

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



Sunday, May 18, 2025

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

Monday, May 19, 2025

8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

6:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

Tuesday, May 20, 2025

8:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.

The 2025 Council of Councils Annual Conference

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family 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 the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media sites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation
(CIGI)

CHINA

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs
(SWP)

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

JAPAN

Genron NPO

MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

RUSSIA

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

SAUDI ARABIA

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 Fourteenth Annual Conference

Agenda

Sunday, May 18, 2025

Council on Foreign Relations

58 East 68th Street

New York, NY 10065

5:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m. *Opening Dinner*

Speaker:

Justin Muzinich, Chief Executive Officer, Muzinich & Co., Inc.; Member, Board of Directors, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury

Presider:

Michael Froman, President, Council on Foreign Relations

Monday, May 19, 2025

Council on Foreign Relations

58 East 68th Street

New York, NY 10065

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration and Light Breakfast*

Greenberg Room and Altschul Room

9:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Welcome and Session One*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

The Future of the World Order After Disruption: No Rules, New Rules, Spheres of Influence, and the Limits and Prospects for International Cooperation

9:00 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Diagnosing the Problems*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Guiding questions: Are we living in a moment of disruption or witnessing the culmination of profound changes in world order? Is the post-war order gone; is the post–Cold War period over; or do some elements of both persist? What were some of the trends and factors that led to this disruption? Will there be a single international order in the future? Will there be international cooperation? Who might write the new rules? What is the state of smart power and diplomacy in this moment of hard power and strongmen? With strains in values-based alliances, who will lose and who will benefit from transactional foreign policy?

Speakers:

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

Fonteh Akum, Executive Director, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)

Presider:

Selim Yenel, President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

9:45 a.m.–9:55 a.m. *Break and Transition to Breakout Discussions*

9:55 a.m.–10:40 a.m. *Breakout Discussions on Specific Prescriptions*

Breakout A- Tariffs and economic rules

A/V Lab

Discussion Leader:

Yul Sohn, *President, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

Breakout B - International cooperation

Vance Room

Discussion Leader:

Francisco de Santibañes, *President,
Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

Breakout C - Defense and national security

Rita Hauser Room

Discussion Leader:

Thierry de Montbrial, *Executive Chairman,
French Institute of International Relations (France)*

Breakout D - Alliances and agreements

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Discussion Leader:

Tadamichi Yamamoto, *Member, Board of Directors; In Charge of International
Programs
Genron NPO (Japan)*

10:40 a.m.–10:50 a.m. *Break and Transition from Breakout Discussions*

10:50 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Discussion*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

11:30 a.m.–11:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

11:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m. *Session Two (Hot Topic Discussion)*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Developments in the Middle East

Guiding questions:

What realistic endgame scenarios exist for Gaza and the broader Israeli–Palestinian conflict—particularly in light of Lebanon’s instability, Syria’s fragile recovery, Iran’s regional ambitions, and Egypt and Jordan’s desire to avoid absorbing or administering any part of Gaza? Who stands to benefit or lose in each scenario?

If a new nuclear deal with Iran comes to fruition, what are the implications for the Iranian opposition and human rights? What are the ramifications for the future of sanctions? And is the uncertainty of Iran's compliance worth the risk?

Speakers:

Avishay Ben Sasson-Gordis, Ruderman Family Foundation Scholar in Residence and Senior Researcher,

Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Michele Valensise, President,

Institute of International Affairs (Italy)

Presider:

Sergio Alcocer, Former President,

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Lunch*

The Rubin Library

1:30 p.m.–2:15 p.m. *Session Three (Over Coffee)*

The Rubin Library

The Role of Think Tanks in a Changing World Order and the Importance of the Council of Councils

Guiding questions: What is the role of policy research organizations and elite institutions in an era of rising populism? What role should policy research organizations play in the reordering or reenvisioning of the global order? What is the role of civil society when government engagement recedes? Is there a future for track II dialogues? What is the best format or modality to engage skeptical, populist government officials? How does international engagement work in an era of rising nationalism?

Speakers:

Steven Bennett, Executive Vice President and Chief Administrative Officer,

Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Presider:

