



Global Commission on Democracy and Multilateralism

WORKING GROUP 2 MEMBERS



WORKING GROUP LEADS

- **Richard Youngs**, Senior Fellow in the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program at Carnegie Europe (on behalf of European Democracy Hub)
- **Elene Panchulidze**, Research Coordinator, European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) (European Democracy Hub)

WORKING GROUP MEMBERS

- **Carlos Closa Montero**, Vice President for Organisation and Institutional Relations and Research Professor, Spanish National Research Council
- **Gerardo de Icaza**, Director, Department of Electoral Cooperation and Observation (DECO), Organisation of American States
- **Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi**, Co-Founder and Former CEO, Afrobarometer
- **Maiko Ichihara**, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University
- **Gram Matenga**, Deputy Regional Director for Africa, International IDEA
- **Khabele Matlosa**, Former Director, Department of Political Affairs, African Union Commission, African Union
- **Niranjan Sahoo**, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation
- **Farida Nabourema**, Executive Director of the Katutu Civil Rights Center
- **Dapo Oyewole**, Secretary General, Conference of Speakers and Presidents of African Legislatures
- **Dinna Prapto Raharja**, Executive Director, Synergy Policies
- **Oliver Stuenkel**, Associate Professor, School of International Relations, Fundação Getulio Vargas
- **Nicolás Albertoni**, Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay
- **Dina Fakoussa**, Senior Project Manager for Global Issues, Robert Bosch Foundation
- **Ted Piccone**, Nonresident Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution, Club de Madrid Advisor & Content Director of the GCDM

WORKING GROUP LEADS

Richard Youngs, Senior Fellow in the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program at Carnegie Europe (on behalf of European Democracy Hub)

Richard Youngs is a senior fellow in the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program, based at Carnegie Europe.

He is also a professor of international relations at the University of Warwick and previously held positions in the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office and as director of the FRIDE think-tank in Madrid. He is co-founder and director of the European Democracy Hub.



Youngs has authored seventeen books, the most recent of which are *Democratic Crossroads: Transformations in Twenty First-Century Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2024), *Geoliberal Europe and the Test of War* (Agenda Publishing, 2024), *Rebuilding European Democracy: Resistance and Renewal in an Illiberal Age* (Bloomsbury/Tauris, 2021) and *The European Union and Global Politics* (Macmillan, 2021).

Elene Panchulidze, Research Coordinator, European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) (European Democracy Hub)

Elene Panchulidze is the Research Coordinator at the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD), where she leads the European Democracy Hub—a joint initiative of EPD and Carnegie Europe. She has published think-tank and academic articles on EU neighbourhood and enlargement policy, civil society, gender, and feminist foreign policy.

Prior to joining EPD, Panchulidze worked at the European Endowment for Democracy, the College of Europe, the EU Delegation to Georgia, and the OSCE/ODIHR election observation mission to Georgia.



She is an associate fellow at the PMC Research Center and an affiliated policy analyst at the Georgian Institute of Politics.

Panchulidze has provided training on feminist foreign policy for senior career diplomats, as well as training on security and democracy for NATO military personnel. For over a decade, Panchulidze has led numerous large-scale international research projects and provided commentaries for Euronews, Radio Free Europe, Forbes, and La Liberté, among others. In 2021, Elene was listed on Forbes Georgia's Under 30 list.

WORKING GROUP MEMBERS

Carlos Closa Montero, Vice President for Organization and Institutional Relations, Research Professor, Spanish National Research Council

Carlos Closa is currently Vice President for Organization and Institutional Relations of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) and Research Professor at the Institute of Public Policies and Goods (IPP-CSIC).

He was part-time professor at the Florence School of Transnational Governance (STG) of the European University Institute (EUI). Prior, he was Deputy Director of Studies and Research at the CEPC (Ministry of the Presidency), member of the Venice Commission for Democracy through Law (Council of Europe).

