

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

*Thursday, July 25, 2024
8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time*



Council of Councils Tenth Virtual 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 affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

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)

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Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

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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 Tenth Virtual Conference
International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

Thursday, July 25, 2024

6:00 a.m.–7:30 a.m. Mexico City

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

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m. London / Lagos

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

3:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

5:30 p.m.–7:00 p.m. New Delhi

7:00 p.m.–8:30 p.m. Jakarta

8:00 p.m.–9:30 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

9:00 p.m.–10:30 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

10:00 p.m.–11:30 p.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Tenth Virtual Conference
Agenda**

Thursday, July 25, 2024

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

Join details for the session:

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/86765607869>

Passcode: 053170

Meeting ID: 867 6560 7869

8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m.

Open Discussion

2024 Elections: Viewpoints From Around the Council of Councils

Guiding questions: Are there general trends in democracy (both in terms of principles and practices) that we can point to when looking at the nearly 60 percent of the world's population voting this year? How is populism playing out in your elections? If you perceive it is on the rise, what does that mean for your foreign policies and international cooperation more broadly? How have or how will elections across the world influence foreign policies? What do election results this year say about the systemic global trends of great power competition, migration, climate change, and backlash against globalization? If your country has held elections, what do you think the result portends? If your country will hold elections, where is the election race trending?

Presider:

Riccardo Alcaro, *Research Coordinator and Head of the Global Actors Programme, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Participant Biographies

Fonteh Akum

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

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the Global Actors programme at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. Alcaro has been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center on the United States and Europe and a European foreign and security policy studies program fellow. He also contributed to the *European Policy Analyst*, the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly report on the European Union. He is the co-author (with Pol BARGUES) of the forthcoming *Conflict Management and the Future of EU Foreign and Security Policy: Relational Power Europe* and the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis*, as well as the editor of *The Liberal Order and Its Contestations* and co-editor of *Re-imagining EU Foreign and Security Policy in a Complex and Contested World* and *The West and the Global Power Shift* among other works. He holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

Sergio M. Alcocer

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

Layla Ali

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

Kuniko Ashizawa

Kuniko Ashizawa is senior nonresident 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. Ashizawa's research interests include Japan's foreign policy, regional institution-building in Asia, and global governance. She has published several 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 has been a visiting fellow at various research institutions, including the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the East-West Center in Washington, and the School of Advanced International Studies's Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. She received her PhD in international relations at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Mely Caballero-Anthony

Mely Caballero-Anthony is professor of international relations, holds the president's chair for international relations and security studies, heads the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, and is associate dean for external engagement at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University. Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in the Asia-Pacific, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security, conflict prevention, and global governance. She has led several global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. Anthony has served as the secretary-general of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008 and is a member of the International Climate Security Expert Network. She was vice president-at-large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and was member of ISA's Global South Task Force from 2018 to 2021. From 2013 to 2017, Anthony was a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and served as its chair in 2016. She is also a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. From 2011 to 2012, she was director of external relations at the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Secretariat. Anthony has published extensively on a broad range of security issues in the Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest publications include: "Climate Security in Southeast Asia: Navigating Concepts, Approaches and Practices;" *Human Security and Empowerment in Asia*; and "Conflict Management and Atrocity Prevention in Southeast Asia: making ASEAN 'Fit for Purpose.'"

Tom Beckett

Tom Beckett is a senior adviser at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) head office in London and the corresponding director of the IISS–Americas office. As a senior adviser, he contributes

to the Middle East research programme including direct support to the IISS Manama Dialogue, and assists the Institute's other research programmes. In Washington, DC, he works to make the international composition and perspective of the IISS more valuable for leaders in government and the private sector. Before joining the IISS, Beckett had a thirty-four-year career in the British Army, retiring as a lieutenant general, focusing on policy and operations. His most recent government appointment was as the defence senior adviser to the Middle East and North Africa when he was also the prime minister's security envoy to Iraq, including the Kurdistan region. On retiring from the Army in 2018, he joined the IISS and was the executive director of the IISS-Middle East office until mid-2024.

Steven Blockmans

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

Raphael Bossong

Raphael Bossong is deputy head of research of the EU and Europe program at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He is an expert in the European Union and Europe, migration, development cooperation, and non-state violence, and his recent work focuses on EU counterterrorism policy, border security, and the effects of the migration crisis on the European Union. He was previously a lecturer at the Europe University Viadrina in 2013–16, where he worked on the intersection of technology and European integration in security affairs. He served as a researcher at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy in 2010–14, research associate at the Global Public Policy Institute in 2008–10, and research assistant at the London School of Economics and Political Science's (LSE) Department for International Relations in 2006–08. His recent publications include *Theorising EU Internal Security Cooperation* with M. Rhinard and *EU Borders and Shifting Internal Security: Technology, Externalisation and Accountability* with H. Carrapico. He holds a BA in social and political sciences from the University of Cambridge and an MA and PhD in international relations from the LSE.