Esther Brimmer, James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance,

Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

2:15 p.m.–2:30 p.m. *Break*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

- 2:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Four* *Peter G. Peterson Hall*
International Organizations Without the United States: The World Health Organization
- Guiding questions: How has the withdrawal of the United States from the World Health Organization affected your home country and region's engagement on multilateral health initiatives and institutions? How is the U.S. withdrawal from the World Health Organization and subsequent disruption in global health governance affecting the topics on which you work? Where does WHO go from here? How can the institution adapt?*
- Speakers:*
Victoria Castoya, Director, Working Group for International Development Cooperation, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)
Emma Ross, Senior Research Fellow, Global Health Programme, Chatham House (United Kingdom)
- Presider:*
Tom Bollyky, Bloomberg Chair in Global Health; Senior Fellow for International Economics, Law, and Development; and Director of the Global Health Program (United States)
- 3:30 p.m.–3:45 p.m. *Coffee Break* *Peter G. Peterson Hall*
- 3:45 p.m.–4:45 p.m. *Session Five* *Peter G. Peterson Hall*
The Future Frontier of Space: Cooperation, Competition, or Conflict?
- Guiding questions: Why is space an international political issue? How are countries (or groups of countries) expanding cooperation in space? How has the growing commercial sector changed the politics of space? What international mechanisms might be used to shape space governance? How have renewed concerns about nuclear weapons affected space policy?*
- Speakers:*
Juliana Süß, Associate, Strategic Threat Analysis and Nuclear (Dis-)Order Program, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)
Esther Brimmer, James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)
- Presider:*
Kumar Ramakrishna, Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)
- 4:45 p.m.–6:30 p.m. *Free Time*

6:30 p.m.–9:30 p.m. Reception, Discussion, and Dinner

Museum of the City of New York

1220 5th Ave

New York, NY 10029

Speaker:

Christopher P. Liddell, *Former White House Deputy Chief of Staff*

Presider:

Christopher M. Tuttle, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*

Tuesday, May 20, 2025

Council on Foreign Relations

58 East 68th Street

New York, NY 10065

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. Light Breakfast

Greenberg Room and Rita Hauser Room

9:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m. Session Six (Hot Topic Discussion)

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Tensions in Transatlantic Security: Arctic Geopolitics and Beyond

Guiding questions: How does the thawing of the Arctic transform the geopolitical map of the region? How are Arctic and non-Arctic states reorienting their strategies in response to these changes? What new centers of economic or strategic gravity are emerging in the region? How does the growing accessibility of the Northern Sea Route or Transpolar Sea Route alter global trade dynamics and strategic choke points? How does great power competition play out in the Arctic?

Speakers:

Thomas Gomart, *Director,*

French Institute of International Relations (France)

Paul Samson, *President,*

Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)

Presider:

Héctor Cárdenas, *President,*

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)

10:15 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Coffee Break

Peter G. Peterson Hall

10:30 a.m.–11:45 p.m. Session Seven

Peter G. Peterson Hall

The Future of Economic Security: The Search for Critical Minerals

Guiding questions: How will the need to acquire critical minerals shape state economic security strategies? How might disruptive technologies change current and future demand? What

minerals are needed and where are they found, on land, in the seabed, elsewhere? How can developing and small countries protect their critical minerals?

Speakers:

Wang Zhongmei, Senior Fellow and Director, Institute for World Economy Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Laura von Daniels, Head of Research Division, the Americas, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Presider:

Memduh Karakullukçu, Former Vice Chair and President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

11:45 a.m.–11:50 a.m.	<i>Closing Remarks</i>	<i>Peter G. Peterson Hall</i>
11:50 a.m.–12:30 p.m.	<i>Break</i>	<i>Peter G. Peterson Hall</i>
12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m.	<i>Lunch</i>	<i>David Rockefeller Room & The Rubin Library</i>
1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.	<i>Session Eight (Public Session)</i> The Future of Alliances: Burden Sharing and Credibility of Commitments	<i>David Rockefeller Room</i>

Guiding questions: Can alliances survive vagaries in United States policy? How have major U.S. allies changed their foreign policy and defense policies? What new coalitions of the willing might arise as countries look for alternative partners to the United States in both trade and security? How will this moment of disruption change security guarantees, and what new strategies might be employed?

Speakers:

Michael Fullilove, Executive Director, Lowy Institute (Australia)

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

Stefan Mair, Director and Executive Chairman, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)

Presider:

Frances Fragos Townsend, Former Assistant to President George W. Bush for Counterterrorism & Homeland Security

Participant Biographies

Fonteh Akum

Fonteh Akum is executive director at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). He previously worked in research, research management, and policy communication at the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, the Africa Programme of the UN University for Peace, and also at the International Monetary Fund headquarters in Washington, DC. Akum's research covers geopolitics, violent conflicts, and peacebuilding. He also previously headed the Lake Chad Basin Programme at ISS. He holds a PhD in politics and international studies from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

