

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

Wednesday, February 7, 2024
8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time



Council of Councils Ninth 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

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Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Ninth Virtual Conference
International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

Wednesday, February 7, 2024

7:00 a.m.–8:30 a.m. Mexico City

8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

10:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m. London

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Lagos / Paris / Rome / Warsaw

3:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m. Johannesburg / Pretoria / Tel Aviv

4:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow

6:30 p.m.–8:00 p.m. New Delhi

8:00 p.m.–9:30 p.m. Jakarta

9:00 p.m.–10:30 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

10:00 p.m.–11:30 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

12:00 a.m.–1:30 a.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Ninth Virtual Conference
Agenda**

Wednesday, February 7, 2024

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

8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Session One*

Stabilizing the Middle East: Where Do We Go From Here?

Guiding questions: What short-term goals for stabilizing the Middle East region are feasible, viable, and desirable for regional and global powers? What are priorities and actionable plans for advancing these goals? What role can regional organizations—such as the Arab League, Gulf Cooperation Council, or Euro-Mediterranean Partnership—play in promoting stability and managing conflicts in the Middle East? What immediate actions could prevent the Israel-Gaza conflict from regional spillover? How can states, private companies, and international institutions collaboratively address maritime security challenges to ensure the free and safe passage of vessels in critical waterways such as the Persian Gulf and Red Sea? In the long-term, what changes or mechanisms for defusing conflict in the region could be established to promote stability in the Middle East?

Panelists:

Muriel Asseburg, Senior Fellow, Africa and Middle East Research Division,
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Steven Cook, Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa
Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Udi Dekel, Head of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Research Program,
Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Abdulaziz Sager, Chair, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia)

Presider:

Navdeep Suri, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation (India)

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 by the European Union'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.

Sergio M. Alcocer

Sergio M. Alcocer is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, research professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) Institute of Engineering, and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Alcocer is also the president of México Exponencial, a think tank for the development of public policy and strategies for embracing exponential technologies. He is former undersecretary for North America in the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and undersecretary for strategic planning and technology development at the Mexican Ministry of Energy. Alcocer is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquake and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. He is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering, a member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, an honorary member and former president of the Mexican Society of Structural Engineering (SMIE), and former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. Alcocer was previously provost, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering at UNAM. He was also a nonexecutive member of the board of Empresas ICA and chair of the board of Iberdrola México. He has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona and was awarded the 2023 National Prize of Civil Engineering. Alcocer received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

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)

at 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. She has led a number of global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. Anthony 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 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 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat. Anthony has published extensively on a broad range of security issues in the Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest books 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*.

Muriel Asseburg

Muriel Asseburg is a senior fellow in the Africa and Middle East division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. Her current research is focused on conflict dynamics and peace-making in the Levant (Israel/Palestine and Syria, in particular); German, European and U.S. Middle East policies; as well as questions of state building, political reform, and security in the Eastern Mediterranean. From 2006 to 2012, she headed the Africa and Middle East research division. Asseburg is a member of the Expert Forum on Asylum and Migration at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, and the international advisory board of *Mediterranean Politics*. In recent years, she headed research projects on "Transformation, elite change and new social mobilisation in the Arab world" (2012–15) and "The fragmentation of Syria" (2014–15). Asseburg holds a PhD in political science, international law, and economics from the Ludwig Maximilians University.

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. Battaleme 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 senior fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels; 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*.

Paulo Botta

Paulo Botta is a professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina and Joint Forces Staff College. He also directs the Middle East committee at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from the Catholic University of Córdoba, and a diploma of advanced studies and doctorate from the Complutense University of Madrid.

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 on the need for better governance mechanisms to manage expanding 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. 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, 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.

Steven Cook

Steven 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 the Council on Foreign Relations (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 research fellow at the Brookings Institution (2001–02) and a Soref research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (1995–96). He is a columnist for *Foreign Policy* and has published widely in other international affairs journals, opinion magazines, and newspapers, and is a frequent commentator on radio and television. Cook 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 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.

Yose Rizal Damuri

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research focuses on international trade, regional integration, and the globalization of value chains. Damuri is active in many East Asian research institutes, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, the Research Institutes Network for the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), and Think 20, the think tank network of Group of Twenty countries. He also serves as the co-chair of the Indonesian National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation, and is a member of 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 to the development of the

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

Gustavo de Carvalho

Gustavo de Carvalho is a senior researcher on Russia-Africa ties at the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). De Carvalho has more than 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 a master's degree in African studies from the University of Oxford.

