

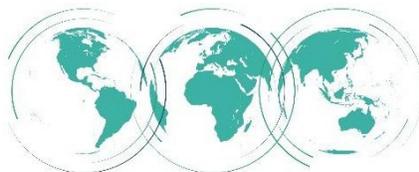
COUNCIL *on*
**FOREIGN
RELATIONS**



COUNCIL OF COUNCILS THIRTEENTH REGIONAL CONFERENCE

**COUNCIL
OF COUNCILS**

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



October 30–November 1, 2022

Jakarta, Indonesia

Hosted by

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

&

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

This meeting, and the broader Council of Councils initiative, is made possible by the generous support of the René Kern Family Foundation and Robina Foundation. The second session is part of the Project on the Future of Global Health Security, which was made possible by a generous grant from the Koret 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 the 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 in members' countries.

About CSIS

The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Jakarta is an independent, nonprofit organization focusing on policy-oriented studies on domestic and international issues. Established in 1971, its mission is to contribute to improved policymaking through policy-oriented research, dialogue, and public debate. This work is based on the belief that long-term planning and vision for Indonesia and the region must be based on an in-depth understanding of economic, political, and social issues, including regional and international developments. CSIS research and studies are channeled in various forms as independent input to government, universities and research institutions, civil society organizations, media, and businesses.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

AUSTRALIA

Lowy Institute

BELGIUM

Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)

BRAZIL

Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

CANADA

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

CHINA

Institute of International and Strategic Studies (IISS)

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)

FRANCE

French Institute of International Relations (Ifri)

GERMANY

German Institute for International and Security Affairs
(SWP)

INDIA

Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

INDONESIA

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

ISRAEL

Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

ITALY

Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

JAPAN

Genron NPO

MEXICO

Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

NIGERIA

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

RUSSIA

Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR)

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 (GIF)

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 Thirteenth Regional Conference

Agenda

Sunday, October 30, 2022

Plataran Menteng
Jalan HOS. Cokroaminoto No. 42
Jakarta 10350, Indonesia

6:00 p.m.–9:00 p.m. *Opening Reception, Dinner, and Discussion*
Indonesia’s Leadership in Foreign Policy
Hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations

Welcoming Remarks:

Yose Rizal Damuri, *Executive Director,*
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)

Speaker:

Marty M. Natalegawa, *Former Foreign Minister of Indonesia*

Monday, October 31, 2022

Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Pakarti Centre Building
JL Tanah Abang 3 No. 23–27
Jakarta 10160, Indonesia

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration*

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session One*

The Future of International Cooperation: Broad Multilateralism Versus Minilateralism

Guiding questions: Are more flexible “minilateral” groupings the best way forward to resolve regional and global challenges, given sclerotic international organizations, increasing great power tensions, and the emergence of a multipolar world? Does recent experience shed light on the main advantages and drawbacks of informal, coalitional approaches to international cooperation? Can minilateral groupings be made compatible with, complement, and even revitalize multilateralism, or are they more likely to undermine more encompassing bodies? How can emerging minilateral groups coordinate with each other constructively? How can the separation of the world into different power blocs or categories of nations be prevented?

Presider:

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

Panelists:

James Crabtree, *Executive Director,*

International Institute for Strategic Studies-Asia (United Kingdom)

Ralf Emmers, *Dean, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Harsh V. Pant, *Vice President for Studies and Foreign Policy,*
Observer Research Foundation (India)

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Two*

Managing Geopolitics and Emerging Health Threats in the Post-COVID-19 Era

Guiding questions: What mechanisms or policies can help countries compartmentalize their geopolitical rivalries to ensure international cooperation on the unprecedented three public health emergencies of international concern: COVID-19, polio, and monkeypox? What are the lessons learned from the COVID-19 pandemic about the relationship between global health and geopolitics that can help better shape responses to the next pandemic? Can the Pandemic Influenza Preparedness Framework be retrofitted to enable low- and middle-income countries to quickly access the most effective vaccines and therapeutics? What new norms, treaties, and institutions should be developed to strengthen the world's ability to cope with multiple crises during a pandemic (e.g., volatile global supply chains, food insecurity, and economic recession) while mitigating the pandemic's devastating effects?