He was a full professor at the University of Zaragoza and an assistant professor at the UCM. He was Jean Monnet Fellow and Salvador de Madariaga Fellow (IUE), and Visiting Scholar at Harvard University and Senior Emile Noël Fellow at NYU, as well as Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Bruges), and multiple universities, such as: Groningen, Maastricht, Adger, Passau, etc.

He has collaborated with the European Commission (Office of Commissioners Timmermans and Jourova and DG Justice, Freedom and Security); the European Parliament (Constitutional Commission) and with the Bureau of Policy Advisers (BEPA) of the President of the European Commission; the Council of Europe; the Committee of the Regions of the EU; the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); the Spanish Agency for Cooperation (AECID) and the Friedrich Neumann Foundation and the Notre Europe Foundation. He has also participated in training programmes of the Council of Europe and is currently a member of the Scientific Committee of the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies (RIE). He regularly collaborates (on reports and studies) with the Elcano Royal Institute for International and Strategic Studies and the Alternativas Foundation.



Gerardo de Icaza, Director, Department of Electoral Cooperation and Observation (DECO), Organisation of American States

Gerardo de Icaza is the Director of the Department of Electoral Cooperation and Observation of the OAS since March 1, 2014. In this post, he has led more than 100 Electoral Observation Missions in 27 countries. In 2018 and 2025, he served as acting Secretary for Strengthening Democracy of the OAS. Previously, at the National Electoral Institute of Mexico (INE) he served as Deputy Legal Director for Overseas Voting and as Coordinator of the Technical Committee of Specialists on Overseas Voting.



He was a law clerk, and then Head of the International Affairs Unit in the Electoral Tribunal of Mexico. He studied Law and has a Master's Degree in International Relations and Communication. He has taught at several universities and is a well-known speaker in the democracy circuit. His well known publications include "International Law of Democracy" coordinated with former OAS Secretary General, Luis Almagro, "The Narrative of Fraud in Elections" and his most recent article in the Journal of Democracy, titled "Why Election Observers Are Human-Rights Defenders".

Nicolás Albertoni, Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay

Nicolás Albertoni is a visiting researcher at Georgetown University's Institute of the Americas, where he will organize a series of trade-related events for the Latin America and the Global Economy (LAGE) program. Previously, he served as Uruguay's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (2022–2025).

He has written several articles and books on development and integration in Latin America, including *Trade Protectionism in an Uncertain and Interconnected Global Economy* (Routledge, 2024).



Albertoni holds two doctorates and three master's degrees (one from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service) in Political Science, Economics, and International Relations.

He is also a graduate of Georgetown University's Global Competitiveness Leadership Program. In 2021, he received the Order of Arete from the University of Southern California, the institution's highest honor for academic contributions. In 2023, he was recognized by the Club de Madrid as one of the world's 30 leading decision-makers, and in 2018, he was included in Global Americans' list of the New Generation of Public Intellectuals.

Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, Co-Founder and Former CEO of Afrobarometer

Professor Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi is the founder and former Chief Executive Officer of Afrobarometer, a pioneering pan-African survey research network that measures public attitudes on democracy, governance, and development across the continent.

He is also the founder and former Executive Director of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), a leading independent policy research and advocacy organization.



A Ghanaian political scientist, Professor Gyimah-Boadi is a former professor at the University of Ghana and has held teaching and fellowship positions at the American University's School of International Service, Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the National Endowment for Democracy.

He has published extensively on democratic governance, civil society, and political reform in Africa, including *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and *Democratic Reform in Africa: Quality of Progress* (Lynne Rienner, 2004).

His contributions have earned him numerous honors, including the 2017 Martin Luther King, Jr. Award for Peace and Social Justice and recognition among New African magazine's "100 Most Influential Africans" in 2021.

