

COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
RELATIONS**



COUNCIL OF COUNCILS **Fifteenth REGIONAL CONFERENCE**

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



October 27–29, 2024

Brussels, Belgium

Hosted by

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

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 the 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 in members' countries.

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

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FRANCE

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TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GIF)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Fifteenth Regional Conference

Final agenda

Sunday, October 27, 2024

5:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.

Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion
EU Priorities After the Elections

CEPS office
Pl du Congrès 1, 1000
Bruxelles, Belgium

Speaker:
TBC

Moderator:
Karel Lannoo, *Chief Executive Officer, Centre for European Policy Studies*
(Belgium)

This dinner is kindly supported by the Council on Foreign Relations.

Monday, October 28, 2024

8:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.

Registration and Coffee

CEPS Office
Pl. du Congrès 1, 1000
Bruxelles, Belgium

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

Session One

Conference Room ground floor

Geopolitics and the Future of the World Order: Addressing Fragmentation

9:00 a.m. – 9:45 a.m.

Diagnosing the Problems

Guiding questions: How can global fragmentation be avoided, or at least managed in a way that minimizes conflict and preserves the ability of governments and international institutions to coordinate policies, provide global public goods, and preserve peace and stability? Should policymakers and experts focus on the reform of institutions? If so, which ones should be prioritized? If not, is focusing on more informal forums or on norms the way forward? If so, what forums or norms should be prioritized?

Speakers:

Bronwen Maddox, *Director/CEO, Chatham House* (United Kingdom)

Eghosa Emmanuel Osaghae, *Director-General, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (connecting virtually)*(Nigeria)

Presider:

Paul Samson, *President, Center for International Governance Innovation* (Canada)

9:45 a.m.–10:00 a.m.

Break
Transition to Breakout Discussions

Green Room -1 level

10:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.

Breakout Discussions on Specific Prescriptions

Breakout A

Congrès Room 1st floor

Discussion Leader:

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

Breakout B

Board Room 2nd floor

Discussion Leader:

Thomas Gomart, *Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)*

Breakout C

Royale Room 2nd floor

Discussion Leader:

Otilia Maunganidze, *Head of Special Projects, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)*

11:00 a.m.–11:15 a.m.

Break
Transition from Breakout Discussions

Green Room -1 level

11:15 a.m.–12:00 p.m.

Discussion

Conference Room ground floor

Presider:

Paul Samson, *President, Center for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

12:00 p.m. – 1:00 p.m.

Lunch

Green Room -1 level

1:00 p.m. – 2:15 p.m.

Session Two

Conference Room ground floor

Industrial Policy for the Green and Digital Transitions

Speakers:

Igor Yurgens, *Director of Center of Sustainable Development and ESG-transformation, MGIMO University (Russia)*

Cinzia Alcidi, *Senior Research Fellow and Head of Economic Policy and Jobs and Skills Unit, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

Presider:

Memduh Karakullukçu, *Founding President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

Guiding questions: Is it possible for policymakers to complete the green transition, achieve economic security, and aim for fiscal discipline? How should this trilemma be prioritized? What are the tradeoffs between competitiveness and the creation of good jobs; strategic autonomy and openness to trade; and decarbonization and investment attraction? How can policymakers encourage industries to aim beyond only efficiency and productivity?

2:15 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Coffee Break

Green Room -1 level

2:30 p.m. - 3:45 p.m.

Session Three

Conference Room ground floor

Bridging the Global Technology Governance Divide

Speakers:

Daniel Voelsen, *Head of Research Division “Global Issues”, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

Carola Ramon Berjano, *Vice President, Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

Presider:

Andrea Renda, *Director of Research, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

Guiding questions: Can divisions in the different approaches to digital, data, and innovation governance be bridged? What are the barriers and gaps inhibiting collaborative governance? Is the best way forward the UN Global Digital Compact or more ad hoc efforts at the Group of Seven or Group of Twenty? What common initiatives should be prioritized to support responsible innovation and the use of technology for public goods?

3:45 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.

Coffee Break

Green room -1 level

4:00 p.m. – 5.15 p.m.

