Rights Commission, the first openly transgender person to do so. Additionally, she volunteers on the advisory councils for Modern Military Families of America, an advocacy organization for LGBTQ+ service members and their families, and the Lone Star Parity Project, which works to increase the representation of women elected officials in Texas. Readers of the *Washington Blade* honored her as Best Transgender Advocate in 2018 and Most Committed Activist in 2019 in the Best of Gay DC Awards. She was named to *Fortune*'s 2020 40 Under 40 list in the Politics and Government category and the 2019 40 Under 40 Queer Women of DC by the mayor's office and the *Washington Blade*. In 2022, she received Equality North Carolina's Visibility Award. In her free time, Clymer works as a film and television critic for *Metro Weekly*, one of the nation's largest LGBTQ+ print magazines. She is a graduate of Georgetown University.

Veronica Glick

Veronica Glick is a 2023-2024 CFR International Affairs Fellow in National Security. She is currently a partner at Mayer Brown LLP in the firm's National Security and Cybersecurity practices. Glick focuses her practice on national security, cybersecurity, and international law, with experience responding to multijurisdictional cyber incidents. Glick served as Deputy Chief Counsel to the US Cyberspace Solarium. She also served as an Expert Committee member for a United Nations Security Council directorate focused on countering terrorism through information and communications technologies.

Lyndsey Gray

Lyndsey Gray is currently the the American Association for the Advancement of Science's science and technology policy fellow at the U.S. Department of State's International Security and Nonproliferation Bureau. Her diverse work portfolio addresses the intersection of science diplomacy and international security, focusing on matters pertaining to emerging technology, dual-use research, and research security. Regionally, Gray's career has spanned across various countries in Latin America and also includes Bangladesh, China, and India. Additionally, Gray is an inaugural affiliate fellow at Duke University's Space Diplomacy Lab, where she explores solutions that promote peaceful innovation and sustainable futures beyond Earth's orbit.

Afternoon Breakout Session Discussants

Ben Harburg

Ben Harburg is a managing partner at MSA Capital, a global investment firm with over $2 billion in assets under management. Harburg also leads MSA Novo, MSA's emerging markets–focused franchise. Harburg has significant investment and operations experience in the greater China and other emerging markets. He sits on boards of directors of various private companies , as well as those of foundations such as the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, the Asian Cultural Council, and the Carnegie Endowment's China Center. He is a co-owner of Cádiz Club de Fútbol, a team playing in Spain's First Division (LaLiga). Harburg was a Neubauer Scholar at Tufts University, a Fulbright Scholar at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, and the first native-born American admitted to Tsinghua University People's Bank of China School of Finance's elite EMBA program.

Jennifer Hillman

Jennifer A. Hillman is a senior fellow for trade and international political economy at CFR, specializing in U.S. trade policy, the law and politics of the World Trade Organization (WTO), international organizations, and Brexit. Hillman is a professor of practice at the Georgetown University Law Center, teaching the lead courses in international business and international trade, along with a practicum on international trade and investment law that gave students the opportunity to resolve real-world problems for developing-country governments and various nongovernmental organizations. In 2012, she completed her term as one of seven members serving on the WTO's highest court, its Appellate Body. Due to her service as a commissioner at the U.S. International Trade Commission, Hillman also has in-depth experience adjudicating antidumping, countervailing duty, patent, and safeguards cases, along with conducting numerous studies of the economics of trade policy and trade agreements. Through her work as the general counsel at the office of the U.S. trade representative (USTR), Hillman was involved in all litigation matters in which the United States was a party or third party in disputes before panels of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or the WTO and in addressing the intersection between trade policy, trade law, and foreign policy. She negotiated bilateral agreements with forty-five countries while serving as USTR's ambassador and chief textiles negotiator and was the legislative director and counsel to U.S. Senator Terry Sanford of North Carolina before joining the office. 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, president of the Trade Policy Forum, and a member of the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation's selection panel. In 2021, she received the Association of Women in International Trade's Lifetime Achievement Award. She recently published *Getting to Brexit: Legal Aspects of the Process of the UK's Withdrawal from the EU* and *Legal Aspects of Brexit: Implications of the United Kingdom's Decision to Withdraw From the European Union*. She also coauthored the leading casebook on trade, *International Trade Law, 3rd ed.* Additional writings have covered climate change, carbon taxes, the trade war with China, and reforms to the WTO. Hillman serves on the board of visitors at the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. She is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and Duke University.