Maiko Ichihara, Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University

Maiko Ichihara is associate professor in the Graduate School of Law at Hitotsubashi University, Japan, and was a visiting scholar at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

She is a steering committee member of the World Movement for Democracy, East Asia Democracy Forum, and Partnership for Democratic Governance (Japan), and is a co-chair of Democracy for the Future project at the Japan Center for International Exchange.



Throughout her career, she has undertaken research on international relations, democracy support, and Japanese foreign policy. She earned her Ph.D. in political science from the George Washington University and her M.A. from Columbia University.

Her recent publications include: "Universality to Plurality? Values in Japanese Foreign Policy," in Yoichi Funabashi and G. John Ikenberry, eds., *The Crisis of Liberalism: Japan and the International Order* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2020) and *Japan's International Democracy Assistance as Soft Power: Neoclassical Realist Analysis* (New York and London: Routledge, 2017).

Gram Matenga, Regional Head of Programmes for Africa and West Asia, International IDEA

Gram Matenga serves as the Regional Head of Programmes for the Africa and West Asia region and is tasked with programme oversight, including business development, delivery of high-quality programmes, establishing strategic partnerships, and coordinating country and regional programmes.

He plays a crucial role in assisting the Regional Director with strategic oversight and positioning of International IDEA in the region, ensuring its contributions are impactful and aligned with institutional strategy.



Previously, Gram served as head of the office for Kenya and regional thematic lead on Political Participation and Representation, where he led initiatives on citizen engagement, democratic accountability, political parties, parliaments, women and youth political participation and representation, and the regulation of money in politics.

His extensive background includes managing a UNDP governance and peacebuilding programme in Zimbabwe and serving as Senior Programme Manager for Elections and Citizen Participation programmes with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) across Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and South Sudan. Additionally, Gram has offered his skills as a Governance Advisor and Programme Manager for several international NGOs in regions like Somaliland, Jamaica, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe.

Khabele Matlosa, Former Director, Department of Political Affairs, African Union Commission, African Union

Professor Matlosa is a former Senior Lecturer, National University of Lesotho (1990–2000); Director for Research and Training, Southern African Regional Institute for Policy Research (SARIPS), Harare, Zimbabwe (2000–2003); Director of Programmes; Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA), Johannesburg, South Africa (2003–2010); Senior Governance Advisor at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (2010–2013); Director, Department of Political Affairs, African Union Commission (AUC), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (2013–2021). He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) based in South Africa.



He has researched widely in various social science fields including migration, elections, democracy, political parties, governance, peace and security, foreign aid, regional integration, and socio-economic development. He is the author of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance which evolved between 2004 and 2006. This Charter was ultimately adopted by the African Union (AU) Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 30 January 2007. It came into force in 2012 following its ratification by 15 Member States of the AU.

Together with three other African experts, he co-authored the report on 'Prevention, Management and Resolution of Election-Related Disputes in Africa: The Role of the African Union Panel of the Wise', which was adopted by the AU Assembly of the Heads of State and Government in Kampala, Uganda in 2010 for use in all the AU's preventive diplomacy efforts led by the Panel of the Wise as one of the five pillars of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) since then to date. In 2021, he was commissioned as one of the 10 African experts to prepare a strategic reflection report for UNDP entitled "Re-Imagining Governance and Peacebuilding in Africa" which contributed to the development of UNDP's Strategic Plan, 2023–2025.

Niranjan Sahoo, Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation

Dr. Niranjan Sahoo is a Senior Fellow at Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. With years of expertise in governance and public policy, Dr Sahoo now leads studies and programmes on democracy, campaign finance reforms, federalism, decentralization, conflicts and human rights. A former Asia Fellow (Ford Foundation) and Sir Ratan Tata Fellow, Dr Sahoo South Asia Advisor for the Asia Democracy Research Network (Seoul), Visiting Professor, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok and Senior Fellow with Centre for Multilevel Federalism, New Delhi.



His forthcoming book is on Left-Wing Extremism and Democracy in India will be published soon. His work on polarisation in India (titled "Hindu Nationalism and rising political polarisation in India") was recently published by The Brookings Press.