Sergio M. Alcocer

Sergio M. Alcocer, former president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, is a professor at the Institute of Engineering of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and visiting professor in the University of Texas at San Antonio. He is a nonresident scholar at Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy. Alcocer was the undersecretary for North America in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the undersecretary for strategic planning and technology development of the Mexican Ministry of Energy. At UNAM, he was secretary general, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering. He is a member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety of the Mexico City Government. He is the founder and president of México Exponencial, a think tank for the development of public policy and strategies for embracing exponential technologies in Mexico. Alcocer is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering and is former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. He was awarded an honorary doctor of science degree from the University of Arizona. Alcocer is a distinguished engineering alum of the University of Texas at Austin's Cockrell School of Engineering. Alcocer was recipient of the Charles S. Whitney Medal of the American Concrete Institute and the National Prize of Civil Engineering in Mexico. He received his bachelor of science in civil engineering from UNAM and a doctorate in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

Kuniko Ashizawa

Kuniko Ashizawa is a senior fellow at the Genron NPO. She also teaches international relations at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs and American University's School of International Service. Her research interests include Japan's foreign policy, regional institution-building in Asia, and global governance. She has published a number of academic journal articles and book chapters, including in the *International Studies Review*, *Pacific Affairs*, the *Pacific Review*, and the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*. Her book, *Japan, the U.S., and Regional Institution-Building in the New Asia: When Identity Matters*, received the 2015 Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize. Ashizawa was a visiting fellow at various research institutions, including the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the East-West Center in Washington, and the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. She received her PhD in international relations at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Avishay Ben Sasson-Gordis

Avishay Ben Sasson-Gordis is a Ruderman family foundation scholar in residence and senior researcher at Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Security Studies, where he works on the implications of domestic American politics and the effects of U.S. policy on Israeli national security. Ben Sasson-Gordis is also a Liberalism Rekindled postdoctoral fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His academic work focuses on the democratic backsliding and the political theory of the military. He is a frequent commentator on Israeli current affairs in international and Israeli media, and his commentary has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Haaretz*, and *World Politics Review*.

Steven Bennett

Steven Bennett joined the Council on Foreign Relations in March 2024 as executive vice president and chief administrative officer. He is responsible for strategic, financial, and administrative functions, overseeing information services, finance, legal, human resources, libraries, facilities, conference services, and other strategic management initiatives. Previously, he served as senior vice president at Syracuse University and as chief operating officer of the Brookings Institution. He is a graduate of Colgate University with an MPP from Georgetown University.

Thomas J. Bollyky

Thomas J. Bollyky is the inaugural Bloomberg chair in global health at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he directs the global health program. He is also CFR's senior fellow in international economics, law, and development and a senior consultant to the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations. Bollyky is the author of the book *Plagues and the Paradox of Progress: Why the World Is Getting Healthier in Worrisome Ways* and the founding editor of Think Global Health, an online magazine that examines the ways health shapes economies, societies, and everyday lives around the world. He directed the first two CFR-sponsored Task Forces devoted to global health: *Improving Pandemic Preparedness: Lessons from COVID-19* (2020) and *The Emerging Global Health Crisis: Noncommunicable Diseases in Low- and Middle-Income Countries* (2014). Prior to coming to CFR, Bollyky served in a variety of positions in the U.S. government, most recently at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Bollyky has testified multiple times before the U.S. Congress, and his work has appeared in a wide range of general interest publications, such as the *Atlantic* and *New York Times*, and scholarly journals, such as *Science*, *Nature*, and the *New England Journal of Medicine*. He has also served as a consultant to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and as a temporary legal advisor to the World Health Organization. In 2013, the World Economic Forum named Bollyky as one of its global leaders under forty. Bollyky received a BA in biology and history from Columbia University and a JD from Stanford Law School.

Esther Brimmer

Esther Brimmer is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance at the Council of Foreign Relations. Her main areas of interest are international organizations, transatlantic relations, and competition in the global commons. At CFR, she is writing a book on the need for better governance mechanisms to manage expanding human activities in outer space, and served as project director for CFR's most recent Task Force Report, *Securing Space: A Plan for U.S. Action*. In 2017, she served as project director for a CFR Task Force Report titled

Arctic Imperatives: Reinforcing U.S. Strategy on America's Fourth Coast. From 2017 to 2022, she was executive director and CEO of NAFSA: Association of International Educators. She served as the U.S. assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs from 2009 to 2013 and was on the department's policy planning staff from 1999 to 2001. Brimmer was a professor at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs and at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. 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. She holds a bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