Presider:

Philips J. Vermonte, *Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Indonesian International Islamic University (Indonesia)*

Panelists:

Mely Caballero-Anthony, *Head of the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)*

Yanzhong Huang, *Senior Fellow for Global Health, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

M. Taufiqurrahman, *Editor in Chief, Jakarta Post (Indonesia)*

12:15 p.m.–1:15 p.m. *Lunch*

1:15 p.m.–2:45 p.m. *Session Three*

Building a Sustainable Global Economy: What Is the Role of Regional Economic Initiatives?

Guiding questions: Can greater regional economic integration help allay some of the challenges related to the dynamics of globalization? What policies can ensure regional economic initiatives complement rather than compete with each other? How can regional economic initiatives better incentivize or promote more sustainable and equitable global economic growth? How can governments and regional economic initiatives better diversify supply chains given destabilizing global events, including COVID-19, geopolitical tensions, and environmental concerns? What preventative policies can be adopted to improve regional resilience to future global economic shocks?

Presider:

Fajar B. Hirawan, *Head of the Economics Department,
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)*

Panelists:

Wang Zhongmei, *Director of the Institute for World Economy Studies,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

Damian Wnukowski, *Head of the Asia-Pacific Program,
Polish Institute of International Affairs (Poland)*

2:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.

Coffee Break

3:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m.

Session Four

Future Flashpoints: Managing Potential Conflicts in the Indo-Pacific

Guiding questions: What role can multilateral or regional institutions play in preventing and managing potential regional flashpoints, including intensifying U.S.-China rivalry, growing uncertainty over disputes in the South and East China seas, deteriorating cross-strait relations, and a nuclear-arming North Korea? Can the varying security interests of both larger and smaller powers be managed in regional forums? Is this an institutional problem, and if so, what are potential solutions to strengthen existing mechanisms? What principles, norms, and rules could increase trust and prevent escalation in the region?

Presider:

Giulio Pugliese, *Asia-Pacific Fellow at the Institute of International Affairs;
Lecturer in Japanese Politics at the University of Oxford; and Professor of EU-Asia
Studies at the European University Institute (Italy)*

Panelists:

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

Nguyen Hung Son, *Vice President, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (Vietnam)*

Susannah Patton, *Director of the Southeast Asia Program,
Lowy Institute (Australia)*

4:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.

Free Time

5:30 p.m.–6:00 p.m.

Reception

Centre for Strategic and International Studies

Pakarti Centre Building

JL Tanah Abang 3 No. 23–27

Jakarta 10160, Indonesia

6:00 p.m.–7:00 p.m.

Dinner

7:00 p.m.–8:15 p.m.

Hybrid Discussion

Conflict Management: The Russian-Ukrainian War

Presider:

Steven Blockmans, *Director, Centre for European Policy Studies (Belgium)*

Panelists:

Thomas E. Graham, *Distinguished Fellow,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Fyodor Lukyanov, *Chairman, Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (Russia)*

Hanna Shelest, *Editor in Chief of Ukraine Analytica, and
Director of the Security Studies Program at the Foreign Policy Council (Ukraine)*

Tuesday, November 1, 2022

Centre for Strategic and International Studies

*Pakarti Centre Building
JL Tanah Abang 3 No. 23–27
Jakarta 10160, Indonesia*

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Registration*

9:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m. *Public Session*

**Indonesia's G20 and ASEAN Chairmanship: What to Expect From the
Upcoming Summits**

Presider:

Tama Salim, *Deputy Managing Editor, Jakarta Post (Indonesia)*

Panelists:

Yose Rizal Damuri, *Executive Director,
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)*

Michael Fullilove, *Executive Director, Lowy Institute (Australia)*

Shao Yuqun, *Director of the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau Studies program,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

Djisman Simandjuntak, *Rector, Universitas Prasetiya Mulya (Indonesia)*

10:15 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m. *Session Five*

The Future of Energy, Climate, and Geopolitics

Guiding questions: How can countries balance rapidly rising energy demand with climate and environmental concerns? How do existing institutions governing global oil and gas on financial markets need to adapt to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century? What policies are needed to promote the sharing of and access to clean energy research and technology? What policies can prevent a race to the bottom on critical clean energy technologies—such as mining rare earth minerals and scarce metals? How will changes in the global energy system—growing resource nationalism and political changes in supply countries—effect the transition to a clean energy future? Is stronger coordination to manage global energy dynamics a necessary and feasible prospect? What would that look like?

Presider:

Shafiah F. Muhibat, *Deputy Executive Director for Research,
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)*

Panelists:

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

Memduh Karakullukçu, *Founding Board Member,
Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

12:15 p.m.–1:15 p.m.