Session Four

Conference Room ground floor

Supporting Ukraine’s Reconstruction and Security

What economic and political frameworks and agreements are needed to support Ukraine’s reconstruction and security? How can long-term funding for Ukraine's reconstruction be scaled up? How can private capital be most effectively attracted? What should be the next steps in addressing the frozen Russian assets and windfall profits on its holdings? What are the global implications of seizing such assets and windfall profits? How does accountability for human rights violations and post-conflict justice play into Ukraine's reconstruction? Which lessons from other conflict situations could be useful? What should be the relationship between the EU and Ukraine during reconstruction?

Speakers:

André Hartel, *Head of Brussels Office, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

Velina Tchakarova, *Visiting Fellow, Observer Research Foundation (India)*

Otilia Maunganidze, *Head of Special Projects, Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)*

Presider:

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

5:15 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

Free time

7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

Reception, Discussion, and Dinner
A New Global Arms Race?

La Maison du Cygne
Grand Place 9
1000 Brussels

Speaker:

Benedetta Berti, *Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO*

Moderator:

Steven Blockmans, *Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

Tuesday, October 29, 2024

8:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.

Registration and Coffee

CEPS Office
Pl. du Congrès 1, 1000
Bruxelles, Belgium

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Session Five

EU-Transatlantic Relations

Conference Room groundfloor

Speakers:

Renata Zilli, *Associate, The Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

Riccardo Alcaro, *Head of Research, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Presider:

Thomas Gomart, *Director, French Institute of International Relations (France)*

Guiding questions: Given the uncertainty surrounding the U.S. election in November, has the European Union properly grappled with its dependencies on the United States over the past four years? What would a more strategically autonomous Europe mean for the transatlantic alliance, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and its other international alliances? Are the consequences of a potential Trump presidency overstated? What can the European Union do to better position itself, now and in the long-term, to become more resilient in the face of an increasingly unreliable transatlantic partnership?

10:00 a.m. – 10:15 am

Coffee Break

Green Room -1 level

10:15 a.m. – 11:15 a.m.

Session Six
EU-China Relations

Conference Room ground floor

Speakers:

Chunsi Wu, Director, Institute for International Strategic and Security Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)

Aurelio Insisa, Senior Fellow, Institute of International Affairs (Italy) (background memo provided by Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, President, Institute of International Affairs)

Presider:

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

Guiding questions: Is the European Union's strategy in search for a more balanced relationship with China—advocating for reciprocity and fair-trade practices—an achievable mission? Are European countries aligned on China? Which actors and factors will have the greatest impact on the bilateral relationship? What does EU de-risking from China mean for its wider Indo-Pacific relations?

11:15 a.m.–11:30 a.m.

Coffee Break

Green Room -1 level

11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.

Session Seven
EU-Middle East Relations

Conference Room ground floor

Speakers:

Christian Koch, Executive Manager and Director of Research, Gulf Research Center (Saudi Arabia) (background memo provided by Abdulaziz Sager, Chairman, Gulf Research Center)

Selim Yenel, President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)

Rémi Daniel, Researcher, Institute for National Security Studies (Israel)

Presider:

James Moran, Associate Senior Research Fellow, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)

Guiding questions: How can the European Union play a more active and effective role in the Middle East? What are the tools, challenges, and opportunities that the European Union has in the region? How can the European Union reinforce multilateral frameworks to help stabilize the region? What role do countries in the Middle East want the European Union to play in the region?

12:30 p.m.–1:30 p.m.

Closing Remarks, Open Discussion, and Lunch
Common Challenges Think Tanks Face: Measuring Impact

Green Room -1 level

Presider:

Esther Brimmer, James H. Binger Senior Fellow in Global Governance, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.

Session Eight (Public Session)

Conference Room ground floor

What Does the Rest of the World Expect From the EU?