Farida Nabourema, Executive Director of the Katutu Civil Rights Center

Farida Bemba Nabourema is a Pan-African activist and prominent voice in the struggle against dictatorship in Togo and across the African continent. As the founder of the Faure Must Go movement, she has become a leading figure in the resistance against the Gnassingbé dynasty, which has ruled Togo for decades. Known for her unapologetic stance against authoritarianism, she champions civil disobedience and the refusal to submit to oppressive systems.

In addition to her political activism, Farida is a trailblazer in the African Bitcoin ecosystem. She is the founder of the Africa Bitcoin Conference, the continent's largest gathering of Bitcoin innovators, builders, and freedom fighters.

Holding degrees in International Relations and Conflict Prevention, Farida has been recognized for her expertise in security and gender justice, and was named one of the 100 most influential people in gender policy by Apolitical in 2021 and listed among the 100 Most Influential African Women respectively in 2019 and 2024.

Farida has worked extensively in the development space leading several think tanks and nonprofit organizations and is the current Executive Director of the Katutu Civil Rights Center. She has served as a senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and as a visiting scholar at both the SNF Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University and the Sie Cheou Kang Center at the University of Denver.



Dapo Oyewole, Secretary General, Conference of Speakers and Presidents of African Legislatures

Dapo Oyewole is a multi-skilled public policy, international development, global affairs, communications and strategy execution expert with over 20 years' experience working in Africa, Europe and the US.

He is also a seasoned policy analyst, adviser, speaker, author, conference moderator/chair, trainer and media commentator. He also mentors promising young people for careers in public policy, governance and international development.



Dapo has held senior positions in the international development and public sector consulting sector as Director of Public Sector Development (EMEA region) at the Palladium Group – the international development consulting firm and also as Senior Public Sector Adviser at McKinsey & Co., where he spearheaded engagement with government and donors on public sector and development-centered projects. In public service, he has also served in appointed government positions as Special Adviser on International & Interparliamentary Affairs to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and previously as a senior Adviser to two Nigerian government Ministers at the ministries of Finance as well as the Presidency's National Planning Commission – with donor coordination, development policy, international affairs and strategic planning as his primary portfolios.

Prior to these, he headed the Research, Policy and Strategy Team of SPARC – the UK's Department for International Development's (DFID) public sector technical assistance programme in Nigeria; and was Executive Director of the policy think tank the Centre for African Public Policy & Strategy (CAPPS). He also headed the Centre for Democracy & Development (CDD) both in the UK. He started his career at the policy think tank the Institute for Security Studies and Amnesty International both in South Africa, and has since served as a senior consultant to several multilateral and bilateral agencies, such as UKAID/DFID, several United Nations agencies, the World Bank, the Commonwealth Secretariat etc.

Oliver Stuenkel, Associate Professor at the School of International Relations at Fundação Getulio Vargas

Oliver Stuenkel is an associate professor at the School of International Relations at Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV) in São Paulo, Brazil. He is also a senior fellow affiliated with the Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a columnist for Americas Quarterly (AQ) and Estadão.

His research focuses on Latin American politics and foreign policy, as well as China's and the United States' role in Latin America.



Stuenkel is the author of IBSA: Rise of the Global South (Routledge, 2014), BRICS and the Future of Global Order (Lexington, 2015) and Post-Western World (Polity, 2016), the two latter of which have been translated into Chinese and Portuguese.

His other publications include Argentina, Brazil and Chile and democracy defence in Latin America: principled calculation (International Affairs, co-authored with A. Feldmann and F. Merke), Rising Powers and the Future of Democracy Promotion (Third World Quarterly), Emerging Powers and Status: The Case of the First BRICS Summit (Asian Perspective) and The Financial Crisis, Contested Legitimacy and the Genesis of intra-BRICS cooperation (Global Governance). Aside from his academic research, he has written op-eds for newspapers and magazines, including Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, New York Times, and the Financial Times.