Héctor Cárdenas

Héctor Cárdenas is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI) and professor of practice in public policy at the University of California Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy, where he serves as faculty director of the master in public administration degree. He is also cofounder and CEO of the Ergo Group, a consulting firm that has led public sector innovation projects across North America, Latin America, and Asia. Over the past twenty-five years, Cárdenas has advised institutions including the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, UN Development Program, UK Foreign Office, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as governments at all levels in Canada, Mexico, and Singapore. His work focuses on regulatory reform, digital government, service delivery, and data-driven policy. He currently leads the U.S. Department of Labor's \$11 million labor justice reform initiative in Mexico and has played a longstanding role in modernizing Mexico's consular services and justice sector. Cárdenas is particularly engaged in U.S.-Mexico relations, binational cooperation, and leveraging data and technology to improve public policy outcomes. He holds a BA in international relations from El Colegio de México, an MPA from France's École Nationale d'Administration, and a PhD and MPP from the University of California, Berkeley.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is the president of Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), and receives a special government subsidy of the State Council. Chen specializes in the studies of the United Nations, China's foreign policy, and China-U.S. relations. He has led numerous research projects commissioned by China National Foundation of Social Sciences Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and Taiwan Affairs Office of State Council, among others. He has published extensively on UN reform and China's multilateral diplomacy, and is the chief editor of *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, a flagship English journal on China's diplomacy published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing House, based in Singapore. He is also an adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

Victoria Costoya

Victoria Costoya is an expert in international development, social policy, and child rights, with extensive experience in public institutions, global cooperation, and multilateral engagement. She chairs the Working

Group on International Development Cooperation at the Argentine Council on International Relations, where she leads research and convenes experts to discuss global development agendas and cooperation strategies. She currently serves as director of research and international cooperation at the Public Defender's Office for Children and Adolescents in Buenos Aires. She is also executive director of the Center for Human Development Studies at Universidad de San Andrés and teaches in its master's in public policy program. Her work bridges public policy, institutional design, and human rights, with a strong commitment to interdisciplinary and evidence-based approaches. She has authored and coauthored academic articles, policy briefs, and working papers on global financing for development, strategies to prevent violence against children, and the role of multilateral institutions in promoting social investment. Her most recent work focuses on adapting the UN strategy to end violence against children to local contexts through interdisciplinary and interinstitutional frameworks. She holds a degree from the University of Buenos Aires and a master's in international politics and economic development.

Laura von Daniels

Laura von Daniels is head of the Americas Research Division of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). Her research focuses on transatlantic relations and U.S. foreign, economic, and financial policy. Previously, she was a visiting assistant professor of political economy at the Central European University in Budapest and a research associate at the Hertie School in Berlin. She has held research fellowships at Columbia, Princeton, and Harvard Universities and was most recently a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in 2024. Von Daniels received her PhD and MA in political science, with a concentration in international political economy, from the Freie Universitaet Berlin.

Michael Froman

Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He previously served as vice chairman and president of strategic growth at Mastercard, chairman of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth, and as a distinguished fellow at CFR. From June 2013 to January 2017, Ambassador Froman served in President Barack Obama's Cabinet as U.S. trade representative. Major initiatives under his leadership included the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, the Trade Promotion Authority, the African Growth and Opportunity Act, the Generalized System of Preferences program, and the Trade Facilitation and Trade Enforcement Act. From January 2009 to June 2013, Ambassador Froman served as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs; sherpa for the Group of Twenty (G20), Group of Eight (G8), and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summits; and chair of the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate, the Transatlantic Economic Council, the U.S.-India CEO Forum; and the U.S.-Brazil CEO Forum. Prior to the Obama administration, Ambassador Froman worked at Citigroup, including as CEO of its international insurance business, COO of its alternative investments business, and head of its infrastructure investment business. During the Bill Clinton administration, Ambassador Froman served as a senior official in the Department of the Treasury, National Security Council, and National Economic Council. Ambassador Froman received a

bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and a law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the Harvard Law Review.

Michael Fullilove

Michael Fullilove has served as the executive director of the Lowy Institute since 2012. He wrote the feasibility study for the Lowy Institute in 2002 and was the director of its global issues program from 2003 to 2012. He was previously a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, and a lawyer. Fullilove serves on the advisory council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Fullilove has written several prize-winning books and writes widely on Australian and U.S. foreign policy for, among others, the Financial Times, Foreign Affairs, and the New York Times. In 2019, Fullilove was appointed a member of the Order of Australia for significant service to international relations. He graduated in arts and law from the University of Sydney and the University of New South Wales, and studied as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford, where he received a master's degree and a doctorate in international relations.

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart has been the director of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI) since 2015. He is a member of the scientific committee of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defence and is on the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and *Études*. In 2017, he was a member of the French Ministry of Armed Forces' strategic review committee for its Strategic Review of Defence and National Security. He has published extensively on Russia, digital issues, think tanks, and geopolitical risk. Gomart's most recent book is *L'accélération de l'histoire: Les noeuds géostratégiques d'un monde hors de contrôle*, and he has also authored *Les ambitions inavouées: Ce que préparent les grandes puissances*, *L'Affolement du monde*, and *Guerres invisibles*.