Udi Dekel

Udi Dekel joined the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in 2012. He served as managing director of INSS for ten years, and currently heads the Israeli-Palestinian conflict research program. Dekel was the head of the negotiating team with the Palestinians under Prime Minister Ehud Olmert during the 2007–08 Annapolis process. Dekel filled many senior Israel Defense Forces (IDF) positions in intelligence, international military cooperation, and strategic planning, and earned the rank of brigadier general (res.). His last post was head of the strategic planning division (J-5) in the General Staff. Previously he served as head of the General Staff's foreign relations division and head of the research and production department in the Israeli Air Force Intelligence. Dekel served as head of the Israel-United Nations-Lebanon committee following the Second Lebanon War and head of military committees with Egypt and Jordan.

Francisco de Santibañes

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

Nicholas Idris Erameh

Nicholas Idris Erameh who is a senior research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). His research interest includes global politics and security, human rights, mass atrocities, armed conflict, ethnic and genocide studies, humanitarian intervention, responsibility to protect, and post-conflict reconstruction. Erameh is a recipient of several grants, awards, and scholarship prizes and has published several articles in well referenced international journals and books. He has also attended and presented academic papers at several local and international conferences. He received a BSc, MSc, and PhD in political science with a specialization in international relations from the University of Ibadan.

Maria Luisa Fantappiè

Maria Luisa Fantappiè is head of the Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa Programme at Institute of International Affairs (IAI). She served as special adviser at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva (2020–23) and at the International Crisis Group (2012–20), engaging at the highest level of policy in Europe, the United States, and across the Middle East and North Africa region, including Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. In 2018, she was seconded by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the European advisory mission for security sector reform in Iraq. Her research interests include the Middle East and North Africa region, EU foreign policy and great powers competition in the region, conflict prevention and mediation, and cultural diplomacy. Fantappiè has been a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center, and is currently a fellow at the London School of Economics' Middle East Centre and the French Institute of the Near East. Her recent publications include “Politicians, Officers and Political Transition in Post-2003 Iraq” in *Third World Quarterly*; *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Middle East Relations* (co-author); and “Faith and Fracture” for the Century Foundation. She is the author of over twenty field-based Crisis Group reports and commentaries. She has published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *La Repubblica*, and frequently provides expert insights to international and Italian news outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *the Washington Post*, *Al-Jazeera*, NPR, and Radio3 Mondo. She holds an MPhil with distinction from Sciences Po Paris and a PhD in War Studies from King's College, London.

Héloïse Fayet

Héloïse Fayet is a research fellow in the Security Studies Center and coordinator of the Deterrence and Proliferation Research program at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Her research focuses on nuclear issues, mostly proliferation in the Middle East, the evolution of nuclear weapon state's doctrines, and the cyber-nuclear nexus. She also works on Middle Eastern geopolitics and strategic prospective. Before joining Ifri, Fayet spent three years at the French Ministry of Defense as an analyst on the Middle East. She graduated from Sciences Po Paris with a bachelor's degree and dual master's degree in international security and journalism, including a year abroad at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Amélie Férey

Amélie Férey is a research fellow and coordinator of the defense research unit in the Security Studies Center at the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri). Her current research focuses on soft wars in modern conflict. More specifically, she analyzes strategies of lawfare and cognitive warfare. Férey regularly lectures at Sciences Po Paris, Saint-Cyr Coëtquidan, and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. Férey has written on the ethics of war, counterterrorism, and Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and authored *Targeted Killings. A Critique of weaponized liberalism*. Férey holds a doctorate from Sciences Po.

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*.

Moises Garduño

Moises Garduño is a professor at the regional studies department of the Center for International Relations at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), where he coordinates the Middle East studies workshop. He was awarded the university distinction for young academics. As a guest researcher, he completed his postdoctoral research at Centre for Research and Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology (CIESAS). He holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from UNAM, master's degree in Asian and African studies from the the College of Mexico, and doctorate from the Autonomous University of Madrid

Neuma Grobbelaar

Neuma Grobbelaar is an experienced foreign policy and development expert with thirty-four years of project and research management, fundraising, and policy experience. A former South African diplomat, she is the research director at the South African Institute of International Affairs, a leading African foreign policy and development think tank based at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Grobbelaar's research focuses on the intersection of 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.

