

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

Wednesday, September 6, 2023
8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time



Council of Councils Eighth Virtual Conference

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

Council of Councils Mission Statement

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

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

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

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FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

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Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

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Gulf Research Center (GRC)

SINGAPORE

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

SOUTH AFRICA

Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

**Council of Councils Eighth Virtual Conference
International Start Times**

(Please double check your time zones)

Wednesday, September 6, 2023

6:30 a.m.–8:00 a.m. Mexico City

8:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

9:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. Lagos / London

2:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Johannesburg / Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

3:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

6:00 p.m.–7:30 p.m. New Delhi

7:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. Jakarta

8:30 p.m.–10:00 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

9:30 p.m.–11:00 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

10:30 p.m.–12:00 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Eighth Virtual Conference
Agenda**

Wednesday, September 6, 2023

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

Join details for the session:

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/81573467189>

Passcode: 331166

Meeting ID: 815 7346 7189

8:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. *Session One*

The Securitization of Economics

Guiding questions: How has economic interdependence affected perceptions of national security threats? How should we think about the evolution of globalization on various sectors (e.g., technology, energy, food security, etc.)? Has the increased use of sanctions changed governments' or companies' calculations of the benefits of economic integration and interdependence? What does the proliferation of unilateral and ad hoc sanctions mean for the future of multilateral sanctions? Has the weaponization of finance impacted the role of reserve currencies and mechanisms of trade? What rules or norms, if any, should determine how states leverage economic interdependence to influence others for geopolitical ends?

Presider:

Theirry de Montbrial, *Executive Chair,*
French Institute of International Relations (France)

Panelists:

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

Michael Froman, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Carola Ramón, *Executive Committee Member,*
Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)

Participant Biographies

Fonteh Akum

Fonteh Akum is executive director at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). He previously served as head of the Lake Chad Basin program in ISS's regional office in Dakar, Senegal. Prior to joining ISS as a senior researcher in the Peace and Security Research program in 2017, he worked for the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, the UN University for Peace's Africa program, and the International Monetary Fund. Akum's research covers violence, governance, and human security in the Lake Chad Basin. He has a PhD in politics and international studies from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors programme at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. He is the coordinator of the JOINT project on EU foreign and security policy, carried out by a fourteen-strong consortium of research centers from twelve countries and funded under the EU's Horizon 2020 Programme. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center on the United States and Europe and a European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program fellow. He is the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis* and editor of *The Liberal Order and Its Contestations* and *The West and the Global Power Shift*, among other works. He holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

Layla Ali

Layla Ali is a researcher at the Gulf Research Center (GRC) in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. She specializes in Gulf Cooperation Council-Asia relations, including Iran, and overseeing research on regional security. She received her undergraduate and master's degrees in politics and international relations from the University of Bristol.

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, holds the president's chair for international relations and security studies, heads the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, and is associate dean for external engagement at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in the Asia-Pacific, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security, conflict prevention, and global governance. Anthony has led a number of global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. She has served as the secretary-general of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008 and is a member of the International Climate Security Expert Network. She was vice president at-large of the Governing Council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and was member of the ISA's Global South Task Force from 2018 to 2021. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony was a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and served as its chair in 2016. She is also a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. From 2011 to 2012, she was director of external relations at the ASEAN Secretariat. She has published extensively on a broad range of

security issues in the Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic press. Her latest books, both single-authored and co-edited, include: *Covid -19 and Atrocity Prevention in East Asia*, *Nuclear Governance in the Asia-Pacific*, and *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*.

