TWENTY-EIGHTH TERM MEMBER CONFERENCE 2023
The Term Member Program is supported by a generous gift from the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Foundation.

*All times listed below are in Eastern Daylight Time.*

Thursday, October 26, 2023

4:45 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.  Registration and In-Person Reception

5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m.  Hybrid Plenary One: **Conflict in the Middle East: The Israel-Hamas War**
  
  **Mai El-Sadany**, Executive Director, The Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy
  
  **Farah Pandith**, Adjunct Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; CFR Member (joining virtually)
  
  **Mara Rudman**, Senior Counselor, Center for American Progress; Former Deputy Special Envoy for Middle East Peace, U.S. Department of State (2009–2011); CFR Member (joining virtually)
  
  **Presider**: **Reena Ninan**, Entrepreneur; 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.*

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

6:30 p.m. to 7:45 p.m.  Hybrid Plenary Two: **U.S.-China Relations: Balancing Cooperation, Competition, and Interdependence**
  
  **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
  
  
  **Welcoming Remarks**: **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.*

7:45 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.  In-Person Cocktail Reception
Friday, October 27, 2023
8:30 a.m. to 9:15 a.m.  In-Person Breakfast Reception

9:15 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.  Hybrid Plenary Three: Series on Emerging Technology, U.S. Foreign Policy, and World Order: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Our World
Michael Chui, Partner, McKinsey Global Institute; CFR Member (joining 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 Director for Trust and Safety, Niantic; Former Chief Innovation Officer, Graphika
Presider: Kat Duffy, Senior Fellow for Digital and Cyberspace Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
Welcoming Remarks: Nancy D. Bodurtha, Vice President, Meetings and Membership, Council on Foreign Relations
*This session will be on the record. It will take place in person and be offered virtually via Zoom.

10:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.  Networking Break

11:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.  Morning Breakout Sessions
*Breakout sessions will be not for attribution and in person only.

1. Women's Political Representation: Progress and Barriers
Discussant: Linda Robinson, Senior Fellow for Women and Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations
Facilitator: Heather Y. Hwalek, Senior Program Officer, Global Policy and Advocacy, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation; CFR Term Member

2. The Geopolitical Implications of China's Economic Slowdown
Discussant: Yanzhong Huang, Senior Fellow for Global Health, Council on Foreign Relations
Facilitator: Isaac Stone Fish, Chief Executive Officer and Founder, Strategy Risks; CFR Term Member

Discussant: Steven 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
Facilitator: Jason B. Baker, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Air Force; CFR Term Member

4. Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa and What It Means for the Region
Discussant: Michelle Gavin, Ralph Bunche Senior Fellow for Africa Policy Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
Facilitator: Raechel Haecker, Director and Chief of Staff to the Chief Financial Officer, HubSpot; CFR Term Member

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

6. **India’s Increasing Geopolitical Power**  
Discussant: **Manjari Chatterjee Miller**, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia, Council on Foreign Relations  
Facilitator: **Prashanth Raja**, Vice President, Public Policy, Mastercard

7. **Challenges in Rebuilding Ukraine**  
Discussant: **Benn Steil**, Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics, Council on Foreign Relations; Author, *The Marshall Plan*  
Facilitator: **Claire P. Kaiser**, Head of Strategy and Senior Managing Director, McLarty Associates; CFR Term Member

8. **China’s Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future**  
Discussant: **Ian Johnson**, Stephen A. Schwarzman Senior Fellow for China Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; Author, *Sparks: China’s Underground Historians and Their Battle for the Future*  
Facilitator: **Nicholas B. Frisch**, Resident Fellow, Information Society Project, Yale Law School; CFR Term Member

9. **The Current Landscape of Cryptocurrency**  
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

12:15 p.m. to 12:45 p.m.  
Proceed to Lunch

12:45 p.m. to 1:45 p.m.  
**Lunch Discussions**  
Lunch will be served at the Cosmopolitan Club.  
*Lunch discussions will be not for attribution and in person only.*  
During lunch, tables will be hosted by term members who will facilitate informal discussions. 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.

1:45 p.m. to 2:30 p.m.  
Proceed to Concurrent Plenary Sessions

2:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.  
In-Person Concurrent Plenary Session I: **COP28 and Beyond: Does Multilateral Climate Diplomacy Work?**  
**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

2:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. In-Person Concurrent Plenary Session II: The EU, War Against Ukraine, and Geopolitics of Europe
Emma Ashford, Senior Fellow, Reimagining U.S. Grand Strategy Program, Stimson Center; CFR Term Member
Miriam Elder, Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations
Matthias Matthijs, Senior Fellow for Europe, Council on Foreign Relations
Presider: Mark Hannah, Senior Fellow, Eurasia Group Foundation; Creator and Host, None Of The Above; Former CFR Term Member

3:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. Networking Break

4:00 p.m. to 5:15 p.m. Afternoon Breakout Sessions
*Breakout sessions will be not for attribution and in person only.

1. The Rise of Industrial Policy and Potential for a Subsidies War
Discussant: Jennifer Hillman, Senior Fellow for Trade and International Political Economy, Council on Foreign Relations
Facilitator: Ashwin Kaja, Co-Chair, International Trade (China), Covington & Burling; CFR Term Member

2. Navigating the Future: A Discerning Examination of U.S. Space Policy
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, University of Pennsylvania; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: Kate van Dam, Head of Strategy, SkyFi; Officer, U.S. Marine Corps Cyberspace Command; Former CFR Term Member

3. Democratic Backsliding and the Global Threat to LGBTQ+ Communities
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

4. The Future of the Iranian Regime
Discussant: Ray Takeyh, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Senior Advisor on Iran, U.S. Department of State
Facilitator: Rennie Silva, Foreign Service Officer, U.S. Embassy, Baghdad; CFR Term Member

5. U.S. Security Assistance in Latin America: Militarization or Democratization?
Discussant: Paul Angelo, Director, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University; Author, From Peril to Partnership: US Security Assistance and the Bid to Stabilize Colombia and Mexico; CFR Term Member
Facilitator: Conor Sanchez, Stakeholder Engagement Manager for Policy Development, Meta;
6. **Cybersecurity Threats at Home and Abroad**
Discussants: Veronica Glick, International Affairs Fellow in National Security, Council on Foreign Relations; 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

7. **The Continuing Israeli Palestinian Conflict**
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

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

5:15 p.m. to 5:45 p.m. Networking Break

5:45 p.m. to 6:45 p.m. **Hybrid Keynote Plenary: A Conversation With Rajiv Shah**
Rajiv Shah, President, Rockefeller Foundation; Author, *Big Bets: How Large-Scale Change Really Happens*; Former Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) (2010–2015); CFR Member
Presider: Michael Froman, President, Council on Foreign Relations; Former CFR Term Member
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6:45 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. In-Person Cocktail Reception

Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, NY 10065

All plenaries will be on the record. All Breakout Sessions will be not-for-attribution and in person only.