Esther Brimmer

Esther Brimmer is the James H. Binger senior fellow in global governance at the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR). Her primary areas of interest are international organizations and transatlantic relations. At CFR, she is writing a book on the need for better governance mechanisms to manage expanding human activities in outer space. She previously served as project director for CFR's task force report *Arctic Imperatives: Reinforcing U.S. Strategy on America's Fourth Coast*. From 2017 through

2022, Brimmer was executive director and CEO of NAFSA: Association of International Educators. She previously led U.S. policy in international organizations as the assistant secretary of state for International Organization Affairs from 2009 to 2013 and served on the policy planning staff from 1999 to 2001. Brimmer was the J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro professor at George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She was the first deputy director and director of research at the Center for Transatlantic Relations (CTR) at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies from 2001 to 2009. While at CTR, Brimmer was also a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. Brimmer has served in the private sector as a senior advisor at McLarty Associates, and earlier as an associate at McKinsey & Company. Early in her career, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie commission on preventing deadly conflict. Brimmer has published numerous articles and edited eight books on transatlantic relations, Brimmer received her bachelor's degree from Pomona College and master's degree and doctorate from Oxford University.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is senior research fellow and president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). As an adjunct professor at the Shanghai International Studies University, Chen also holds the position of vice chair of the China National Association of International Relations. He specializes in the studies of United Nations, China's foreign policy, and China-U.S. relations. Chen has published extensively on China's diplomacy, major power relationships, UN reform, and global governance. As SIIS president and senior policy adviser to the Chinese government, he has chaired numerous research projects commissioned by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, and has supervised extensive academic publications supported by the China National Foundation of Social Sciences. Chen is the editor-in-chief of the *Global Review* and the *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, both the SIIS flagship journals in Chinese and English respectively on China's diplomacy. He is also the founding editor-in-chief of the *SIIS Report*, an English-language think tank report series that aims to exchange ideas and present proposals from the leading Chinese think tanks on common agendas facing the international community. As an eminent policy advisor to the Chinese government, Chen is senior advisor on economic diplomacy for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and senior advisor to the Mayor of Shanghai's International Business Leaders Advisory Council. Alongside his academic and advisory roles, he is a high-level advisor to the UN Dialogues at the Economic and Social Council's independent team of advisors on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, and a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum's expert and eminent persons, among others. Chen earned his PhD from Fudan University.

Yose Rizal Damuri

Yose Rizal Damuri is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). His research focuses on international trade, regional integration, and the globalization of value chains. He is also interested in examining the political-economic aspects of international economic governance and the multilateral trading system, has authored several academic articles on those subjects, and is currently directing his attention toward the implications of major power rivalries on the

global and regional economic landscape. Damuri is active in many East Asian research institutes, including the Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade, the Research Institutes Network for the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), and Think 20, the think tank network of Group of Twenty countries. He serves as the co-chair of the Indonesian National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation. Damuri is also active in various Indonesian policy forums, including as the research coordinator of Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated to the development of the services sector in Indonesia. He received his PhD in international economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies.

Tracey Forrest

Tracey Forrest is research director of transformative technologies at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). Her experience spans many areas, including renewable energy and quantum technologies, and has entailed working with multi-sectoral partners to accelerate the transition of products from laboratory curiosities to impactful devices. At CIGI, she leads a network of researchers focused on opportunities and challenges related to the evolving interface of transformative technologies and international governance. Forrest is a professional engineer, adjunct professor at the University of Waterloo, and former board member of several technology and environmentally focused organizations. Over the course of a career in both academia and industry, Forrest has become an authority on bridging emerging technology to high-value applications. She is a member of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities Green Municipal Fund Council, and formerly served as director of the transformative quantum technologies program at the University of Waterloo and advisory board chair of the National Research Council of Canada's Nanotechnology Research Centre. Forrest completed a bachelor's in applied science degree in environmental (chemical) engineering at the University of Waterloo and a master's degree in energy and environmental economics at the Scuola Mattei. She has also completed professional training in topics such as quantum, data science, and sustainable business strategy at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Paul Fraioli

Paul Fraioli is senior fellow for geopolitics and strategy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), based in Washington, DC. He is also editor of the IISS publications *Strategic Comments* and *Strategic Signals*. In 2024, he launched a new research initiative focused on assessing nuclear risk during crises. Prior to joining the IISS, Fraioli held research fellowships at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and worked previously as research coordinator for the center's director, Graham Allison, focusing on U.S.–China relations and applied history. He received his undergraduate degree from Amherst College, where he studied English and classics, and a master's degree in international affairs from the Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, where he was editor-in-chief of the *Journal of International Affairs*. He is a PhD candidate in politics and international studies at the University of Cambridge's Magdalene College.