Juan Battaleme

Juan Battaleme is academic secretary of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He is also the director of the faculty of Argentina's National Defense University's master's degree program and a professor at several undergraduate and graduate universities in Argentina, including the Argentine University of Business, the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina University (UCEMA), and the University of Buenos Aires. He specializes in national security, with a focus on Argentine foreign policy, national defense, and cybersecurity and is a consulting member of several institutions in the international relations field, including the National Academy of Moral and Political Sciences' International Policy Institute, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and CARI. Throughout his career, he has worked as an advisor and analyst on foreign and digital policy. He previously oversaw the academic direction of the Argentine University of Business. Battaleme was a Fulbright Scholar, a National Defense University fellow, and a Chevening Scholar. He has a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Buenos Aires, a master's degree in international relations from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, and a master's degree in state sciences from UCEMA. He is a doctoral candidate in organizations management at UCEMA.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, Belgium; senior fellow at the International Centre for Security and Defense in Tallinn, Estonia; visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, and Natolin, Poland; and editor in chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review*. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the European Union. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defense* and *Regroup and Reform: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. Blockmans's latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied to its outer periphery. He is the editor of more than twenty academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

Kartik Bommakanti

Kartik Bommakanti is a senior fellow with the Strategic Studies programme at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). Bommakanti specializes in space military issues and his research is focused on the Indo-Pacific. He also works on emerging technologies as well as nuclear, conventional, and sub-conventional coercion, particularly in the context of the Indian subcontinent and the role of great powers in the subcontinent's strategic dynamics. He has published in peer reviewed journals.

Creon Butler

Creon Butler leads the Global Economy and Finance programme at Chatham House. He joined the institute in 2019, and has written and published on a wide range of global economic policy issues,

including the interaction between macroeconomic policy and climate change, sovereign debt distress, the challenge of funding global health priorities, and the long-term implications for the international economic system of the pandemic and war in Ukraine. Before joining Chatham House, Butler served in the UK Cabinet Office as director for international economic affairs in the National Security Secretariat and Group of Seven and Group of Twenty sous-sherpa, advising the UK prime minister on global economic policy issues. Butler first joined the Cabinet Office in 2013 as director in the European and Global Issues Secretariat and designed the UK's global Anti-Corruption Summit in May 2016. He was also the British deputy high commissioner in New Delhi from 2006 to 2009 and has served in senior positions in His Majesty's Treasury and the Bank of England.

Esther Brimmer

Esther Brimmer is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance at the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR). Her primary areas of interest are international organizations and transatlantic relations. At CFR, she is writing a book about the need to craft new mechanisms of governance to manage human activities in outer space. She previously served as project director for CFR's task force report, *Arctic Imperatives: Reinforcing U.S. Strategy on America's Fourth Coast*. From 2017 through 2022, Brimmer was executive director and CEO of NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the largest nonprofit professional association dedicated to international education with around 10,000 members in over 160 countries. She previously led U.S. policy in international organizations as the assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs from 2009 to 2013, and served on the policy planning staff from 1999 to 2001. Brimmer was the J. B. and Maurice C. Shapiro professor at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She was the first deputy director and director of research at the Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR) at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies from 2001 to 2009. While at CTR, Brimmer was also a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. Brimmer has served in the private sector as a senior advisor at McLarty Associates, and earlier as an associate at McKinsey & Company. Early in her career, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie commission on preventing deadly conflict. Brimmer has published numerous articles and edited eight books on transatlantic relations, including *Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy Is Under Threat*; *Changing Identities, Enduring Values: Is There Still a Transatlantic Community?*; and *The Strategic Implications of EU Enlargement* (with Stefan Fröhlich). Brimmer received her bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

Chen Dongxiao

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

diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the mayor of Shanghai's international business leaders' advisory council. He is also vice chair of the China National Association of International Relations. Chen has led numerous research projects commissioned by China's National Social Science Foundation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, among others. He was recognized as a Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

Gustavo de Carvalho

Gustavo de Carvalho is a senior researcher on Russia-Africa ties at the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). De Carvalho has over fifteen years of experience supporting policy development, capacity building, and research processes in Africa, focusing mainly on multilateralism and the relationship between African stakeholders and external partners. He has worked with various international organizations and think tanks, including the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau, the Institute for Security Studies, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, and Global Witness. De Carvalho holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from the University of Brasilia and an MSc in African studies from the University of Oxford.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is executive chair of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is also professor emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign academies. From 1974 to 1992, de Montbrial chaired the the Ecole Polytechnique's department of economics. He was the first chair of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993–2001). He created the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as its first director from 1973 to 1979. De Montbrial is the author of more than twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System* and *Living in Troubled Times*. He is a grand officer of the Legion of Honor, a grand officer of the National Order of Merit, and a recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun—Gold and Silver Star in Japan in 2009—among other state honors. A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, de Montbrial holds a PhD in mathematical economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Yose Rizal Damuri