Steven Gruzd

Steven Gruzd is head of the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) in Johannesburg, South Africa. His research interests include African politics, Russia-Africa relations, and South African foreign policy. He worked at SAIIA from 2003–11, and from 2013 to the present. In between, he was senior researcher at the South Africa Jewish Board of Deputies. He has published widely on governance and the African Peer Review Mechanism.

He holds a BA in international relations from the University of the Witwatersrand and an MSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science in International Relations.

Emile Hokayem

Emile Hokayem is the director of regional security and senior fellow for Middle East security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). He specializes in regional politics, security, and conflict analysis in the Middle East, including the national security and defense policies of Middle Eastern states, role of armed non-state actors, and interests and involvement of external actors. Hokayem joined IISS in 2010, based first at IISS-Middle East in Bahrain and later at the London headquarters. Before that, he worked as the political editor and international affairs columnist of *The National* in Abu Dhabi, and from 2004 to 2008, as the research fellow for the Middle East at the Stimson Center. He has authored and edited IISS Adelphi books on Syria, Egypt, and regional security as well as IISS Strategic Dossiers on Iran, Gulf defense and security, and the Eastern Mediterranean. He regularly provides analysis on Middle East affairs to governments, the private sector, and the media.

Rusen Inceoglu

Rusen Inceoglu is the administrative director of the Global Relations Forum. From 2018 and 2022, Inceoglu worked for the UN Development Programme and Food and Agriculture Organization on migration, refugees, social good, and sustainable development. He previously held various positions in the private sector and business associations—including Sūtaş, Turkish Business and Industry Association (TÜSİAD), YASED International Investors Association, Association of Research-Based Pharmaceutical Companies, American Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, and the Turkish Tourism Investors Association—in İstanbul, Brussels, and Paris on external relations, public policy, EU affairs, government relations, corporate affairs, and corporate communications. From 2006 to 2010, Inceoglu was responsible for implementing strategic communications, public diplomacy, and lobbying on Turkey's full EU membership bid in Brussels, Paris, and Berlin TÜSİAD. Inceoglu holds a bachelor's degree in international relations and master's degree in regional and strategic studies from Galatasaray University, a master's degree in geostrategy, development, and globalisation from the Paris-Panthéon-Assas University as a Jean Monnet scholar, and pursued a PhD in development economics at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS).

Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi

Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi is a senior research fellow in the research and studies department at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. Her research is focused on the women, peace, and security agenda; gender and security; violence against women; and the gender dimensions of foreign policy and international relations. She holds a doctorate in political science from Babcock University.

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, 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 Gulf-Europe relations at the GRC in Dubai, and as head of strategic studies at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research. Koch's work analyzes 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.

Jin Liangxiang

Jin Liangxiang is senior research fellow in the Center for West Asian and African Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in Middle East regional politics, Iran's foreign policy, and China-Iran relations. He is a frequent visitor to institutions on Middle East studies across the region, America, and Europe, and is interviewed by mainstream media in China. He writes for the *Tehran Times*, China.org.cn and China-U.S. Focus, and is author of *The Domestic Sources of Iran's Foreign Policy*.

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 focused 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, Karakullukçu served as the 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, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

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 the 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.

Arif Z. Lalani

Arif Z. Lalani is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He is a former Canadian diplomat who served as ambassador to Jordan, Iraq, Afghanistan, and the United Arab Emirates. He was also posted to Turkey (with accreditation to Georgia and Azerbaijan), New York (representing Canada on the United Nations Security Council) and Washington, DC. Lalani was Canada's first special envoy to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. He is now a private consultant and serves on an advisory committee for the Prince's Trust International, on the Mediation Advisory Board at Global Affairs Canada, and is a senior fellow at New America. He is an expert on global governance, in particular on the work of the United Nations system (including the international financial institutions) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In 2016, Lalani took a four-year leave from government to head the diplomatic department of His Highness the Aga Khan. He represented the interests of the Imam and the Aga Khan Development Network globally. He previously served on CIGI's board of directors, as well as on the boards of the Commonwealth of Learning, Hedayah, the Canadian Ditchley Foundation, and the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. He has received several awards from different governments. Lalani has appeared as an expert on major media networks in Europe and North America where he is often asked to speak about international crisis management. He holds a master's degree in management, organizations, and governance from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Marlos Lima

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

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in

CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR's eleven fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. Lindsay's most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Lindsay has been a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Iowa and the University of Texas, and from 1996 to 1997 served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge* and hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*.