Speakers:

Hervé Lemahieu, *Director of Research, Lowy Institute (Australia)*

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

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Associate Dean, Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Presider:

James Lindsay, *Mary and David Boies Distinguished Senior Fellow in U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Participant Biographies

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors programme at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (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 in Washington, DC, and a fellow of the EU-wide program European Foreign and Security Policy Studies. He coordinated the Transworld consortium on transatlantic relations and global governance from 2015 to 2017 and the JOINT project on EU foreign and security policy from 2021 to 2024. Alcaro is the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis* and the coauthor, with Pol Bargués, of *Conflict Management and the Future of EU Foreign and Security Policy: Relational Power Europe*, as well as editor of *The Liberal Order and its Contestations*. He holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

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.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is an associate senior fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, and senior fellow at the International Centre for Security and Defense in Tallinn, Estonia. He is also editor in chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review* and a visiting professor at the College of Europe. 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*.

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 in Singapore. Anthony's research interests include regionalism and multilateralism in the Asia-Pacific, human security and non-traditional security, nuclear security, conflict prevention, and global governance. She has led a number of global and regional research projects on international security and global governance. Anthony has served as the secretary-general of the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia since 2008 and is a member of the International Climate Security Expert Network. She was vice president at large of the governing council of the International Studies Association (ISA) and was a 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 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" in *Third World Quarterly*, *Human Security and Empowerment in Asia*, and "Conflict Management and Atrocity Prevention in Southeast Asia: Making ASEAN 'Fit for Purpose'" in the *Journal of International Peacekeeping*.

Rémi Daniel

Rémi Daniel is a researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in Tel Aviv. His research focuses on Turkey's foreign policy, Turkish-Israeli relations, and Eastern Mediterranean developments. In addition, he coordinates the research program on Europe at INSS and writes on issues related to European politics. Previously, he held research positions at the Jewish People Policy Institute, the Israeli Center for Third Sector Research at Ben Gurion University, Tel Aviv University's Elrom Center for Air and Space Studies, and the NATO Defense College in Rome. Daniel has published academic articles on diplomatic and military issues in Israel and Turkey as well as the Québécois nationalist movement. He lectures in various institutions in Israel and abroad and comments on international politics on Israeli and foreign media. Daniel graduated from the Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne and the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris), studied in Istanbul's Bosphorus University, and earned his PhD from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, with a dissertation on the Turkish-Israeli relations between 1960 and 1971.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci is president of the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). A diplomat from 1972 to 2013, he was permanent representative of Italy to the European Union in Brussels (2008–13), and the chief of staff (2006–08) and director general for European Integration (2004–06) at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served in Algiers, Paris, Beijing, and New York at the United Nations. Feroci also served as the diplomatic counsellor of the vice president of the Italian Council of Ministers (1998). In June 2014, he was appointed to the post of European commissioner in the commission chaired by Manuel Barroso to replace Antonio Tajani, a position he held until the end of the commission's term on November 1, 2014. Formerly a fellow at the Center for International Affairs, a fellow at Harvard University (1985–86), and a visiting professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale of Naples (1989), he is currently a professor at the School of Government of LUISS, Rome. He is the author of many articles and essays on international relations, European affairs, and political affairs.

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.

André Härtel

André Härtel is currently head of the Brussels office of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He previously worked as an associate fellow of the SWP research group on Eastern Europe and Eurasia, a guest researcher at the Centre for OSCE Research at the Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik (IFSH), DAAD lecturer in European studies at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a political advisor at the Council of Europe, and a lecturer in international relations at Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena. Härtel's main research topics are Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy, EU foreign policy, and the future of international organizations.

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 Vuşat 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.

Christian Koch

Christian Koch is the director of research for the Gulf Research Center (GRC) and the executive manager of the GRC Foundation Brussels office. Koch has led the Tafahum wa Tabadul Project on a Security Roadmap for West Asia and the Arabian Peninsula since 2018. Previously, 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 in Abu Dhabi. Koch's work combines the analysis of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states on pertinent foreign and security issues, with a focus on GCC-EU relations. He is particularly interested in better understanding the dynamics driving regional security issues in the Gulf and promoting aspects of cooperative security among regional and international actors. As part of his work, Koch has served as project leader on several projects on GCC-EU relations including the Al-Jisr project. From 2018 to 2021, he was a member of the Bertelsmann Foundation strategy group "The EU and Russia, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia: Strategies for the EU Neighborhood." Koch received his PhD from the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg

Karel Lannoo

Karel Lannoo is chief executive of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), one of the leading independent European think tanks. He specializes in financial regulation, European economic governance, and single market issues. Lannoo's recent publications cover money laundering, Russian financial sanctions, cryptocurrency regulation, and Europe's geopolitical ambitions. He is a regular speaker at EU hearings, national and international institutions, international conferences, and on executive programs. He directs studies for national, multilateral, and private sector organisations, and his writing regularly appears in the media. Lannoo also serves on the boards of various companies and foundations, and on advisory councils.