Noel Gruber

Noel Gruber is the director of public affairs at the Centre for International Governance Innovation, an independent, nonpartisan think tank in Canada. She is a public relations leader experienced in strategic communications for research, academic, and nonprofit organizations. Noel has held roles at the University of Waterloo, Schlegel-UW Research Institute for Aging, SickKids hospital and other health-care organizations. She is also a former journalist with various Canadian media. Noel is a master of communications management candidate at McMaster University, with an interest in generative artificial intelligence use in public relations, crisis communications, and organizational partnership strategy.

Jiang Lixiao

Jiang Lixiao is a research fellow of the Institute for World Economy Studies and the Center for Global Shanghai Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). His research focuses on theories of global climate governance and international economic law. Jiang holds a PhD in law from the East China University of Political Science and Law and the Shanghai International Studies University.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (from 2009 to 2019) and board member (from 2009 to 2023) 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. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*, and is a member of the New York State Bar Association. 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.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is the Mary and David Boies distinguished senior fellow in U.S. foreign policy and director of Fellowship Affairs at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). In the latter capacity, he oversees CFR's fourteen fellowship programs. From 2009 to 2024, Lindsay was senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR, where he oversaw the work of the more than six dozen fellows in the Council's in-house think tank, the David Rockefeller Studies Program. His writings examine U.S. national security policy, the U.S. foreign policymaking process, and the domestic politics of U.S. foreign policy. He has written and edited more than a dozen books on American politics and foreign policy. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Dr. Lindsay was a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution from 1999 to 2003 and taught at the University of Iowa (1987-1999) and the University of Texas (2003-2006). In 1996–97, he served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council at the White House. He writes the blog *The Water's Edge* and hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*.

Alejandra López de Alba Gómez

Alejandra López de Alba Gómez is the Deputy Director General of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. She has over thirteen years of experience in Mexico's public sector and has led a variety of information-driven policy and research initiatives in roles such as deputy general director for reliability assessment at the Tax Administration Service; director of evaluation at the National Security Commission; and director of research and foresight at the Federal Public Security Secretariat. Before joining COMEXI, she also served as the head of the Strategic Information Office at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. She has contributed to various academic publications examining how security issues and information operations shape policy and governance. López de Alba Gómez holds a bachelor's degree in history from the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras

of the National Autonomous University of Mexico, a master's in security studies from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and a master's in communication from Johns Hopkins University. She is currently enrolled in the national security and development doctoral program of the Instituto Mexicano de Estudios Estratégicos en Seguridad y Defensa Nacionales.

Stefan Mair

Stefan Mair is director and executive chairman of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). From 2010 to 2020 he was a member of the board of the Federation of German Industries, responsible for international and European affairs. Previously, he joined SWP as a research fellow in 1992 and was a member of the executive board from 2009 to 2010, research director from 2007 to 2009, and head of the Middle East and Africa division from 2001 to 2007. He has taught international affairs at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, the Humboldt University of Berlin, and the Free University of Berlin. His areas of expertise are German and EU foreign and security policy, foreign trade policy, and geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics. He holds a PhD from the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich and was a postdoctoral fellow at the Ifo Institute for Economic Research.

Thierry de Montbrial

Thierry de Montbrial is executive chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), which he founded in 1979, and 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 several foreign academies.

Thierry de Montbrial chaired the economics department at the Ecole Polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research from 1993 to 2001. Entrusted with the creation of the policy planning staff at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he served as its first director from 1973 to 1979. He has authored more than twenty books, some of which have been translated into additional languages. These include *Action and Reaction in the World System*, *The Dynamics of Economic and Political Power*, and *Living in Troubled Times: A New Political Era*. He is a grand officier of the Légion d'honneur and a grand officier of the Ordre national du Mérite. He has also been awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star, and other state honors by foreign governments. Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, and received a PhD in mathematical economics from the University of California at Berkeley.

Noory Okthariza

Noory Okthariza is a researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia. His work explores the intersection of political behavior and development, with an emphasis on how institutions and historical legacies shape the domestic political and economic outcomes in Southeast Asia. He combines causal inference and text analysis to explore these dynamics. He is currently on leave while pursuing his PhD in political science at the University of Maryland.

Shannon K. O’Neil

Shannon K. O’Neil is the senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations, where she oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in the David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR’s fourteen fellowship programs. She is a leading authority on global trade, supply chains, Mexico, and Latin America. 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 has taught at Harvard and Columbia Universities, and began her career in emerging markets finance.