Fyodor Lukyanov

Fyodor Lukyanov is chair of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, the oldest Russian nongovernmental organization providing expertise in the field of security and foreign affairs. He is editor in chief of *Russia in Global Affairs*, a journal published in Russian and English since 2002. Lukyanov is also research director of the Valdai Discussion Club and member of the presidium of the Russian International Affairs Council. Additionally, he is a research professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

Bronwen Maddox

Bronwen Maddox took up the post of director and chief executive of Chatham House in August 2022. Before joining Chatham House, Maddox was director of the Institute for Government, an independent London think tank promoting better government, from 2016 to 2022. From 2010 to 2016, she was editor and chief executive of *Prospect*, the monthly current affairs magazine. Before that, she served as chief foreign commentator, foreign editor and U.S. editor at the *Times*, after a period at the *Financial Times* where she ran award-winning investigations and wrote economics editorials. Before becoming a journalist, Maddox was an investment analyst and a director of Kleinwort Benson Securities, where she ran its highly rated team analyzing world media stocks. Maddox is a visiting professor in the Policy Institute at King's College London, honorary governor of the Ditchley Foundation, an honorary fellow of the British Academy, and a council member of Research England, one of the research councils of UK Research and Innovation. She writes frequent op-ed columns for the *Financial Times* and broadcasts widely. Maddox has a degree in politics, philosophy, and economics from St John's College, Oxford.

James Moran

James Moran is an associate senior research fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS). He was previously principal advisor on the Middle East and North Africa at the EU's External Action Service in Brussels in 2016–17. His long service with European institutions was spent entirely in external relations and includes wide experience in European foreign, security, trade, and development policy in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. From 2012 to 2016, he was ambassador and head of the European Union delegation in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and was the EU's senior coordinator in Libya during the 2011 revolution. Between 2002 and 2011, after heading the China division in Brussels, he was Asia director in 2006–11, and the chief negotiator for several EU partnership agreements with China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. He also headed the EU missions to Jordan and Yemen in 1999–2002. Earlier experience in the 1980s and 90s included service

with the EU delegations in Jamaica and Ethiopia and various assignments in Brussels. Prior to joining the EU in 1983, he worked for the UK government and private sector in London. He attended Keele, Harvard, and London universities.

Sara Nowacka

Sara Nowacka is a senior analyst in the Middle East and Africa at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM) and a PhD candidate at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Nowacka focuses on water conflicts and governance, demography, political reform, EU-Arab relations, and Lebanese politics. She is a 2021 Think Visegrad fellow, 2022 Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange PROM fellow, and a senior fellow at Humanity in Action, an international organization promoting democratic values. She earned an MA in Arabic studies from the Jagiellonian University in Poland.

Kumar Ramakrishna

Kumar Ramakrishna is professor of national security studies, provost's chair in national security studies, research advisor to the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, and dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. From 2020 to 2022, he was head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research and associate dean for policy studies at RSIS. He also led RSIS's national security studies programme from 2016 to 2020 and the Centre of Excellence for National Security from 2006 to 2015. A historian by background, Ramakrishna is a frequent public speaker and media commentator on counterterrorism with a focus on Southeast Asia; he has published extensively on the topic. His recent research has focused on understanding, preventing, and countering violent extremism in Southeast Asia. Ramakrishna's latest book is *Extremist Islam: Recognition and Response in Southeast Asia*. He is also the author of *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–1958* and *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalisation in Indonesia*. He earned a bachelor's degree in political science from the National University of Singapore, a master's degree in defense studies from the University of New South Wales, and a doctorate in history from Royal Holloway and University of London's Bedford New College.