Herve Lemahieu

Hervé Lemahieu is director of research at the Lowy Institute, managing the institute's globally recognised team and focusing on China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Lemahieu has expertise in economic, security, and development issues. In 2018, he developed the Asia Power Index, an annual data-driven assessment that maps the changing distribution of power in the region. He oversees other innovative multiyear research projects, including the Global Diplomacy Index, the Southeast Asia and Pacific Aid Maps, and the Lowy Institute Poll. Prior to joining the Lowy Institute, he worked at the International Institute of Strategic Studies and Oxford Analytica, contributing to geopolitical risk analysis in Asia. Lemahieu provides commentary in international media, advises at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore, and conducts strategic dialogues. A dual citizen of Australia and Belgium, he holds an MSc in global governance and diplomacy and an MA in international relations and modern history.

Bronwen Maddox

Bronwen Maddox took up the post of director and chief executive of Chatham House in August 2022. Before joining Chatham House, Maddox was director of the Institute for Government (2016–22), an independent think tank based in London promoting better government. 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. Maddox is a visiting professor in the Policy Institute at King's College London; honorary governor of Ditchley; an honorary fellow of the British Academy; and a council member of Research England, one of the research councils of UK Research & Innovation. She writes frequent op-ed columns for the *Financial Times* and broadcasts widely.

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 EU foreign and security policy, geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics, and trade and foreign economic policy. From 2010 to 2020, Mair 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. Mair earned his PhD from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and was a doctoral scholar in the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

Otilia Anna Maunganidze

Otilia Anna Maunganidze is head of special projects in the office of the executive director at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). An international law and human rights expert, she promotes human security in Africa by advancing peace, accountability, the rule of law, and justice. Maunganidze explores new areas of work for ISS and informs institutional strategy. Her areas of interest include emerging security threats, international criminal justice, international human rights law, and migration trends and policy. Maunganidze previously worked on the legal and sociopolitical situations in countries in southern Africa. Before joining ISS in 2009, she worked as a junior legal advisor at the Rhodes Law Clinic and as a human rights education coordinator for Amnesty International. She has a master of laws degree in fundamental rights litigation and international human rights law.

Carola Ramon

Carola Ramon is currently vice president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), the first woman to hold this position in forty-five years. Previously at CARI, she was treasurer, director of the Latin American studies committee, co-coordinator of the China working group, and director of T20 policy and research during the Group of Twenty's Argentine presidency. She is currently an active member of several committees within CARI. Ramon was the undersecretary for federal planning at the Ministry of the Economy between 2022 and 2023. Between 2019 and 2022, Ramon was undersecretary for multilateral and bilateral economic negotiations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs overseeing bilateral economic negotiations with Africa, the Middle East, Europe, Asia, Oceania, and North America, as well as twenty-four multilateral organisations. She lived in Hong Kong for three years, where she studied Mandarin and worked at the Asia Case Research Centre at the University of Hong Kong. Ramon has wide experience as a graduate and postgraduate lecturer in several universities, mainly teaching international economic relations as well as Chinese and Asian economic development, and actively participates in publications, conferences, courses, and interviews in Argentina and abroad. Ramon holds a bachelor's degree in economics from the Universidad del Salvador, a master's degree in economics from UCEMA, and a master's degree in Latin American economics and a doctorate in economics from the University of London.

