Tuesday, March 7, 2023 7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time

# COUNCILS OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



# Council of Councils Seventh Virtual Conference

#### **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-eight major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles within members' countries.

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

# **COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS**

**ARGENTINA** 

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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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 Seventh Virtual Conference International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

# Tuesday, March 7, 2023

6:30 a.m.-8:00 a.m. Mexico City

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m. New York / Washington / Waterloo

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

12:30 p.m.-2:00 p.m. London

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. Berlin | Brussels | Lagos | Paris | Rome | Warsaw

2:30 p.m.-4:00 p.m. Johannesburg / Pretoria / Tel Aviv

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

6:00 p.m.-7:30 p.m. New Delhi

7:30 p.m.-9:00 p.m. Jakarta

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

9:30 p.m.-11:00 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

11:30 p.m.-1:00 a.m. Sydney

# Council of Councils Seventh Virtual Conference Agenda

#### Tuesday, March 7, 2023

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

Join details for session:

https://cfr.zoom.us/j/86938612392

Passcode: 493897

Meeting ID: 869 3861 2392

7:30 a.m.-9:00 a.m.

Session One

# Resolving Global Challenges in a Fragmenting World Order

Guiding questions: How can we increase multilateralism in a world of increased geopolitical divides? What are the main drivers behind an increasingly fragmenting world? Are these drivers of fragmentation persistent or temporary? Are there strategic, economic, social|public health, or other areas in which the prospects for cooperation are better? If so, could or should these be a starting point? What new global norms, rules, or institutions can better align the rules-based global governance system with the new balance of power? What can the United States, China, Russia, as well as other actors, do to temper or at least circumscribe growing geopolitical frictions to avoid dangerous escalation and bolster cooperation?

*Introductory Speakers:* 

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

**Bronwen Maddox**, Director and Chief Executive,

Chatham House (United Kingdom)

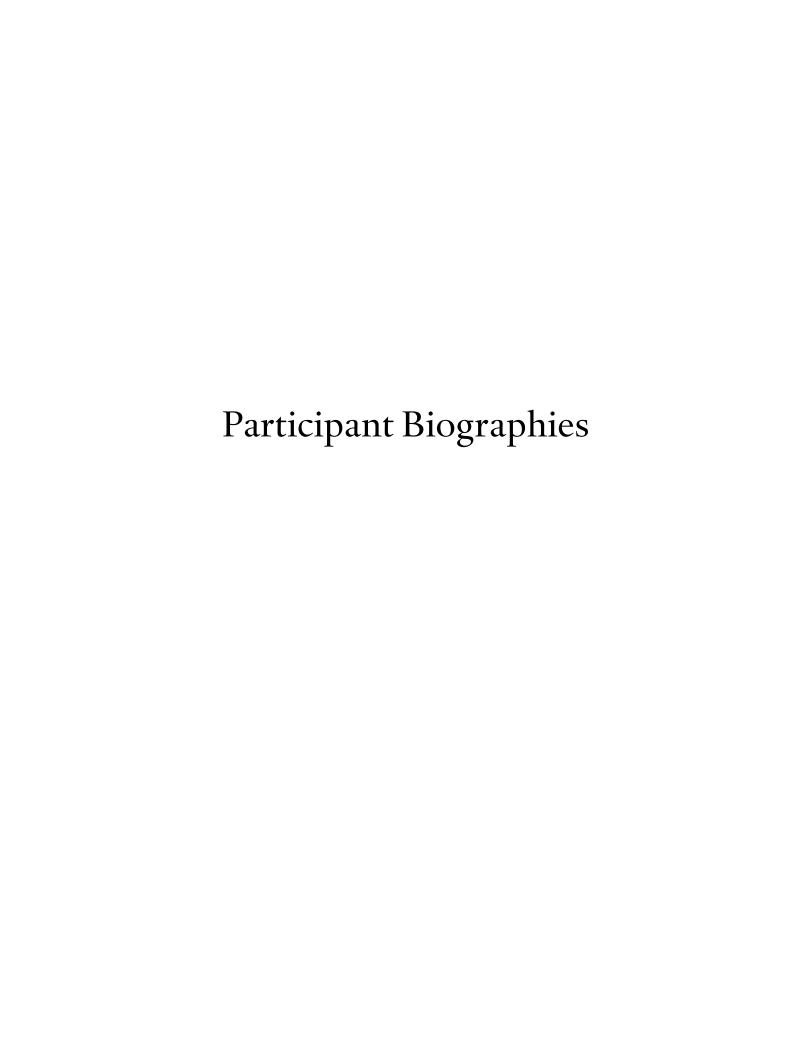
Ong Keng Yong, Executive Deputy Chairman,