From 2016 to 2019, he directed an oral history research project that records in-depth interviews with former Latin American presidents, foreign ministers, and leading diplomats.

Dinna Prapto Raharja, Executive Director of Synergy Policies

Dinna Prapto Raharja is a senior policy advisor, a tenured Associate Professor in international relations (specializing in international political economy), and a certified lecturer registered to the Indonesian Ministry of National Education.

Her specialization is diplomacy, public policy, and social protection. She is the founder of Synergy Policies (brand of PT Cipta Inspirasi Nusantara), a consulting firm specializing in multidisciplinary approach in research and training for policy makers and practitioners of diplomacy, governance and social protection.



Her network is national and international. She is Member of National Committee of Indonesian Association of Economists, Ikatan Sarjana Ekonomi (ISEI), international relations division (2018–2021, 2015–2018), Member of Indonesian Association of International Relations, coordinator of international cooperation (2020–2023), Board Member of Asian Vision Institute in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

Dinna is judge member of the National Award Paritrana (BPJS Ketenagakerjaan) December 2021 – December 2022. She served as the Indonesia's Representative to the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (2016–2018) appointed by Foreign Minister. She served as Member of Selection Committee for National Social Security Council (2019) appointed by President. She served as member of Expert team in the BP2MI Task Force to Combat Syndicates of Illegal Sending of Indonesian Migrants (Nov 2020 – Dec 2021).

Dina Fakoussa, Senior Project Manager for Global Issues, Robert Bosch Foundation

Dina Fakoussa joined the Robert Bosch Foundation in January 2023 as Senior Project Manager Global Issues. She is part of the unit international cooperation, developing strategies and identifying partnerships related to changing dynamics in multilateralism and international cooperation against the backdrop of rising authoritarianism and geopolitics. In parallel she works as an independent analyst and consultant on the MENA region. Her professional career encompasses senior positions at German think tanks and political foundations targeting the MENA region. She served among others for nine years as Head of the MENA Program at the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin and as Program Manager at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Lebanon.



Her areas of expertise and interest which she also addressed in publications are geo-politics, middle powers, the state of democracy and democracy promotion as well as German and EU policies vis à vis the MENA region. Dina is German-Egyptian and lived for more than 25 years in the MENA region, primarily in Egypt, Lebanon, and Jordan.

Ted Piccone, Nonresident Senior Fellow at The Brookings Institution, Club de Madrid Advisor & Content Director of the GCDM

Ted Piccone is a nonresident senior fellow in the Strobe Talbott Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. During his 11 years in residence at Brookings, he was a senior fellow and the Charles W. Robinson Chair, appointed the inaugural fellow of the Brookings-Robert Bosch Foundation Transatlantic Initiative in Berlin, and served as the acting vice president and director and deputy director of the Foreign Policy program. His research has covered global democracy, rule of law and human rights policies; U.S.-Latin American relations, including China's rising profile; emerging powers; and multilateral affairs.



Piccone is the author of "Five Rising Democracies and the Fate of the International Liberal Order" (Brookings Institution Press, 2016), which examined the trajectories of India, Brazil, South Africa, Indonesia and Turkey.

Piccone served eight years as a senior foreign policy advisor in the Clinton administration, including on the National Security Council staff, at the State Department's Office of Policy Planning and the Office of the Secretary of Defense at the Pentagon. From 2001 to 2008, Piccone was the executive director and co-founder of the Democracy Coalition Project, a research and advocacy organization working to promote international cooperation for democracy and human rights globally. He was also the Washington office director for the Club of Madrid, an association of over 100 former heads of state and government engaged in efforts to strengthen democracy around the world, and continues as an advisor. Piccone's other positions have included chief engagement officer at the World Justice Project, counsel for the United Nations Truth Commission in El Salvador, and press secretary to U.S. Representative Bob Edgar.