Andrés Rozental

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. He 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 ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–97), deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83). 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 Interamerican 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 degree

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Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is a Saudi strategic expert specializing in international politics and regional security issues, and founder and chair of the Gulf Research Center (GRC). Sager has also been a visiting professor at a number of universities and a member of various councils, advisory and academic committees, institutes, and international research centers. He participates in international and regional conferences that address issues pertaining to the Gulf region. Notably, Sager has authored and edited numerous publications and has many articles in local and international newspapers related to Gulf affairs and regional issues, and he frequently contributes to major international media outlets. He is also the editor-in-chief of *Araa*, a monthly Arabic-language magazine focused on Gulf affairs, and is the editor-in-chief of *The Gulf Yearbook*. Sager holds a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University.

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.

Patrycja Sasnal

Patrycja Sasnal is a political scientist, Arabist, and philosopher. She is head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs and professor of migration at the College of Europe. She is a member of the UN Human Rights Council advisory committee, European Council on Foreign Relations' council, and the Polish Ombudsman office's expert commission on migration. She was most recently a visiting professor at the Institute of the Environment and Sustainability at the University of California, Los Angeles, working on a report for the UN Human Rights Council regarding the impact of technologies for climate protection on the enjoyment on human rights. Sasnal was a Fulbright Scholar at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington and an associate researcher at the American University in Beirut. She specializes in Middle Eastern politics, migration, and political violence. She has written for the *Guardian*, *Le Monde* and *Polityka*. Her latest book is *Arendt, Fanon and Political Violence in Islam*. Sasnal holds a PhD in political science.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is the president of the East Asia Institute and professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Underwood International College at Yonsei University. He served as the president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019, dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016, and president of the Association for Contemporary Japan in 2012. Before joining Yonsei University, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and was a visiting scholar at University of Tokyo; Waseda University; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and University of California, Berkeley. Sohn has served on several government advisory committees, including the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Korean Ministry of Trade, Korean National Diplomatic Academy, Northeast Asian History Foundation, and Korea Foundation. Sohn has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian political economics, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His recent publications include *Japan and Asia's Contested Order*, coauthored with T.J. Pempel; *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*, coauthored with Jan Melissen; and *South Korea Under U.S.-China Rivalry: The Dynamics of the Economic-Security Nexus in Trade Policymaking*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Duygu Söyler Aytaç

Duygu Söyler Aytaç is senior director at Global Relations Forum (GRF). She also directs the GRF Young Academics program, its publications, and coordinates GRF community programs, which connect students and young professionals with GRF's work and advance a culture of intellectual diversity, rational and constructive debate, and analytic coherence. Her work focuses on technology and socioeconomic transformation, green transitions, and gender equality. Prior to joining GRF in 2019, she worked at Infakto Research Workshop where she conducted social and political research on various topics. She obtained a BA in political science and international relations from Boğaziçi University and an MA in political science from Central European University, where she specialized in political communication.

Navdeep Suri

Navdeep Suri is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF). He is on the board of several companies and advisor to several prestigious international organizations. He is also professor of eminence at Guru Nanak Dev University in Amritsar, India. Suri completed a distinguished thirty-six year career in the Indian Foreign Service in 2019, having served in India's diplomatic missions in Cairo, Damascus, Washington, Dar es Salaam, and London and as India's consul general in Johannesburg. He was India's high commissioner to Australia and ambassador to Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. The UAE president conferred on him the Order of Zayed II, the country's second-highest civilian award for his role in transforming bilateral ties. Suri is a respected commentator on developments in the Middle East and co-edited the ORF-Global Policy books *A 2030 Vision for India's Economic Diplomacy* and *I2U2: Pathways for a new minilateral*. Suri holds a master's degree in economics.

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Wu Bingbing is director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, senior research fellow at the Institute for International and Strategic Studies (IISS-PKU), state of Qatar chair professor in Middle Eastern studies, and director of the department of Arabic language and culture at Peking University. His research interests focus on politics of the contemporary Middle East, China-Iran relations, Shia Islam and Iranian studies, and Islamist movements. He is a board member of the China-Iran Friendship Association, China-Arab Friendship Association, and Chinese Society of Middle Eastern Studies. He is the author of *The Rise of the Modern Shi'i Islamism*, editor of *The Belt and Road Initiative: Cases of Practice and Risk Control in Cultural Affairs*, and has published a number of academic articles. He received his PhD in Middle Eastern studies from Peking University.

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