Lunch Discussion

Common Challenges Think Tanks Face

Presider:

James M. Lindsay, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies,*

and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

1:15 p.m.–1:30 p.m.

Closing Remarks and Wrap-Up

Speakers:

Yose Rizal Damuri, *Executive Director,*

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)

James M. Lindsay, *Senior Vice President, Director of Studies,*

and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)

Participant Bios

Riccardo Alcaro

Riccardo Alcaro is research coordinator and head of the global actors programme at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). His main area of expertise is transatlantic relations, with a special focus on U.S. and European policies in Europe's surrounding regions. He coordinates the TRANSWORLD project on transatlantic relations and global governance, funded under the seventh framework programme of the European Union, and the JOINT project on EU foreign and security policy, funded under the EU's Horizon 2020. Alcaro was a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center on the United States and Europe and a European Foreign and Security Policy Studies program fellow. He is the author of *Europe and Iran's Nuclear Crisis* and editor of *The Liberal Order and Its Contestations* and *The West and the Global Power Shift*, among other works. He holds a PhD from the University of Tübingen.

Lina Alexandra

Lina Alexandra is a head of the international relations department at the Centre of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Alexandra has been at CSIS since 2002. Her research focuses on international peacekeeping and peace-building, human rights, human security, and conflict resolution. She was previously a visiting research fellow at the University of Queensland's Asia-Pacific Centre for Responsibility to Protect and helped run the center's Indonesian program. She earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Indonesia and her master of international studies and doctorate from the University of Queensland.

Steven Blockmans

Steven Blockmans is director of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), professor of EU external relations law and governance at the University of Amsterdam, and editor in chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review*. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the EU. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defence* and *Regroup and Reform: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. His latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied in its outer periphery. He is an 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, 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, global governance, human security and nontraditional security, nuclear security, and conflict prevention. Anthony is currently a member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and is secretary-general for the Consortium on Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia. 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. She has published extensively on a broad range of political and security

issues in the Asia-Pacific in peer-reviewed journals and international academic presses. Her latest books, both single-authored and coedited, include *Nuclear Governance in the Indo-Pacific*, *Negotiating Governance on Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia and Beyond*, and *An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security Studies*.

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.

Chen Dongxiao

Chen Dongxiao is president of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). He specializes in the studies of the United Nations, Chinese foreign policy, and U.S.-China relations, and has published extensively on UN reform and China's multilateral diplomacy. Chen is the editor in chief of *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, published by SIIS and World Scientific Publishing in Singapore. He is also an adjunct professor at Shanghai International Studies University. 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 is a high-level advisor to the independent team of advisors for the UN Economic and Social Council dialogue on longer-term positioning of the UN development system, a member of the Association for Southeast Asian Nations' Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group, senior advisor on economic diplomacy to China's foreign ministry, and senior advisor to the mayor of Shanghai's international business leaders' advisory council. He is also vice chair of the China National Association of International Relations. Chen was recognized as a Leading Scholar of Shanghai in 2012. Chen received his PhD from Fudan University.

James Crabtree

James Crabtree is executive director of International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)–Asia. Crabtree plays a leading role in organizing the annual IISS Shangri-La Dialogue and the IISS Fullerton Forum: The Shangri-La Dialogue Sherpa Meeting, as well as the IISS Fullerton Lecture series. He also leads the growing IISS research team in Singapore focused on the Asia-Pacific and contributes to IISS publications. He focuses on politics, international relations, and security; Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, India's economy, politics, and foreign and security policy; and geoeconomics, trade, and economic development. Before joining the IISS, Crabtree was a Singapore-based author and journalist and an associate professor of practice at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. His best-selling 2018 book, *The Billionaire Raj: A Journey Through India's New Gilded Age*, was short-listed for the *Financial Times* and McKinsey Business Book of the Year. Prior to academia, Crabtree worked for the

Financial Times, most recently as Mumbai bureau chief, and wrote for a wide range of global publications. He also worked as a senior policy adviser in the UK Prime Minister's Strategy Unit under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. He was educated at Harvard University and the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Ralf Emmers

Ralf Emmers is dean and president's chair in international relations at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies. His research interests cover security studies, international institutions in the Asia-Pacific, and the security and international politics of Southeast Asia. He is the author and editor of eleven books and monographs, including *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia*, *Resource Management and Contested Territories in East Asia*, and *Security Strategies of Middle Powers in the Asia Pacific*, cowritten with Sarah Teo. He is also the coeditor of the *Oxford Handbook on Peaceful Change in International Relations*. He completed his MSc and PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Michael Fullilove