Afternoon Breakout Session Discussants

Kevin Rachlin

Kevin Rachlin is the vice president of public affairs at J Street, a nonprofit advocacy group to promote diplomacy-centric American leadership and policies that advance peace in Israel and the wider region. Rachlin served at J Street from 2010 to 2016 in multiple roles, including deputy director of government affairs and deputy chief of staff. Before that he served as the U.S. director for the Alliance for Middle East Peace, a coalition of 150-plus Israeli and Palestinian peace-building organizations. In that role, Rachlin led U.S. operations and advocacy efforts for the organization, spearheading the passage of the Nita M. Lowey Middle East Partnership for Peace Act, the single largest investment in peace-building in Israel and the Palestinian territories. He also served as the director of public policy and government affairs at InterAction, the largest alliance of nongovernmental international organizations in the United States. He has served as the director of government affairs for the Basic Education Coalition, working with leading nongovernmental organizations to enact legislation to revolutionize the United States' approach to global education. In his personal time, he serves as a senior fellow for Israel and Palestine policy at the Alliance for Peacebuilding. He has served on the board of directors for Kids4Peace and was an Arlington County government commissioner. Rachlin received a dual bachelor's degree from the Ohio State University in political science and international studies, with a focus in security and intelligence, and an MS in global medical policy from George Mason University.

Abbas Ravjani

Abbas Ravjani serves as senior privacy and public policy manager at Meta in DC, where he advises the company on global privacy and data strategy with a specific focus on advertising products. He previously spent ten years in the national security space in the federal government including as an attorney-advisor at the U.S. Department of State, where he managed issues related to consular affairs and counterterrorism, and as deputy chief counsel for the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI). Ravjani has also worked as a law clerk for a federal judge, at Treasury's OFAC, and the Office of Naval Intelligence.

Afternoon Breakout Session Discussants

Benjamin Schmitt

Benjamin L. Schmitt is a senior fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, where he holds a joint academic appointment between the department of physics and astronomy and the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy. He is cofounder of the Duke Space Diplomacy Lab, where he is also a fellow of Duke University's Rethinking Diplomacy program. Schmitt is also a senior fellow for democratic resilience at the Center for European Policy Analysis. Previously, Schmitt served as European energy security advisor at the U.S. Department of State. He was also research associate and project development scientist at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, where he supported the technical design, project management, and deployment of novel instrumentation and infrastructure for next-generation experimental cosmology telescopes at the South Pole, leading him to travel to the Amundsen-Scott South Pole Station in Antarctica in early 2020. Schmitt remains an affiliate of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics and is also an associate of the Harvard-Ukrainian Research Institute. He regularly publishes for the Atlantic Council and in *Foreign Policy*, the *Daily Beast*, *Newsweek*, the *Hill*, and the *Harvard International Review*, as well as provides expert commentary for print, television, and radio, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, NPR's "Marketplace," the BBC World Service, among many others. Schmitt is a past recipient of the Government of Poland's Amicus Poloniae Award, has been honored as Ukraine's Friend of the Week by the *Kyiv Post*, and has received both Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards from the U.S. Department of State. Schmitt has also previously served as a U.S. Fulbright research fellow to the Max Planck Institute for Nuclear Physics in Heidelberg, Germany. He has received the U.S. Antarctica Service Medal. Before entering government, Schmitt served as a NASA Space Technology Research fellow while pursuing doctoral research in experimental cosmology at the University of Pennsylvania. Schmitt received both his MA and PhD in experimental physics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Ari Shaw

Ari Shaw is a senior fellow and the director of international programs at the Williams Institute, specializing in international human rights, LGBTQ+ politics, and U.S. foreign policy. He was previously on the senior staff at Columbia World Projects and has worked on human rights, global governance, and LGBTQ+ issues for the Open Society Foundations, the Gill Foundation, and the UN Association of the USA, among others. Shaw was a visiting researcher at the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice at the University of the Andes in Bogotá, Colombia, where he was a Fulbright Scholar. He was also a MultiRights fellow at the Norwegian Centre on Human Rights in Oslo. Shaw holds a BA in government from Harvard College, an MSc in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a PhD in political science from Northwestern University.