Michael Froman

Michael Froman is president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He previously served as vice chair and president of strategic growth at Mastercard and chair of the Mastercard Center for Inclusive Growth. He was also a distinguished fellow at CFR from 2017 to 2023. Froman served in President Barack Obama's cabinet as the U.S. trade representative from 2013 to 2017. From 2009 to 2013, he served at the White House as assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for international economic affairs, where he was responsible for coordinating policy on international trade, finance, energy, climate change, and development issues, and served as the U.S. sherpa for the Group of Twenty and Group of Eight summits. Prior to joining the Obama administration, Froman held a number of roles at Citigroup. He was also a senior fellow at CFR and a resident fellow at the German Marshall Fund. In the 1990s, Froman spent seven years in the U.S. government. He served as chief of staff and as deputy assistant secretary for Eurasia and the Middle East at the U.S. Department of Treasury. He also worked at the White House as director for international economic affairs at the National Security Council and National Economic Council. Froman received a bachelor's degree in public and international affairs from Princeton University, a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, and law degree from Harvard Law School, where he was an editor of the *Harvard Law Review*.

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. Gomart's most recent book is *L'accélération de l'histoire: Les nœuds géostratégiques d'un monde hors de contrôle*. He received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Ariel González Levaggi

Ariel González Levaggi is coordinator of the committee on the United States at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He also serves as the director of the Center for International Studies in the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina's Department of Political Science and International Relations and is a senior associate in the Americas program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He is the author of *Great Power Competition in the Southern Oceans: From the Indo-Pacific to the South Atlantic* and *Confrontational and Cooperative Regional Orders: Managing Regional Security in World Politics*. He holds a PhD in international relations and political science from Koç University.

Tamir Hayman

Tamir Hayman joined the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) as managing director in 2022 and has been executive director since April 2024. Prior to joining INSS, Hayman was chief of the Israeli Defense Forces' (IDF) Intelligence Directorate from 2018 to 2021. During his thirty-four years of IDF service, Hayman held a wide range of command positions in the ground forces including operational

combat experience in the security zone in Lebanon and in the Palestinian arena. Hayman joined the IDF general staff in 2015 and served as commander of the National Defense College while also acting as commander of the Northern Corps, where he led the largest training exercise ever carried out by the IDF. His period of service in intelligence was characterized by ongoing tension in Gaza and intense struggles aimed at limiting Iranian entrenchment in Syria and dealing with the Iranian challenge emerging throughout the Shiite axis. Hayman holds a bachelor's degree in political science and economics and a master's degree from the National Defense College.

S. Yash Kalash

S. Yash Kalash is research director of digital economy at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He is an expert in strategy, public policy, digital technology, and financial services. Kalash has experience in emerging markets across India, the Middle East and North Africa, and Asia-Pacific regions and a distinguished track record advising governments and the private sector on emerging technologies. His expertise spans various industries including fintech, artificial intelligence, digital assets, and their impact on geopolitics. Kalash's career includes roles at Roland Berger, in the government of India, Adani Group, and KPMG where he spearheaded strategic digital projects, advised clients on their digital assets and AI strategy, and informed policy and regulatory developments. He holds a BSc in international relations and politics from the University of Bath and an MSc in management from Imperial College London.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (2009–19) and board member (2009–23) of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). 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 also the senior advisor at the Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization focused on rebuilding social cohesion through innovative communication practices. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, Karakullukçu served as the founding managing director of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI science park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has also served as a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*. He received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

Patryk Kugiel

Patryk Kugiel is senior analyst in the Asia-Pacific programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). His research focuses on South Asia—mainly Afghanistan, India, and Pakistan—as well as Polish and EU development cooperation policy. Kugiel is the author *India's Soft Power: A New Foreign Policy Strategy*. He holds an MPhil in South Asia studies from the Jawaharlal Nehru University; an MA in international relations with a specialization in American studies and MA in cultural studies with a specialization in religious studies from Jagiellonian University; and a PhD from Warsaw University.

Karel Lannoo

Karel Lannoo is chief executive of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), one of the leading independent European think tanks, where he manages a team of about eighty staff. He specializes in financial regulation, European economic governance, and single market issues, and his recent publications cover anti-money laundering, Russian financial sanctions, crypto-currency regulation, and Europe's geopolitical ambitions. Lannoo is a regular speaker at hearings of the European Union, national and international institutions, at international conferences, and in executive programs. He directs studies for national, multilateral, and private sector organizations. His writings regularly appear in media. Lannoo is also a member of several company and foundation boards, and advisory councils. He holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy and master's degree in history from the University of Leuven, and a postgraduate degree in European studies from the University of Nancy.