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

Thomas Gomart

Thomas Gomart is director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri). Previously, he was vice president for strategic development and director and founder of Ifri's Russia and the New Independent States (NIS) Center. Before joining Ifri, Gomart was an assistant professor at Sorbonne University and a cadet officer. His work has focused on the former Soviet Union and wider international issues such as security, energy, and digital governance. He was previously a Lavoisier fellow at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, visiting fellow at the European Union Institute for Security Studies, and Marie Curie fellow at King's College London's Department of War Studies. Gomart's recent publications include *Europe: Subject or Object in the Geopolitics of Data?*, edited with Julien Nocetti and Clément Tonon; *L'affolement du monde: 10 enjeux géopolitique*; *Guerres invisibles: Nos prochains défis géopolitiques*; and *Comment préparer 2050? De la "prévoyance" à la "grande stratégie,"* coauthored with Martin Briens. He is a member of the strategic review committee for the Defence and National Security Strategic Review 2017 and a member of the editorial board of the French journals *Etudes*, *Politique étrangère*, and *Revue des deux mondes*. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Fajar B. Hirawan

Fajar B. Hirawan is the head of the Department of Economics at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He has been at CSIS since 2006. His research mainly focuses on how to strengthen the global economy, including issues related to food security, international trade, digital economy, small and medium enterprises, rural and urban poverty, and development economics. He is active in several research networks nationally, regionally, and globally. Since 2010, he has taught at several universities in Indonesia, including the University of Indonesia, Prasetiya Mulya Business School, University of Multimedia Nusantara, and the School of Government and Public Policy. He teaches macroeconomics, economic development, and Indonesia in an interconnected world at the School of Government and Public Policy. He writes and speaks frequently on economic issues at seminars, workshops, and to the media. Hirawan received his bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Indonesia, master's degree in development studies at Sapienza University of Rome, and a PhD in economics from the University of Sydney.

Yanzhong Huang

Yanzhong Huang is a senior fellow for global health at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is also a professor and director of global health studies at Seton Hall University's School of Diplomacy and International Relations and founding editor of *Global Health Governance: The Scholarly Journal for the New Health Security Paradigm*. Huang has testified before U.S. congressional committees and is consulted regularly by major media outlets, the private sector, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations on global health issues and China. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and a board member of the Tbilisi Institute of Global Health. He previously was a research associate at the National Asia Research Program, a public intellectuals fellow at the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, an associate fellow at the Asia Society, a visiting senior research fellow at the National University of Singapore, and a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He also taught at Barnard College and Columbia University. Huang has written extensively on China and global health for myriad publications, including the *China Leadership Monitor* and the *New York Times*. He is the author of *Governing Health in Contemporary China* and *Toxic Politics: China's Environmental Health Crisis and Its Challenge to the Chinese State*. He obtained his BA and MA from Fudan University and his PhD from the University of Chicago.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is a founding board member of the Global Relations Forum (GRF). He was the first president of GRF from 2009 to 2019. Karakullukçu 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 Istanbul Technical University's (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. 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. Karakullukçu 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.

Muhammad Waffaa Kharisma

Muhammad Waffaa Kharisma is a researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). His research covers the intersection between geopolitics, sovereignty, and humanitarian issues, including the security dynamics of the Indo-Pacific, role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in regional geopolitics and humanitarian issues, Indonesian foreign policy, the Korean peninsula, Myanmar, and Indonesia's maritime security. His most recent works have been featured in *Italian Institute for International Political Studies Commentary*, *Indonesia at Melbourne*, *The Diplomat*, and a CSIS policy paper series. He previously taught part-time at the University of Indonesia on theories of international relations and international politics, and was a research assistant at the Bank Indonesia, where he assisted on a research assessing the possible effects of geopolitical and socioeconomic changes to Indonesia's economy. He graduated with an MSc from the University of Bristol.

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 and CFR's eleven fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. 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. His most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Ambassador Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge*, hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*, and cohosts the weekly podcast *The World Next Week*.