Afternoon Breakout Session Discussants

Ray Takeyh

Ray Takeyh is Hasib J. Sabbagh senior fellow for Middle East studies at CFR. His areas of specialization are Iran, U.S. foreign policy, and the modern Middle East. Prior to joining CFR, he served as a senior advisor on Iran at the State Department and a fellow at the Yale University, the Washington Institute of Near East Policy, and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at University of California, Berkeley. Most recently, Takeyh is the author of *The Last Shah: America, Iran and the Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*. He coauthored *The Pragmatic Superpower: Winning the Cold War in the Middle East* and *Revolution and Aftermath: Forging a New Strategy Toward Iran*. He also authored three previous books, *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs*, *Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic*, and *The Origins of the Eisenhower Doctrine: The U.S., Britain and Nasser's Egypt, 1952–1957*. He has written more than three hundred articles and opinion pieces in many news outlets including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and *Foreign Affairs*. Takeyh has testified more than twenty times in various congressional committees. Takeyh has a doctorate in modern history from the University of Oxford.

Loren M. Voss

Loren M. Voss is an attorney who specializes in the law of war. She recently served as a senior advisor at the U.S. Department of Defense, where she led efforts to integrate civilian harm mitigation, atrocity prevention, and human rights into security cooperation/security assistance with allies and partners. Voss was part of the team that developed the secretary of defense's Civilian Harm Mitigation and Response Action Plan, and she served as part of the U.S. delegation to the political declaration on explosive weapons in populated areas. Voss is an intelligence officer in the Air Force Reserves and is a board member for No One Left Behind, overseeing the nonprofit's efforts to assist and evacuate allies from Afghanistan. She previously served five years on active duty, deploying to the Baltics and Middle East as an intelligence chief for an F-15C fighter squadron. After law school, Voss wrote on national security and immigration as a Harvard Frederick Sheldon Traveling fellow, clerked for the Israeli Supreme Court, and was a management consultant at McKinsey in Washington. She holds a BA from the University of Pennsylvania, an MA in global affairs from Yale University, and a JD from Harvard Law School.

Afternoon Breakout Session Facilitators

Ashwin Kaja

Ashwin Kaja is the general counsel of the American Chamber of Commerce in China and coleads the China trade and public policy practice of Covington & Burling LLP, where he helps governments, multinational companies, and other organizations understand and navigate the country's complex legal and policy landscape. Kaja has an AB from Harvard College and a JD from Harvard Law School. He has spent over a decade living and working in China and is now based between New York and Beijing.

Carrie A. Lee

Carrie A. Lee is an associate professor at the US Army War College, where she serves as the chair of the Department of National Security and Strategy and director of the USAWC Civil-Military Relations Center. Lee studies how democratic political institutions (like elections) affect inter-state conflict, military operations, and foreign policy decision-making, and has also done work on counterinsurgency strategy, public opinion and foreign policy, humanitarian crises and intervention, and nuclear arms control and nonproliferation. In addition to her work at the Army War College, she is a contributing editor for *War on the Rocks*, a fellow with the Truman National Security Project, and a member of Foreign Policy for America's NextGen Initiative. Lee has previously held academic positions at the US Air War College, Notre Dame International Security Center, and the RAND Corporation.

Jamie Mannina

Jamie Mannina is an experienced national security expert who has worked on many of the most challenging national security policy issues facing the U.S, government. Mannina served as a staffer to Hillary Clinton in the U.S. Senate, as a diplomat in the U.S. Department of State, and as a manager in the U.S. intelligence community. Currently, he serves at the Joint Staff at the Department of Defense. Areas of expertise include China and Russia, cybersecurity and counterintelligence, nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation, and the full range of strategic stability issues affecting national security. Most notably, his work directly supported the negotiation, ratification, and implementation of the U.S.-Russia New START Treaty under President Obama. He has studied at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Harvard University, and National Taiwan University. Mannina earned a BA in political science from Le Moyne College and an MA in international relations from George Washington University.