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research activities focus on international trade, regional integration, and the globalization of value chains. He is active in many East Asia networks of research institutes, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia's (ERIA) Research Institute Network, and Think 20, the think tank network of Group of Twenty countries. He also serves as the co-chair of the Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation, and is a member of the ERIA's governing board. Damuri is also active in various Indonesian policy forums, including as the Research Coordinator of Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated for the

development of services sector in Indonesia. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

Piotr Dzierżanowski

Piotr Dzierżanowski is an international economic relations analyst in the Global Issues programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). He is also preparing a PhD dissertation in international law focusing on the execution of international economic treaties. He holds an MA in law from the University of Warsaw and an MSc in international development from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Michael Froman

Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He previously served as vice chair and president of strategic growth at Mastercard and chair of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth. He was also a distinguished fellow at CFR from 2017 to 2023. Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from 2013 to 2017. From 2009 to 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 CFR 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 Treasury. He also worked at the White House as director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and 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 law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He also heads the institute's multilateralism and global governance program. He was previously the director of IAI from 2008 to 2017, worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from 2006 to 2007, and taught at the University of Parma and the University of Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, Greco worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. Between 1993 and 2000, he directed IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006, he was editor of the *International Spectator*. He is the author of several publications on the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and arms control.

Neuma Grobbelaar

Neuma Grobbelaar is an experienced foreign policy and development expert with thirty-four years of project and research management and fundraising and policy experience. A former South African diplomat, she is the research director at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), a

leading African foreign policy and development think tank based at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her research focuses on the intersection between foreign policy, regional integration, and human development; the role of the private sector in African development initiatives; and South Africa's role in global economic governance frameworks. She has a wide knowledge of South Africa's foreign policy, its relationship with the region and the Global South, and its economic and development engagement.

Daniel Gros

Daniel Gros is a professor of practice at Bocconi University, director of the university's Institute for European Policymaking, and distinguished fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). He previously served as director of CEPS for twenty years. Gros is also an advisor to the European Parliament. He recently served as a member of the European Systemic Risk Board's advisory scientific council, held a Fulbright fellowship, and was a visiting professor at the University of California, Berkeley, and was a visiting research fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute in Florence. Gros previously worked at the International Monetary Fund and collaborated with the European Commission as economic advisor to the Delors Committee, which developed plans for the Economic and Monetary Union of the European Union. He has been a member of high-level advisory bodies to the French and Belgian governments and has advised numerous central banks and governments, including those of the United States, Greece, and the United Kingdom. He has published extensively on international economic affairs, including monetary and fiscal policy, exchange rates, banking, and climate change. He is the author of several books and editor of *Économie Internationale* and *International Finance*. He has taught at several leading European universities and contributes a globally syndicated column on European economic issues to Project Syndicate. He holds a PhD in economics from the University of Chicago.

Gui Yongtao

Gui Yongtao is associate dean of the School of International Studies and vice president of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University. His research focuses on international relations of East Asia. His recent publications include "The U.S.-Japan Economic Security Alliance: Building a System of Collective Resilience;" "Exploring the Changing Relations Between the U.S., Japan and China;" and "Economic Statecraft, Economic Security Policy, and New Trends in U.S. and Japan's Policies toward China." He received his PhDs from Waseda University and Peking University.

Hanns Günther Hilpert

Hanns Günther Hilpert is a senior fellow in the research division for Asia at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Hilpert's areas of expertise include China, East Asia, Japan, the Koreas, Taiwan, foreign trade policy, and international monetary policy. He was previously deputy head and head of SWP's research division for Asia. He also worked for the German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo and the Ifo Institute for Economic Research. Hilpert has written several books and articles on the Japanese economy and on Asian trade and economic integration. His latest works include *Facetten des Nordkorea-Konflikt: Akteure, Problemlagen und Europas Interessen*, coedited

with Oliver Meier, and *Japans Multiple Handelspolitik*. He studied economics at Saarland University and received his PhD in economics from the Free University of Berlin.