Kumar Ramakrishna

Kumar Ramakrishna is professor of national security studies, provost’s chair in national security studies, and dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), as well as research adviser to RSIS’s International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research. Prior to his current appointments, he was head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research from 2020 to 2022, head of the Centre of Excellence for National Security from 2006 to 2015, and head of the National Security Studies Programme 2016 to 2020. He was also associate dean for policy studies from 2020 to 2022. A historian by background, Ramakrishna has been a frequent speaker on counterterrorism before local and international audiences, a regular media commentator on counterterrorism, and an established author in numerous internationally refereed journals. His first book, *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–1958*, was described by the *International History Review* as “required reading for historians of Malaya, and for those whose task is to counter insurgents, guerrillas, and terrorists”. His second major book, *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalisation in Indonesia*, was featured as one of the top 150 books on terrorism and counterterrorism in the respected journal *Perspectives on Terrorism*, which identified Ramakrishna as “one of Southeast Asia’s leading counterterrorism experts.” His recent research has focused on understanding, preventing, and countering violent extremism in Southeast Asia. His latest book is *Extremist Islam: Recognition and Response in Southeast Asia*.

Emma Ross

Emma Ross is a senior research fellow at Chatham House, where she heads the Global Health Programme as part of the London-based institute’s new Centre for Global Governance and Security. She has conducted research and led high-level expert and policymaker dialogues on a broad range of health security and biodefense policy and governance issues that range from regional cooperation on cross-border outbreaks and biosafety and biosecurity capacity-building in low- and middle-income countries to international financing of global public health goods and global cooperation for pandemic prevention, preparedness, and response. Her current work focuses on global health diplomacy and the geopolitics of global health, the effectiveness of international cooperative efforts against the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and medical countermeasures supply chain resilience and security for health emergency preparedness. Until 2022, she had served for more than a decade as the managing editor of the *Control of Communicable Diseases Manual*. Prior to this, Emma led the news

operations at WHO headquarters in Geneva, after serving as a long-time medical correspondent for the Associated Press covering advances in medicine and issues in global public health in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. She holds a master's degree in journalism from Northwestern University in the United States.

Paul Samson

Paul Samson is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), an independent Canadian think tank working on international governance with a focus on policy solutions in an era of transformative technologies. Paul served over 20 years with the Government of Canada, including at the deputy minister level. He worked in the Privy Council Office during the time of three different Prime Ministers. At Finance Canada, he served as Canada's deputy for finance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, was co-chair of the G20 Framework Working Group on the global economy and served on the Board of Directors for the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Paul completed a doctorate in international relations at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, and his undergraduate degree at the University of British Columbia. He completed post-doctoral studies in global environmental assessment at Harvard University and was a research associate at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is the president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), a prominent Latin American think tank. He has taught at Austral University in Buenos Aires, and was a global fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington, DC. De Santibañes has authored four books and published numerous articles and chapters in esteemed publications. He holds an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and pursued doctoral studies at King's College London.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal is the current president of Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) and is also a member of several boards of directors. He served as vice president of FGV from 1997 to 2000, general director of EP General Energy from 1994 to 1997, director of FGV-Business from 1992 to 1997, and a professor at FGV's EPGE Brazilian School of Economics and Finance in Rio de Janeiro from 1986 to 1997. Leal holds a degree in civil engineering from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro's School of Engineering, a master's in mathematical economics from the National Council of Scientific and Technological Development's National Institute of Pure and Applied Mathematics, and a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is a professor of international studies in Yonsei University's Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Underwood International College in Seoul, South Korea. He is also the president of the East Asia Institute (EAI). Sohn served as president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019. He also served as dean of the GSIS from 2012 to 2016 and president of the Association for Contemporary Japanese Studies in 2012. Before joining the faculty at Yonsei, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and the University of Tokyo. He was a Fulbright Scholar with the University of California, Berkeley; a senior fellow with Waseda

University's Institute for Advanced Studies; and a senior visiting professor with the University of Tokyo. Sohn has served as a policy advisor on a number of government advisory committees, including the Korean Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Trade, respectively, the Korea National Diplomatic Academy, the Northeast Asian History Foundation, and the Korea Foundation. Sohn has written extensively on East Asian international relations, Japanese and East Asian political economy, and public diplomacy. His recent publications include "ROK and the Middle Power Diplomacy" in the *Routledge Handbook of Korean Politics and Public Administration*, *South Korea's Choice After the Global Financial Crisis*, *Japan and Asia's Contested Order* (with T. J. Pempel), *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia* (with Jan Melissen), and "South Korea Under U.S.-China Rivalry: The Dynamics of the Economic-Security Nexus in the Trade Policymaking" in *The Pacific Review*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Juliana Süß

Juliana Süß is an associate with the Strategic Threat Analysis and Nuclear (Dis-)Order (STAND) Project within the German Institute for International and Security Affairs' Research Group on International Security, where she researches space security, deterrence, and arms control. She also hosts the podcast *War in Space*, which discusses the intersection of international security and space. Juliana is an associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute, where she was previously a research fellow for space security.