Shafiah F. Muhibat

Shafiah F. Muhibat has been deputy executive director for research at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) since January 2022, previously serving as the head of the international relations department from 2018 to 2021 and deputy head of the department of politics and international relations from 2016 to 2017. She joined CSIS in 2000. Her research interests include

Indo-Pacific regional security, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, maritime security, Indonesia's foreign policy, and development cooperation. She was a senior fellow in the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies' maritime security program in 2017, chief editor of the *Indonesian Quarterly* from 2013 to 2016, and a doctoral fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy from 2009 to 2012. She earned a master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science and a doctorate from the University of Hamburg.

Nguyen Hung Son

Nguyen Hung Son is vice president of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV), where he oversees the academy's two research institutes: the Institute for Strategic studies and the East Sea (South China Sea) Institute. His research focuses on major power relations, regional security governance, maritime security, and Vietnam's foreign policy. As a diplomat, he served as minister-counselor of the Vietnamese Embassy in Ottawa from 2015 to 2018 and second secretary of the Vietnamese Embassy in Stockholm from 2004 to 2006. He also worked for the Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs' department of ASEAN affairs, where he participated extensively in regional summits. He was a member of the Vietnam high-level task force delegation that negotiated the 2006–07 ASEAN charter and served as the head of the ASEAN standing committee division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2000 to 2001. His recent publications include "ASEAN's Position on the South China Sea issue and the Future Prospect of a Code of Conduct" in *Cambodia's Chairmanship of ASEAN: Challenging Perceptions, Concretizing Consolidations*, and contributed a chapter to "The South China Sea: Realities and responses in South East Asia." He frequently authors op-eds on global geopolitics and Vietnam's foreign policy. Nguyen received his BA in international trade and finance from the National Economic University of Vietnam, an MSc in international economics from Birmingham University, and PhD in international relations at DAV.

Harsh V. Pant

Harsh V. Pant is vice president for studies and foreign policy at the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi. He is also a professor of international relations at King's College London and director (honorary) of Delhi University's Delhi School of Transnational Affairs. Pant's current research focuses on Asian security issues. He writes regularly for various Indian and international media outlets including the *Japan Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *National* (UAE), *Hindustan Times*, and the *Telegraph*. His most recent books include *India and Global Governance: A Rising Power and Its Discontents*, *Politics and Geopolitics: Decoding India's Neighbourhood Challenge*, and *America and the Indo-Pacific: Trump and Beyond*.

Susannah Patton

Susannah Patton is director of the Southeast Asia program and project lead for the "Asia Power Index," the annual data-driven assessment that maps the changing distribution of power in the region, at the Lowy Institute. Her research on Southeast Asia is focused on strategic alignment dynamics and the roles of external powers including the United States, Australia, and China. Before joining the Lowy Institute, Susannah was a research fellow in the foreign policy and defense program at the University of Sydney's United States Studies Centre. Her commentary and analysis has featured in Australian and

international outlets, including the *New York Times*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Australian Financial Review*, and the *Interpreter*. Before leaving government, she worked in various Southeast Asia-focused positions in the Australian government, including as a senior analyst in the Southeast Asia Branch at the Office of National Intelligence, in the ASEAN-Australia Special Summit Taskforce in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and as a diplomat in the Australian Embassy in Bangkok. Patton holds degrees in law and political science from the Australian National University.

Giulio Pugliese

Giulio Pugliese is a senior Asia-Pacific fellow at the Institute of International Affairs (IAI), a lecturer in Japanese politics at the University of Oxford, and a part-time professor of EU-Asia studies at the European University Institute. He specializes in great power politics in the Asia-Pacific with a focus on the United States, China, and Japan. He has held visiting scholar positions at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, the University of Oxford's St. Antony's College, George Washington University, and Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. He has presented at various academic and Track 1.5 venues, and published articles and contributed chapters concerning academic, policy-oriented, and commercial themes in the United States, Japan, and Europe. He is coauthor of *Sino-Japanese Power Politics: Might, Money and Minds*. He holds an MA from Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and a PhD from the University of Cambridge.

Mercedes Ruehl

Mercedes Ruehl is the Singapore correspondent for the *Financial Times*. She was previously the Asia technology correspondent based in Singapore and led the paper's newsletters and audience engagement team in Asia. Prior to that, she spent six years reporting in Australia on business, finance and politics for *The Australian Financial Review*. She also served as a news desk assistant at *The Sydney Morning Herald* and later wrote for *The Sydney Morning Herald's* BusinessDay. Ruehl has a BA in political science and government from the University of Sydney and a graduate certificate in journalism from the University of Technology Sydney.