Sébastien Jean

Sébastien Jean is professor of economics at Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers in Paris, Jean-Baptiste Say Chair in Industrial Economics, and directs the geoeconomics-geofinance initiative at the French Institute of International Relation (Ifri). His research focuses on applied economic analysis of globalization, with special emphasis on international trade, trade policies, and international economic policy. He is a member of France's Council of Economic Advisers and National Productivity Council, a research associate with CEPII (the Centre d'Études Prospectives et d'Informations), a policy associate with the University of Nottingham's Centre for Research on Globalisation and Economic Policy, and a fellow of the CESifo Research Network. From 2012 to 2021, he was director of CEPII, the leading French center for research and expertise in international economics. From 2007 to 2022, he was a senior scientist at the National Research Institute for Agriculture, Food, and Environment. He also held positions at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and taught at various institutions. He graduated from Ecole Centrale de Paris and holds a PhD in economics from University of Paris-1.

Eszter Karacsony

Eszter Karacsony has been project officer to the director at the French Institute of International Relation (Ifri) since 2022. She was previously a programme manager for a non-governmental network of European cities and regions, specializing in urban security, where she was responsible for the association's institutional relations (e.g., with the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Committee of the Regions, and the Council of Europe) as well as the management of EU co-funded projects. She also interned at the European Parliament and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (now the Institut National du Service Public). She earned a master's degree in EU-international relations and diplomacy studies from the College of Europe, a master's degree in European politics and public affairs from Sciences Po Strasbourg, and a degree in contemporary history from the University of Strasbourg,

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (2009–19) and board member (2009–23) of the Global Relations Forum. He is the venture partner at D4 Ventures, a United Kingdom-based technology investment platform; chairs the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting, advising tech companies on global, legal, and political challenges; and serves as the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum. Karakullukçu is the senior advisor at Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization on rebuilding social cohesion through innovative communication practices. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI science park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology,

and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has also served as a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*. He received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

Rene M. Kern

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

Christian Koch

Christian Koch is director of research for the Gulf Research Center (GRC). He also leads the Tafahum Project on a Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula, sponsored by the German Federal Foreign Office. From 2018 to 2021, he was a member of the Bertelsmann Foundation Strategy Group on "The EU and Russia, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia: Strategies for the EU Neighbourhood." From 2018 to 2020, he was a senior advisor and director of research at the Bussola Institute in Brussels, Belgium. Prior to that, he served as director of the GRC Foundation, research program leader on GulfEurope relations at the GRC in Dubai, and as head of strategic studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. Koch's work combines the analysis of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states on pertinent foreign and security issues, with a particular interest in GCC-EU relations. He is particularly interested in better understanding the dynamics driving regional security issues in the Gulf region and promoting aspects of cooperative security among regional and international actors. Koch received his PhD from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg.

Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is founder and president of the Genron NPO. Under Kudo's leadership, Genron NPO has conducted various research programs, including evaluations of government performance and analyses of party pledges made during general elections. Through the organization's Northeast Asia regional program, Kudo has developed crucial track-two dialogues, such as the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, to tackle pressing regional issues. In 2017, Kudo launched

the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform that invites ten international think tanks to exchange views on global issues and propose recommendations to strengthen the liberal order and democracy. He established the Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders in 2016 as a venue for open and free debate among intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries. The forum is a collaborative effort to bolster democracy and address challenges the democratic system faces, with the goal of jointly identifying common issues and presenting policy options. Prior to founding Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University.

Lukasz Kulesa

Lukasz Kulesa is deputy head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), where he supervises the institute's research on international security, transatlantic relations, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. His areas of expertise include nuclear and conventional deterrence, arms control, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Russian security policy, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the transatlantic security relationship. From 2014 to 2019, he was research director of the European Leadership Network. From 2010 to 2012, Kulesa served as the deputy director of the Strategic Analyses Department at the Polish National Security Bureau. His publications include "Russia's Military After Ukraine: Down But Not Out," "Poland and the OSCE," and "Dilemmas of Arms Control: Meeting the Interests of NATO's North-Eastern Flank." Kulesa holds a master's degree in international relations and European studies from the Central European University and is a graduate of the law department of the Jagiellonian University.