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)

Presider:

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

Council on Foreign Relations (United States)



#### 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.

# 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. He is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquake and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. Alcocer 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. He 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. Alcocer has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona, the UNAM Prize for Young Academics, the Mexican Academy of Science's prize for research, the SMIE prize for structural housing engineering, and the American Concrete Institute's Charles S. Whitney Medal. He received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

# Tighisti Amare

Tighisti Amare is the deputy director of the Africa program at Chatham House. She has over ten years' experience designing and managing myriad research projects, events with senior political figures, international conferences, and roundtables relating to the political economy, international relations and governance, and accountability of sub-Saharan African countries. Her research interests include Africa's agency in international relations, Africa-EU relations, and the African Union. Amare's responsibilities also include oversight and quality control, fundraising, team development and management, outreach, and stakeholder engagement.

#### Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is associate dean (external engagement), professor of international relations, president's chair for international relations and security studies, and head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). Her research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in the Asia-

Pacific, human security and nontraditional security, nuclear security, conflict prevention, and global governance. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony served on the UN secretary-general's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and was its chair in 2016. She was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Secretariat from 2011 to 2012. Anthony has led a number of global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. She has served as secretary-general for the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008 and is a member of the international Climate Security Expert Network and the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. She was vice-president-at-large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and was member of the ISA's Global South task force from 2018 to 2021. She 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, both single-authored and coedited, include *Covid -19 and Atrocity Prevention in East Asia, Nuclear Governance in the Indo-Pacific*, and *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*.

#### Duygu Söyler Aytaç

Duygu Söyler Aytaç is senior director at Global Relations Forum (GRF). She also directs the GRF Young Academics program and 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.

#### Juan Battaleme

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

#### Margherita Bianchi

Margherita Bianchi is a head of the energy, climate, and resources program at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). She has previously worked at the European Parliament, in the task force of the Italian Group of Seven presidency, and at the UN Environment Program. She also lectures at several Italian universities. She holds an undergraduate degree in political science and international relations from the Catholic University of Milan, a master's degree in European affairs from the LUISS School of Government in Rome, and a master's degree in EU Law from the Institute of European Studies in Brussels.

#### **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 international institutions and U.S. foreign policy and convenes the Council of Councils. From 2017 through 2022, Brimmer was executive director and CEO of NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the largest nonprofit professional association dedicated to international education with around 10,000 members in over 160 countries. She previously led U.S. policy in international organizations as the assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs from 2009 to 2013 and served on the policy planning staff from 1999 to 2001. Brimmer was the J. B. and Maurice C. Shapiro professor at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She was the first deputy director and director of research at the Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR) at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies from 2001 to 2009. While at CTR, Brimmer was also a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. Brimmer has served in the private sector as a senior advisor at McLarty Associates, and earlier as an associate at McKinsey & Company. Early in her career, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie commission on preventing deadly conflict. Brimmer has published numerous articles and edited eight books on transatlantic relations, including Defending the Gains? Transatlantic Responses When Democracy Is Under Threat; Changing Identities, Enduring Values: Is There Still a Transatlantic Community?; and The Strategic Implications of EU Enlargement (with Stefan Fröhlich). Brimmer received her bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

#### Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in the studies of the United Nations, Chinese foreign policy, 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. He 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. Chen was recognized as a Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

#### Gustavo de Carvalho

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

#### 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 globalization of value chains. He is active in many research and advisory networks in East Asia, including the Indonesia Service Dialogue and Asia-Pacific Research and Training Network on Trade. Damuri also teaches international economics at the University of Indonesia. He received his bachelor's degree in economics at the University of Indonesia, master's degree in international and development economics from the Australian National University, and doctorate in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