Andrea Renda

Andrea Renda is director of research at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), where he leads the research team on global governance, regulation, innovation, and the digital economy. He is also an adjunct professor of digital and artificial intelligence (AI) policy at the Florence School of Transnational Governance of the European University Institute, and at the College of Europe in Bruges. He is the co-chair of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development working group on AI risk and accountability and is the codirector of the Brookings-CEPS Forum for International Cooperation on AI. Renda provides regular advice to EU institutions, the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank, and is a board member at Canonical, the company producing Ubuntu, a widely used open-source operating system.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is a Saudi strategic expert specializing in international politics and regional security issues,

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

Paul Samson

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

Velina Tchakarova

Velina Tchakarova is an expert in the field of geopolitics with more than two decades of professional and academic experience in security and defence. At For a Conscious Experience (FACE), Tchakarova utilizes her extensive network of experts and experience to offer customized solutions for public and private sector clients to navigate the geopolitical landscape and make informed decisions. As a visiting fellow at the Observer Research Foundation, Tchakarova provides the latest insights and analysis on geopolitical developments regarding the relations between Russia, China, and India, and formulates geopolitical scenarios with a focus on the repercussions for South Asia and the Indo-Pacific. Further, she covers the Indo-Pacific strategy of key actors in Europe and the development of relations between the EU and India. As the former director of the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES) in Vienna, Tchakarova has a wealth of knowledge and expertise in analysing the geopolitical landscape and its impact on businesses and organizations. She currently serves as a scientific advisory board member of the European Forum Alpbach and a member of the strategic and security policy advisory board of the Science Commission at the Austrian Federal Ministry of Defense.

Daniel Voelsen

Daniel Voelsen works on issues at the intersection of technology and foreign policy at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He is particularly interested in political debates about the future of the internet as they take place in the institutions of global internet governance, as well as the use of digital technologies as a means for shaping international politics. In his capacity as head of the global issues division at SWP, Voelsen also engages with the conceptual debates on conflict and cooperation in the global order.

Wu Chunsi

Wu Chunsi is senior research fellow and director of the Institute of International Strategic and Security Studies, Shanghai Institutes of International Studies (SIIS). Her research interests include arms control and nonproliferation, Asia-Pacific security, and China-U.S. relations. Before joining SIIS in November 2006, Wu was associate professor at the Center for American Studies at Fudan University. From January to March of 2012, she was a visiting research fellow with the Freeman Chair on China Studies at the Center for Strategic

and International Studies in the United States. In 2004–05, Wu was granted a fellowship on arms control by the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Ford Foundation for a one-year study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Security Studies. Wu is the author of *Deterrence: Theories and Missile Defense* and coauthor of *Deterrence and Stability: China-U.S. Nuclear Relationship*. She holds a doctorate in international relations from Fudan University

Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF) since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. Yenel served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in 2019, undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs from 2017 to 2018, ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union from 2011 to 2017, deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy from 2009 to 2011, and ambassador to Vienna, Austria, from 2005 to 2009. He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara, Turkey, 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 Economic Cooperation and Development from 1981 to 1984. Yenel recently published a book in Turkish, *The European Union's Turkey Challenge*.

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is the director of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations' (MGIMO) Centre for Sustainable Development and ESG (environmental, social, and governance) Transformation, professor of the department of risk management and insurance of MGIMO, a member of the council of the sustainable development sector of the Moscow Stock Exchange, a member of the board of trustees of the Russian Council on International Affairs, a member of the council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and a member of the advisory board of the Centre for European Reform. During his career, Yurgens has occupied various positions in different spheres. At the moment, his main interest is the promotion of sustainable development in the Russian Federation. MGIMO's Centre for Sustainable Development and ESG Transformation, which he headed several years ago, is responsible for scientific and applied research in the field of green financing, socially responsible insurance, the transformation of fuel and energy companies into global energy holdings in the conditions of the fourth energy transition (taking environmental and climate risks into account), and corresponding changes in the management of companies based on ESG factors. Yurgens holds a PhD in economics from Moscow State University.