Marlos Lima

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

Alejandra López de Alba Gómez

Alejandra López de Alba Gómez is the deputy director general of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI). Her professional and academic career has focused on various aspects of security, emphasizing influence and information operations and their political and social impacts, subjects on which she has written in various academic publications. López de Alba has over thirteen years of experience in the public sector, serving in different advisory and executive positions related to public and national security in various federal-level agencies of the Mexican government. She was also head of the Strategic Information Office at the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. López de Alba holds a bachelor's degree in history from the National Autonomous University of Mexico, a master's degree in security studies from Georgetown University, and a master's degree in communication from Johns Hopkins University.

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.

Richard McGregor

Richard McGregor is a senior fellow for East Asia at the Lowy Institute. He is also a non-resident senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. McGregor is a former Beijing and Washington bureau chief for the *Financial Times* and the author of numerous books on East Asia. His most recent book is *Xi Jinping: The Backlash*. His book on Sino-Japanese relations, *Asia's Reckoning: China, Japan and the Fate of U.S. Power in the Pacific Century*, was called “shrewd and knowing” by the *Wall Street Journal* and the best book of the year by the *Literary Review* in the United Kingdom. In late 2018, it won the prime minister of Australia’s Literary Award for Non-Fiction. McGregor’s book, *The Party*, on the inner-workings of the Chinese Communist Party, was translated into seven languages and chosen by the Asia Society and Mainichi Shimbun in Japan as their book of the year. He was also a visiting scholar at the Wilson Center and George Washington University from 2014–16.

Annah Mosly

Annah Mosly is a researcher at the Gulf Research Center (GRC) in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. She specializes in Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) relations with the United States, Canada, and Nordic-Baltic Eight relations. Mosly’s research extends to foreign relations, women empowerment, and sports diplomacy. She received her bachelor’s degree in political science from the George Washington University and her master’s degree in political science from Columbia University.

Beatriz Nofal

Beatriz Nofal is director of the U.S. Committee and an executive committee member at the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI); founder and CEO of Eco-Axis, an economic research and management consultant firm; and fellow at the Global Solutions Initiative. She was Argentina’s G20 Sherpa in 2016–17, and co-chair of T20 Saudi Arabia’s task force on Sustainable Infrastructure Investments in 2020 and T20 Japan’s task force on Economic Effects of Infrastructure Investment and its Financing in 2019. Nofal was previously head of Argentina’s Investment Agency, a member of Congress, and deputy secretary of Industry and Trade with a leading role in the integration between Argentina and Brazil. She was also general manager and director of the management consulting firm Arthur D. Little Argentina in 1999–2001, and was on the board of international companies in Argentina, including as director of KPMG in 2011–12 and director of Nobleza Piccardo in 2005–06. She was a tenure-track professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, visiting professor at Johns Hopkins University and Toronto University, and professor at the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina, University of Bologna, and Buenos Aires Institute of Technology. She is the author of

several publications in books, academic journals, specialized magazines, newspapers, and research and consulting studies. Nofal was distinguished by the French Republic with the Order of the Legion of Honor, by the Federal Republic of Brazil with the Order of Rio Branco, and by the Republic of Chile with the Great Order of Merit. Nofa holds a PhD in development from Johns Hopkins University.

Eghosa E. Osaghae

Eghosa E. Osaghae is a professor of political science and director general of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). He is also founder and chair of the Community Relations and Conflict Resolution Centre's governing board, a member of the Nigeria Development Forum's board of trustees, pro-chancellor and chair of the Western Delta University governing council, and a member of the African Capacity Building Foundation's technical advisory panel and network on parliaments and parliamentary institutions. He was recently appointed to the UN secretary-general's advisory board on disarmament matters and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research's board of trustees. Previously, he was the vice chancellor of Igbinedion University, Okada. Osaghae was the 2019 Claude Ake chair at Uppsala University and Nordic Africa Institute, a fellow at the Stellenbosch Institute of Advanced Studies in South Africa, 2017 Van Zyl Slabbert professor of politics and sociology at the University of Cape Town, and the 2014 Emeka Anyaoku chair of commonwealth studies at the University of London. He previously led the University of Ibadan's program on ethnic and federal studies and directed its Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, and was professor and head of the University of Transkei's department of political studies. He has held visiting professorships and fellowships at over a dozen major universities and research institutes around the world. He was previously Africa's representative on the Civil Society and Governance Project's steering committee and member of the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation, and Accountability's advisory review group. He also served on the Consortium for Development Partnerships' steering committee and was a member of the presidential advisory committee on political affairs in Nigeria. Osaghae is the author of *Crippled Giant: Nigeria Since Independence* and *Federal Solutions to State Failure in Africa* and co-editor of *Researching Conflict in Africa: Insights and Experiences*.

Harsh V. Pant

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