#### **Thomas Gomart**

Thomas Gomart has been the director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) since 2015. He is a member of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defence's scientific committee and the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and *Etudes*. Gomart was a member of the French Ministry of Armed Forces' strategic review committee for its *Strategic Review of Defence and National Security 2017*. He has published extensively on Russia, energy and digital issues, think tanks, and country risk. His most recent book is *Les ambitions inavouées*, and he also authored *L'Affolement du monde* and *Guerres invisibles*. He has been awarded the rank of Knight of the National Order of Merit. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

#### 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.

#### Guan Guihai

Guan Guihai is executive vice president of Peking University's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. He is also associate professor at the university's School of International Studies, director of its Center for Modern Russian Studies, consultant to the Chinese Ministry of Education's subcommittee on Sino-Russian cooperation, and an editorial board member of the academic journal *Region*. His academic interests include Russian diplomacy, Sino-Russian relations, China's and Russia's contemporary political and social transitions, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and social-political development in Central Asian countries. He was a visiting professor at the University of Vienna and the University of Wurzburg from 2012 to 2013 and a visiting scholar at the University of Minnesota from 2004 to 2005. His publications include *Great Europe: Honor and Dream, Yeltsin's Years in Power*, and over thirty articles in English, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian. Guan earned a BA and an MA from Peking University and a PhD from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

### Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi

Omotola Adeyoju Ilesanmi is a research fellow in the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs' research and studies department. 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.

### Dhruva Jaishankar

Dhruva Jaishankar is executive director of the Observer Research Foundation America (ORF America). He is also a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute and writes a monthly column for the Hindustan Times. Jaishankar was previously director of the U.S. Initiative at the New Delhibased Observer Research Foundation. From 2016 to 2019, he was a fellow in foreign policy studies at Brookings India in New Delhi and the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. From 2012 to 2016, he was a transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund (GMF), where he managed the India Trilateral Forum, a regular policy dialogue involving participants from the United States, India, and Europe. From 2015 to 2016, Jaishankar was a visiting fellow with the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. From 2009 to 2012, he was program officer with the Asia program at GMF. Before that, he worked as a research assistant at the Brookings Institution and as a news writer and reporter for CNN-IBN television in New Delhi. He has also been a David Rockefeller fellow with the Trilateral Commission, a Merrill Center Young Strategist with the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and a Brent Scowcroft Award fellow with the Aspen Strategy Group. He has published research on India's relations with the United States, Australia, Japan, Europe, and Southeast Asia; defense and security policy; and globalization, democracy, and technology. His research has appeared in several books, policy reports, and publications, including Foreign

Affairs, Foreign Policy, and Survival. He holds a BA in history and classics from Macalester College and an MA in security studies from Georgetown University.

# Marc Julienne

Marc Julienne is head of china research at the French Institute of International Relations' Centre for Asian Studies. He mainly focuses on China's foreign and security policy. He is also a professor of international relations in Northeast Asia at the National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations (INALCO). Previously, Julienne was a research fellow at the Foundation for Strategic Research. He was an associate PhD candidate at the École Militaire's Strategic Research Institute and a research fellow at the Asia Center. He was also a visiting fellow at the Mercator Institute for China Studies and at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. He has a PhD in political science and international relations from INALCO.

#### Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is a founding board member of the Global Relations Forum and served as its first president from 2009 to 2019. He is the venture partner at D4 Ventures, a UK-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. He is the senior advisor at Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization on rebuilding social cohesion through innovative communication practices. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI science park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has served as a member of the academic staff at ITU and 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, with two former Turkish undersecretaries of foreign affairs and intelligence. He received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. He is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

#### Christian Koch

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

#### Yasushi Kudo

Yasushi Kudo is founder and president of the Genron NPO. Under Kudo's leadership, Genron NPO has conducted various research programs, including evaluations of government performance and analyses of party pledges made during general elections. Through the organization's Northeast Asia regional program, Kudo has developed crucial track-two dialogues, such as the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum and Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, to tackle pressing regional issues. In 2017, Kudo launched the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform that invites ten international think tanks to exchange views on global issues and propose recommendations to strengthen the liberal order and democracy. He established the Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders in 2016 as a venue for open and free debate among intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries. The forum is a collaborative effort to bolster democracy and address challenges the democratic system faces, with the goal of jointly identifying common issues and presenting policy options. Prior to founding Genron NPO, Kudo was editor in chief of the political journal *Ronso Toyo Keizai*. He holds a master's degree in economics from Yokohama City University.