Afternoon Breakout Session Facilitators

Margaret Richardson

Margaret Richardson is the chief of staff at Devex, where she is a senior advisor to the president and editor in chief and directs strategic communications, branding, and media partnerships for the organization. In that role, Richardson has also built and led the people operations team and podcast strategy and lead Devex's impact work. She has previous experience working on congressional campaigns with foundations and nonprofit organizations. She is a board member of Streetchild USA. Richardson holds degrees from Smith College and Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Connor Sanchez

Conor Sanchez is a stakeholder engagement manager for policy development at Meta Platforms, where he works to bring in perspectives and expertise from civil society and academia to shape global product and policy development. Previously, Sanchez worked at the World Economic Forum, building multistakeholder communities to codesign policy around the using AI and machine learning. Prior to that, he worked for the U.S. Peace Corps as special assistant to the director and as a teacher in Nicaragua. Sanchez has a BA in diplomacy and world affairs from Occidental College and an MA in law and diplomacy from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Rennie A. Silva

Rennie A. Silva is a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Department of State. In December, he will begin a three-year tour as political-military affairs officer at the Embassy of the United States in Doha, Qatar. Silva's previous overseas diplomatic assignments include the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, where he covered climate, energy policy, and Iraq-China relations; the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh, where he provided services to American citizens and oversaw crisis management planning; and the U.S. Embassy in Vilnius, where he led the U.S. government's successful effort to ensure the Lithuanian government passed legislation for the restitution of Holocaust victims' property . Silva began his career in the federal government as a presidential management fellow and has served domestically in the Department of State's Bureau of Political-Military Affairs and on the Joint Staff at the Pentagon. He received the Department of State's Superior Honor Award and Meritorious Honor Award and holds degrees from the George Washington University and the University of Maryland, College Park.

Afternoon Breakout Session Facilitators

Kate van Dam

Kate van Dam is the head of strategy at SkyFi, a start-up building the world's most comprehensive commercial geospatial hub. She is also an experienced professional with an extensive background in national security and government policy. Prior to SkyFi, van Dam was a senior director for Mission Partnerships at In-Q-Tel where she managed a portfolio for the intelligence community and federal law enforcement agencies, working with cutting edge start-ups to support national security capabilities. She is a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserves and was an officer at the U.S. Marine Corps Forces Cyberspace Command. She served for ten years active duty as an attack helicopter pilot, conducting combat operations in Helmand Province and counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden. Her final assignment on active duty was teaching new U.S. Marine Corps officers foundational tactics and leadership at the Basic School in Quantico, Virginia. Van Dam cofounded No Exceptions, a nonpartisan initiative that advocated for the military to fully integrate women into all combat arms specialties. The efforts of No Exceptions contributed successfully to the policy change implemented by the U.S. Department of Defense in 2016. Van Dam was recognized as the 2015 American Red Cross "Woman Warrior of the Year." In 2017, van Dam received the White House Fellowship and served as chief of staff to the assistant undersecretary of housing and urban development, working on national policies in response to natural disasters. In 2014, she worked as a Next Gen national security fellow at the Center for a New American Security. Van Dam completed her BS in international relations and affairs from the U.S. Naval Academy, and her MA in international economics and international relations with a strategic studies focus from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Liz Wangu

Liz Wangu is a senior associate attorney at the global law firm Clifford Chance LLP, where she has worked at the firm's Washington, DC and Frankfurt, Germany, offices. Wangu is in the firm's global finance markets group where her practice focuses on project finance, corporate finance, and other cross-border development finance transactions. Her experience is primarily in advising on financings for multilateral agencies, development finance institutions, commercial banks, and export credit agencies. Wangu also maintains an active pro bono practice, providing legal assistance to numerous local nonprofit organizations. She has worked at the International Finance Corporation, the private-sector arm of the World Bank Group. Before becoming an attorney, Wangu worked at a social change consulting firm, and prior to that, she lived and worked in Johannesburg, South Africa, through the Princeton in Africa fellowship program, which she continues to support by serving on its alumni board of directors. Wangu earned a spot on the National Black Lawyers Top 40 Under 40 list in 2020, 2021, and 2022. She received a BA from University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a JD from Duke University.

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