Shao Yuqun

Shao Yuqun is director of the Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau studies program and senior fellow in the Center for American Studies at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Her major research areas include U.S. foreign policy and U.S.-China relations. She also serves as vice president of the Shanghai Association of American Studies and Shanghai Cross-Strait Studies Association. Shao was a visiting fellow at the German Development Institute in 2007 and at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2010. She earned her PhD in international relations at Fudan University.

Djisman S. Simandjuntak

Djisman S. Simandjuntak has been the president commissioner of PT Indoritel Makmur Internasional Tbk since 2015. He also serves as the chairman of the board of management for the Centre for Strategic International Studies (CSIS) and rector of the Universitas Prasetiya Mulya. He has worked on a wide range of issues, including international economics and macroeconomics. He was chairman of the CSIS

board of trustees from 1999 to 2005, dean of Prasetya Mulya Business School from 1989 to 2003, and head of CSIS's department of economics affairs from 1984 to 1987. He holds a bachelor's degree in economics from Parahiyangan University and doctorate in international economics from the University of Cologne.

Justyna Szczudlik

Justyna Szczudlik is deputy head of research and China analyst for the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). She served as the head of PISM's Asia-Pacific program from 2016 to 2021. She researches China's foreign policy, focusing on China-Central and -Eastern Europe relations, China-Poland relations, and cross-strait relations. She studied Chinese language at Beijing Language and Culture University's College of Advanced Chinese Training and the National Chengchi University. She holds an MA in political science from the University of Wroclaw, an MA in Chinese studies from the University of Warsaw, and a PhD in political science from the University of Warsaw.

M. Taufiqurrahman

M. Taufiqurrahman is the editor in chief of the *Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Post Digital*. He joined the paper in 2002, and previously served as the deputy chief editor and led the Post's first phase of its digital transformation. He has been a lecturer in the political science department at the State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta since 2010. He founded Elevation Books/Records and was the founding editor of jakartabeat.net. He graduated with an MA in political science and government from the Northern Illinois University.

Philips J. Vermonte

Philips J. Vermonte is a senior fellow at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He is also the dean of Indonesian International Islamic University's School of Social Sciences, an international university established by President Joko Widodo. He previously served as executive director of CSIS from 2016 to 2022. His research interests include comparative politics, voting behavior, electoral politics, and political parties in Indonesia. Philips J. Vermonte joined CSIS in 2001. He earned his master's degree in international studies from the University of Adelaide and his doctorate in political science from Northern Illinois University, where he was a Fulbright Scholar.

Wang Zhongmei

Wang Zhongmei is the director of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies' Institute for World Economy Studies. Her research focuses on trade, innovation and competition policy; the World Trade Organization (WTO); free trade and regional trade agreements; and global economic governance. She was a visiting fellow at Max Planck Institute of Innovation and Competition from 2014 to 2015, Tartu University in 2013, the Swiss Institute of Comparative Law in 2010, the Peterson Institute for International Economics in 2014, and Victoria University in Melbourne in 2006. She also participated in the U.S. State Department's international visitor leadership project in 2008. She has recently published articles on global supply chains, China's free trade agreement strategy, WTO reform, global governance of cross-border data flows, and resilient supply chains. She studied law at Xiamen University and received her PhD in law.

Damian Wnukowski

Damian Wnukowski is head of the Asia-Pacific program at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). His research focuses on international economic relations, global economic governance, economic diplomacy, East Asia, U.S.-China relations, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. He holds an MA in international relations with a concentration in non-European studies from the University of Warsaw and in foreign trade studies from the Warsaw School of Economics.

Speaker Bios

Marty M. Natalegawa

Marty M. Natalegawa served as foreign minister of Indonesia from 2009 to 2014. He is currently an Asia Society Policy Institute distinguished fellow, member of the UN Institute for Disarmament Research's board of trustees, and member of the UN secretary-general's high level advisory board on mediation and advisory board on disarmament. Natalegawa is also a member of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies' international academic advisory committee, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies' Southeast Asia advisory board, the International Crisis Group's board of trustees, the Jeju Forum's global advisory committee, the University of Western Australia's Public Policy Institute advisory board, and the Global Center for Pluralism's board of directors. He is a prominent research scholar focusing on the effects of geopolitics on the economy and is a member of the honorary board of the Bank of Indonesia Institute. He served in the UN secretary-general's high level panel on the global response to health crises and UN president of the general assembly's seventy-second session team of external advisors. He was the permanent representative and ambassador of Indonesia to the United Nations from 2007 to 2009, and ambassador to the United Kingdom and Ireland from 2005 to 2007. He also worked in various capacities within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, including as director general for Association of Southeast Asian Nations cooperation, director for international organizations, chief of staff, and ministry spokesperson. He is author of *Does ASEAN Matter? A View Room Within*. Natalegawa earned a BSc from the London School of Economics and Political Science, an MPhil from the University of Cambridge, and a DPhil from the Australian National University.