#### Łukasz Kulesa

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

#### 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. His 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. He 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.

#### **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, visiting professor at many universities in Latin America, founding member of the Latin American Group for Public Administration, and member of the American Academy of Management. Lima holds a master's degree in public administration and a doctorate in management from FGV.

#### **Bronwen Maddox**

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.

#### Stefan Mair

Stefan Mair is director and executive chair of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). His areas of expertise are German and European Union foreign and security policy, geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics, and trade and foreign economic policy. From 2010 to 2020, he was a member of the Federation of German Industries' executive board. He joined SWP in 1992 as a research associate, serving as a member of the executive board from 2009 to 2010, research director from 2007 to 2009, and head of the Middle East and Africa research division from 2001 to 2007. He

earned his PhD from the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich and was a doctoral scholar in the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

#### Alessandro Marrone

Alessandro Marrone is head of the defense program at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He has been working at IAI since 2007 and currently manages research projects and publications related to European and transatlantic security as well as to Italy's defense policy. He is also a professor at the Italian Ministry of Defence's Joint Services Senior Staff and has been teaching for four years at the University of Perugia. He is a member of the editorial board of IAI web magazine AffarInternazionali and collaborates with several Italian magazines. He holds a bachelor's degree in political science and a master's degree in international relations from the LUISS Guido Carli, a master's degree in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and a doctorate in the history of Europe from the La Sapienza University of Rome

#### Ottilia Anna Maunganidze

Ottilia Anna Maunganidze joined the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in 2009 and is head of special projects in the office of the executive director, where she explores new areas of work for ISS and helps inform institutional strategy. Her areas of interest are international criminal justice, international human rights law, and migration trends and policy. A lawyer, strategist, and analyst, she worked as a junior legal advisor and human rights education officer before joining ISS. She received a master of laws degree in fundamental rights litigation and international human rights law from the University of South Africa.

#### Rohinton P. Medhora

Rohinton P. Medhora is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and served as president of CIGI from 2012 to 2022. He is a member of the Lancet and Financial Times Commission on Governing Health Futures 2030 and the Commission on Global Economic Transformation, which is co-chaired by Nobel economics laureates A. Michael Spence and Joseph E. Stiglitz. He is chair of the board of the Institute for New Economic Thinking, vice chair of the McLuhan Foundation, and is a member of the board of the Partnership for Economic Policy. He is on the advisory boards of the World Trade Organization Chairs program, the UN University-Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology, and the Graduate Institute Geneva's Global Health Centre. From 2021 to 2022, Medhora chaired the Government of Ontario's external panel on the future of work. Previously, he served on CIGI's former international board of governors and was vice president of programs at the International Development Research Centre. He has written extensively on monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, and development economics in professional and nontechnical journals and edited several books, including Finance and Competitiveness in Developing Countries, coedited with José M. Fanelli. He also coedited Canada-Africa Relations and Crisis and Reform, the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes in the Canada. Among Nations series. Medhora earned his BA, MA, and PhD in economics from the University of Toronto, where he subsequently taught for several years.

#### Laurence Nardon

Laurence Nardon heads the North America program at the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). She edits and contributes to its collections of online research papers, such as the U.S.-focused *Potomac Papers*. Nardon is a member of the editorial board of the reviews *Politique étrangère*, *Questions internationales*, and *The Washington Quarterly*. Thanks to a partnership between Ifri, Slate.fr, and the daily newsletter *Time to Sign Off*, she is the author of a weekly podcast in French on U.S. politics and policies called *New Deal*. Prior to joining Ifri, Nardon was a research fellow at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences and a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. She was a Fulbright Scholar at the George Washington University, graduated from Sciences Po, and earned a PhD in political science from Université Paris-1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.

#### Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Institute of International Affairs and has been a lecturer at LUISS School of Government. He was appointed as Italy's member of the European Commission in 2014. From 1972 to 2013, he served as a diplomat, permanent representative of Italy to the European Union, chief of staff to the Italian minister of foreign affairs, and director general for European integration at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served at the United Nations and in Algeria, China, and France and was advisor to the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers. Nelli Feroci was previously a fellow at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and a visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale in Naples, Italy. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs. He holds a doctorate in international law from the University of Pisa and a postdoctoral specialization in international relations from the Italian Society for International Organizations in Rome.

# Ong Keng Yong

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