Renata Zilli

Renata Zilli is a member and representative of the board of members of the Mexican Council of Foreign Relations (COMEXI). She is a current researcher at the European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE). This year, she was appointed a David Rockefeller fellow of the North American Chapter of the Trilateral Commission. Over the last five years, Zilli has worked on several research projects with the Wilson Center, the Elcano Royal Institute in Madrid, ECIPE, and Bertelsmann Stiftung. Her primary areas of interest are the intersection of geopolitics and international trade policy, focusing primarily on Mexico-U.S. relations and Mexico-EU relations. Earlier in her career, Zilli served as the director of the undergraduate international relations program at the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education of Monterrey at the Puebla Campus. She has also lectured at universities including Universidad Anahuac and El Colegio de Mexico. She is a frequent speaker at international seminars and conferences. Zilli received her bachelor's degree from the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education in Nuevo Leon, a master's degree in international relations and international trade from Macquarie University in Sydney, and a master's degree in international economics and Latin American studies from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Benedetta Berti

Dr Benedetta Berti is Director of Policy Planning in the Office of the Secretary General at NATO. She is also Associate Researcher at the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy at Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Visiting Professor at the College of Europe and a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. An Eisenhower Global Fellow and a TED Senior Fellow, in the past decade Benedetta has held research and teaching positions at West Point, The Institute for National Security Studies and Tel Aviv University, among others. Dr. Berti is the author of four books, including "Armed Political Organizations. From Conflict to Integration" (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). Her work and research have appeared, among others, in Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, the National Interest, the Wall Street Journal and The New York Times; as well as in Civil Wars, Democratization, Government & Opposition, Mediterranean Politics, the Middle East Journal, Parameters, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence. She holds a BA in Oriental Studies from the University of Bologna, and a MA and PhD in International Relations from The Fletcher School (Tufts University)

Observers Biographies

Cinzia Alcidì

Dr. Cinzia Alcidì is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels, where she is also head of the Economic Policy Unit and the Jobs and Skills Unit. From 2020 to 2023 she was Director of Research. Her main research interests are EU economic policy, public finances, and economic governance as well as macroeconomics and labour economics. She is currently guest lecturer at the University of Ghent (BE) and member of the Joint Board of Studies of the “Economics of Globalisation and European Integration (EGEI)” Erasmus Mundus Master Degree. She is a member of the editorial board of *Intereconomics*, and editor of *Applied Economics Quarterly*. Dr. Alcidì holds a Ph.D. degree in International Economics from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva (Switzerland). She also holds a Doctorate in Statistical and Mathematical Methods applied to Economics and Social Sciences from the University of Perugia (Italy).

Srdjan Cvijic

Srdjan Cvijic is the president of the international advisory board of the Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (BCSP), and an expert in foreign and security policy. He is a member of the Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group, a senior associate research fellow at the Europe and global governance program of the Italian Institute for International Political Studies, and a fellow of the Europe’s futures program of the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna. Before joining BCSP, he was a senior policy officer at the Europe and Eurasia program of the Open Society Foundations. Cvijic is a former high-ranking Serbian diplomat. He has also worked for the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, the European Policy Centre in Brussels, and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. Cvijic has published numerous policy and academic articles and is the author of the book *Democracy beyond the Demos, Bringing the Immigrants (back) in*. Cvijic holds a PhD from the department of law of the European University Institute in Florence.

Erik Jones

Erik Jones is director of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute and author of *The Politics of Economic and Monetary Union; Economic Adjustment and Political Transformation in Small States; Weary Policeman: American Power in an Age of Austerity* (with Dana H. Allin); and *The Year the European Crisis Ended*. He is editor or coeditor of more than thirty books and special issues of journals on topics related to European politics and political economy including *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* and *The Oxford Handbook of Italian Politics*. Jones is also coeditor of the academic journal *Government and Opposition*. His commentary has appeared in the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, and other major newspapers and magazines across Europe and North America.