Marlos Lima

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

Lu Chuanying

Lu Chuanying is senior fellow and director of the research center for cyberspace governance at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He is cofounder of the Roundtable on Military Cyber Stability and chief editor of *Information Security and Communication Privacy*. Lu was previously a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Oxford University. He has published several journal and newspaper articles on cyberspace governance and cybersecurity.

Shannon K. O'Neil

Shannon K. O'Neil is the vice president of studies and Nelson and David Rockefeller senior fellow for Latin America studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). She is an expert on global trade, supply chains, Mexico, Latin America, and democracy. O'Neil has lived and worked in Mexico and

Argentina. She was a Fulbright scholar and a Justice, Welfare, and Economics fellow at Harvard University, and has taught Latin American politics at Columbia University. Before turning to policy, O'Neil worked in the private sector as an equity analyst at Indosuez Capital and Credit Lyonnais Securities. She is a columnist for Bloomberg Opinion, and a frequent guest on national broadcast news and radio programs. O'Neil has often testified before Congress, and regularly speaks at global academic, business, and policy conferences. O'Neil is the author of *The Globalization Myth: Why Regions Matter*, which chronicles the rise of three main global manufacturing and supply chain hubs and what they mean for U.S. economic competitiveness. She also wrote *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*, which analyzes the political, economic, and social transformations Mexico has undergone over the last three decades and why they matter for the United States. She holds a BA from Yale University, an MA in international relations from Yale University, and a PhD in government from Harvard University. She is a member of the board of directors of the Tinker Foundation.

Eghosa E. Osaghae

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Carola Ramón

Carola Ramón is treasurer, member of the executive committee, director of the Latin American Studies committee, and member of the Asian Affairs committee and the China Working Group at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). She was elected to serve as vice president of CARI, the first female to hold this position in forty-five years, starting in October 2023. She previously served as undersecretary of multilateral and bilateral economic negotiations at the Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade, and Worship and later as undersecretary of federal planning at the Ministry of the Economy. She also served as deputy director of the Think20 policy and research team during Argentina's Group of Twenty presidency. She also worked at the Hong Kong University's Asia Case Research Center, where she studied Mandarin Chinese. An international policy analyst, she focuses on economic integration, globalization, regional disparities, and development. She has published several papers, book chapters, and articles, and has lectured at the graduate and postgraduate level, mainly on Chinese and Asian economic development and integration, and business culture. She holds a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Salvador, master's degree in economics from the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina University, and a master's degree and

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Andrés Rozental is president of the consulting firm Rozental and Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. Rozental is also active in nongovernmental organizations and projects relating to global governance, migration policy, climate change, Latin American politics, and promoting democracy. He was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, including serving as Mexico's ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1995 to 1997, deputy foreign minister of Mexico from 1988 to 1994, ambassador to Sweden from 1983 to 1988, and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva from 1982 to 1983. Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico. He sits on London's International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council and is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington. Rozental holds nonexecutive board positions in several multinational companies. He holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, and Ingredion in Mexico. Rozental is the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. He holds a master's degree in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania and a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas.

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Paul Samson

Paul Samson is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He previously held senior positions in the Canadian government, including assistant deputy minister-level roles with Global Affairs Canada and Finance Canada, and associate deputy minister with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. Among other positions, Samson has served as director for Canada, Egypt, and Ethiopia at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and as Canada's deputy for finance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. He was co-chair of the G20 Framework Working Group on the global economy during five different presidencies. Earlier in his career, Samson worked with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at Green Cross International in Geneva and held fellowships with Pacific Northwest Labs and the Peace Research Institute Oslo. He was also a research fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Samson holds a BA from the University of British Columbia and an MA and PhD in international relations from the Graduate Institute, Geneva. He completed postdoctoral studies in global environment assessment at Harvard University.

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Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF) since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. Yenel served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in 2019,

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