Christopher M. Tuttle

Chris Tuttle is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he focuses on the politics and process behind U.S. foreign policy. He most recently directed CFR's Renewing America Initiative, a project to examine the domestic foundations underpinning U.S. power internationally. From 2015 to 2019, Tuttle served as policy director of the majority staff of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations under Chairman Bob Corker (R-TN). From 2019 to 2024, Tuttle was managing director in the Council's Corporate Affairs Program, leading CFR's relationships with a select group of its corporate members. And from 2008 to 2015, Tuttle was director of CFR's Washington Program and Independent Task Force Program. In addition to his work as a senior fellow, Tuttle serves as secretary of the corporation and as a senior advisor for the Council's external affairs efforts in Washington, working to ensure that the actions of policymakers are informed by CFR experts and resources. Tuttle first joined CFR from the U.S. Department of State, where he served from 2006 to 2008. From 1999 to 2006, he worked in the U.S. House of Representatives, serving as chief of staff and senior policy advisor to Representative Mark Green (R-WI), then an assistant majority whip who sat on the International Relations and Financial Services Committees. Tuttle holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin, a master's degree in national security and strategic studies from the U.S. Naval War College, and a diploma from the College of Naval Command and Staff. He has also done graduate study at Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University, and the National Defense University.

Michele Valensise

Michele Valensise is president of the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). From 2017 to 2024, he was president of the German-Italian Center for European Dialogue, known as the Villa Vigoni, at the joint proposal of the Italian and German governments. His diplomatic career began in 1975 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy, or Farnesina, at the Directorate of Economic Affairs. He was later posted to the Italian Embassy in Brasilia and then to the Italian Embassy in Bonn. From 1984 to 1987, during the civil war in Lebanon, he was an adviser

and chargé d'affaires in Beirut. In 1991 he was in Brussels as the first counselor at the Permanent Representation of Italy to the European Union. In 1997 he became ambassador to Sarajevo. He returned to the Farnesina in 1999, where he became director of relations with Parliament and then of the Press Service. He has been ambassador to Brasilia since 2004, to Berlin since 2009, and secretary general of the Farnesina from 2012 to 2016. He is a board member of several joint-stock companies and the Italian Environmental Fund, and a member of the board of directors of the Italian Society for International Organization. He contributes to newspapers and magazines on international politics.

Wang Zhongmei

Wang Zhongmei is senior fellow and the director of Shanghai Institutes for International Studies' Institute for World Economy Studies. She specializes in international economic law, competition law, and trade policy, and has published extensively on the World Trade Organization, free-trade agreements, China-U.S. economic relations, supply chains, competition policy, and China's opening up. As senior policy adviser, Wang has chaired many research projects commissioned by the Chinese government, and has supervised academic programs supported by the China National Foundation of Social Sciences. Wang studied law at Xiamen University from 1995 to 2004 and received her PhD in international law in 2004.

Tadamichi Yamamoto

Tadamichi Yamamoto is a diplomat and who served as UN secretary-general's special representative and head of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan from 2016 to 2020. He served as a Japanese diplomat for forty years beginning in 1974. He was the director in charge when Japan led the international efforts for peace in Cambodia from 1992 to 1994; director in charge of North America; head of political sections in the Philippines, Republic of Korea and the United States; director-general for public diplomacy; ambassador to Hungary from 2012 to 2014 and permanent representative to UNESCO from 2008 to 2010. He served as the special representative of Japan for assistance to Pakistan and Afghanistan from 2010 to 2012 and was in charge of organizing the Ministerial Conference on Assistance to Afghanistan held in Tokyo in July 2012.

Ye Yu

Ye Yu is associate research fellow and deputy director at the Institute for World Economy Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Her research and teaching focuses on China's participation in global economic governance, with an emphasis on international development cooperation, multilateral development banks, and the evolving G20 sovereign debt governance. She holds a PhD in international law from Fudan University and has been a visiting scholar at Yale University, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and other notable institutions.

Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has served as the president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He served as undersecretary at the Ministry of European Union Affairs from 2017 to 2018, ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union (EU) from 2011 to 2017, deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy from 2009 to 2011, and ambassador to Vienna from 2005 to 2009. He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations from 1999 to 2005 and served as a

member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels from 1994 to 1999, the United Nations in New York from 1988 to 1992, the Turkish Embassy in Kabul from 1984 to 1986, and the Organization for Cooperation and Development from 1981 to 1984. He has published *The European Union's Turkey Challenge* in Turkish.