Elena Lazarou

Elena Lazarou is a senior analyst on geopolitics, EU foreign and defence policy, and transatlantic relations at the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS). She is also the coordinator of EPRS relations with the parliament of Ukraine. From 2020 to August 2024, she headed the external policies unit of EPRS. Prior to joining the European Parliament, she headed the Center for International Relations of the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Brazil (2012–14) and the Euro-Mediterranean Observatory of the Hellenic Center for European Studies (2009–10). Lazarou has held research positions at the University of Cambridge, the University of Sheffield, and the London School of Economics and Political Science, as well as various visiting positions in think tanks and universities in Europe and the United States. She has published edited volumes, articles, and policy briefs in English, Portuguese, and Greek, and is the editor of the EPRS's annual *EU Peace and Security Outlook*. Lazarou is an associate fellow on the US and the Americas programme at Chatham House and a senior research fellow on the European Institutions and Policies programme at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, where she also heads the Greek edition of the Bertelsmann Foundation's Transatlantic Periscope. She received a PhD in international relations from the University of Cambridge.

Hennadiy Maksak

Hennadiy Maksak is a founder and executive director of the think tank Ukrainian Prism. Founded in 2015, Ukrainian Prism is a leading nongovernmental research and advocacy institution in the field of Ukrainian foreign policy and international security. His fields of expertise are international relations and the foreign policy of Ukraine, security in the Eastern Europe, Eastern Partnership policy, European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, diplomatic service, expert diplomacy, and economic diplomacy. Maksak is also a part of the Ukraine and Eastern Europe Programme at GLOBSEC Policy Institute in Bratislava, Slovakia. From 2016 to 2019, he was a coordinator of the Ukrainian national platform of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum. From 2012 to 2014, and then from 2017 to 2019, Maksak was a member of the steering committee of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum. Then from 2017 to 2020, he chaired the civic council under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Maksak took part in task forces for drafting the Foreign Policy Strategy of Ukraine and the Public Diplomacy Strategy. In 2021, he coordinated the activity of the initiative group for the creation of the Crimean Platform Expert Network. Maksak studied economics at Chernihiv State Institute for Economics and Management, and political science at Warsaw University's Centre for East European Studies.

Monika Sie Dhian Ho

Monika Sie Dhian Ho is general director of the Clingendael Institute and a lecturer at the Netherlands School of Public Administration in The Hague. Until June 2024, she was also vice president of the Netherlands' State Committee on Demographic Developments 2050. Sie Dhian Ho studied and lectured in political science at

Erasmus University in Rotterdam and was a lecturer in international relations and international political economy at Leiden University. At the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, she worked as a researcher and project manager, focusing on the European Union, development cooperation, and democratic transition and consolidation. Prior to joining Clingendael, she was director of the Wiardi Beckman Foundation, the social-democratic think tank in the Netherlands.

Luis Simón

Luis Simón is director of the Centre for Security, Diplomacy and Strategy at the Brussels School of Governance. He is concurrently the director of the Brussels office of the Elcano Royal Institute, a nonresident senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a visiting fellow at the Robert Schuman Institute for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute. Simón is currently leading a European Research Council consolidator project on U.S.-China rivalry and its implications for Europe. His areas of expertise include U.S. foreign and defence policy, European security, transatlantic relations, and Asian security.

Ilke Toygür

Ilke Toygür is the director of the Global Policy Center and a professor of the geopolitics of Europe at the School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs at IE University. In addition, she is a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Europe, Russia, and Eurasia program and serves as an elected board member of the Trans European Policy Studies Association in Brussels. Further, she was selected as a Mercator fellow for 2024. Toygür's main areas of expertise include European integration, EU institutions, elections and democracy in Western Europe, the geopolitics of Europe, transatlantic relations, and Turkey's relations with the West. Toygür began her career at the Economic Development Foundation, a research institute focusing on the European Union. In 2015, she was granted a Mercator-IPC fellowship at the Istanbul Policy Center. Following her PhD, she worked for the Elcano Royal Institute in Madrid and for the German Institute for International and Security Affairs in Brussels. Toygür has also been a lecturer at the University Carlos III of Madrid and a visiting researcher at the European University Institute, the University of Mannheim, and the Brookings Institution. Her research and articles have appeared in Carnegie Europe, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Brookings Institution, the *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Der Spiegel*, and *El País*, among others. Toygür frequently comments on European affairs in the international media. She is native speaker of Turkish and speaks fluent English and Spanish. She holds a BA and an MA in economics, an MA in democracy and government, and a PhD in political science from the Autonomous University of Madrid.