Zhang Chong

Zhang Chong is a research fellow at the Center for American Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). His current research focuses on China-U.S. relations, Southeast Asian issues, international trade and industrial policies, and regional economic growth in China. He holds a BS in economic policy analysis and a BA in Asian studies from SUNY Binghamton University and an MA in liberal studies with a concentration in globalization studies from Dartmouth College.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Christopher P. Liddell

Christopher P. Liddell has a career spanning the public, private, and philanthropic sectors. In the public sector, he served for four years as an assistant to the president in the first Donald Trump administration. He held positions as White House deputy chief of staff, director of strategic initiatives, and director of the American Technology Council. He has been involved in four presidential transition cycles. He has written two books on the topic, including *Year Zero*, a book that outlines a strategic approach to planning and building a significantly more effective White House. He served as executive director of transition planning for the Mitt Romney presidential campaign and coauthored *The Romney Readiness Project*, a comprehensive presidential transition guide. In the private sector, he has thirty years of corporate experience. He served as chief financial officer at both Microsoft and International Paper, overseeing their global finance operations. He was also vice chairman and chief financial officer at General Motors, where he oversaw the company's historic \$23 billion public offering in 2010. In the philanthropic sector, he served as chairman of New Zealand's largest environmental foundation and has also sat on several boards, including the New Zealand Rugby Union. In the 2016 New Year Honors, he was awarded a Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit for services to the country. Chris is a dual citizen of the United States and New Zealand. He holds a bachelor of engineering with honors from the University of Auckland and a master of philosophy from the University of Oxford.

Justin Muzinich

Justin Muzinich is chief executive officer of Muzinich & Co., an international investment firm. He served as the U.S. deputy secretary of the treasury from 2018 to 2021, with broad responsibility for U.S. economic policy. While deputy secretary, Muzinich was also responsible for the roles of undersecretary for terrorism and financial intelligence and undersecretary for domestic finance, managing the divisions of Treasury Department that oversee national security policy, financial policy, and the financing of the U.S. government. Muzinich played a leading role in the economic response to COVID-19 and represented the United States at Group of Seven, Group of Twenty, and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development meetings. His national security responsibilities included the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States and a wide range of National Security Council matters. From 2017 to 2018, Muzinich served as counselor to the secretary of the treasury and helped lead the effort to reform the U.S. tax code. From 2015 to 2016, he was policy director for Jeb Bush's presidential campaign. After leaving public service, Muzinich served as a distinguished fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations from 2021 to 2023, and as a senior fellow at Harvard Kennedy School from 2022 to 2023. Before entering public service, Justin served as president of Muzinich & Co. and created and taught a course on credit markets at Columbia Business School. Muzinich began his career in the mergers and acquisitions group at Morgan Stanley. He is on the boards of the Council on Foreign Relations and New York Presbyterian Hospital. He earned an AB from Harvard College, a JD from Yale Law School, where he was an Olin Fellow, and an MBA from Harvard Business School, where he was a Baker Scholar.

Frances Fragos Townsend

Frances Fragos Townsend currently runs her own independent consulting business. Until recently, she served as the executive vice president of corporate affairs, chief compliance officer, and corporate secretary at Activision Blizzard. Prior to that, she was vice chairman, general counsel, and chief administrative officer at MacAndrews & Forbes, Inc. Before her tenure at MacAndrews, she was a corporate partner with the law firm Baker Botts, LLP. From 2004 to 2008, Ms. Townsend served as assistant to President George W. Bush for homeland security and counterterrorism and chaired the Homeland Security Council. She also served as deputy national security advisor for combatting terrorism from May 2003 to May 2004. Townsend spent thirteen years at the U.S. Department of Justice under the administrations of multiple presidents. Townsend is a director on the board of three public companies, Chubb, Freeport McMoRan, and Leonardo DRS, and she also serves on multiple private company boards; she serves as chairwoman of one of the boards and chairs all the compensation committees. Townsend is a trustee on the board of the Hospital for Special Surgery; the Atlantic Council; CSIS; the Intrepid Sea, Air, and Space Museum; and the McCain Institute. She also serves on the Board at the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and the International Republican Institute. She is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group.

Observer Biographies

Julia Katsoyich

Julia Katsoyich is a research associate for global governance at the Council on Foreign Relations, where she supports the work of Dr. Esther D. Brimmer, James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance, and Ambassador David J. Scheffer, senior fellow. Before joining CFR, she interned at the Wilson Center's Science and Technology Innovation Program and at the U.S. Senate. She holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Connecticut.

Ashley Ray

Ashley Ray is the associate director of the Council of Councils at the Council on Foreign Relations, where she brings extensive experience in relationship-building in international relations to the role. Ray most recently worked at Alight (formerly the American Refugee Committee), where she focused on government affairs and DC coalition engagement. Before joining the international affairs community, she specialized in the humanities and worked at Washington University in St. Louis from 2015 to 2018. Ray holds a master's degree in international affairs with a focus on international law and organizations from George Washington University. During this time, she researched issues of global governance, nationalism, and international organizations. She also holds a master's degree in history from the University of Missouri in St. Louis.