Hybrid Participant Biographies

Chinyere Rita Agu

Chinyere Rita Agu is a research fellow at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). Her research interests include international trade law, family law, and diplomatic law. She is experienced in diversified law practice as barrister and solicitor to the Supreme Court of Nigeria, in which she has undertaken many pro-bono cases for women and children. She also served as special legal assistant to the secretary to the Government of Imo State from 2007 to 2010. She has authored many publications in reputable international and local journals and is currently a PhD candidate at Abia State University's Faculty of Law. She holds an LLB from Enugu State University of Science and Technology and an LLM from Imo State University. She is a member of the Nigerian bar.

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.

Juan Battaleme

Juan Battaleme is academic secretary of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI). He is also the director of the faculty of national defense's master's degree program at Argentina's National Defense University and a professor in several undergraduate and graduate universities in Argentina, including the Argentine University of Business, the Center for Macroeconomic Studies of Argentina (CEMA) University, and the University of Buenos Aires. He specializes in national security, with a focus on Argentine foreign policy, national defense, and cybersecurity. Throughout his career, he has worked as an advisor and analyst on foreign and digital policy. He was previously in charge of the academic direction of the Argentine University of Business. He 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. He was a Fulbright Scholar, a National Defense University fellow, and a Chevening Scholar. He has a 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 the CEMA University. He is a PhD candidate in organizations management at CEMA.

Thomas E. Graham

Thomas E. Graham is a distinguished fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a cofounder of the Russian, East European, and Eurasian studies program at Yale University and sits on its faculty steering committee. He is also a research fellow at Yale's MacMillan Center. He has been a lecturer in global affairs and political science since 2011, teaching courses on U.S.-Russian relations and Russian foreign policy, as well as cybersecurity and counterterrorism. Graham was special assistant to the president and senior director for Russia on the National Security Council staff from 2004 to 2007, during which he managed a White House-Kremlin strategic dialogue. He was director for Russian affairs on the staff from 2002 to 2004. Graham served as an advisor to Kissinger Associates from 2008 to 2021. He was a Foreign Service officer for fourteen years. His assignments included two tours of duty at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in the middle of the 1990s, during which he served as head of the political internal unit and acting political counselor. Between tours in Moscow, he worked on Russian and Soviet affairs on the policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State and as a policy assistant in the office of the undersecretary of defense for policy. Graham serves on the Kennan council of the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute and on the advisory board of Russia Matters, a project of the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. He also serves on the editorial board of the *US-Canada Journal* of the USA-Canada Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Graham holds a BA in Russian studies from Yale University and an MA in history and PhD in political science from Harvard University.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his twentieth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations, the preeminent independent, nonpartisan organization in the United States devoted to issues of foreign policy and international relations. He has served as senior Middle East advisor to President George H.W. Bush, as the State Department's director of policy planning under Secretary of State Colin Powell, and in various positions in the Defense and State departments during the Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan administrations. He was also U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and the U.S. envoy to both the Cyprus and Northern Ireland peace talks. A recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award, Haass is also the author or editor of fourteen books on U.S. foreign policy and one book on management. His next book, *The Bill of Obligations: The Ten Habits of Good Citizens*, will be published in January 2023. A Rhodes Scholar, he holds master's degree and doctorate of philosophy from Oxford University and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees.

Yoji Koda

Yoji Koda is a senior visiting fellow in regional security at the Genron NPO. He is a retired vice admiral of the Japan Maritime Self Defense Force, where he specialized in surface warfare. In 2009–11, Koda was a senior fellow at Harvard University's Asia Center, where he worked on Chinese naval strategy.

He also served as an advisor to the National Security Secretariat. After forty years of service at the National Defense Academy and in the Japan Maritime Self Defense Force, he served as commander in chief of the Self Defense Fleet from 2007 until his retirement in 2008. Koda also served as director general of the Joint Staff Office and commandant of the Sasebo District. Koda is a proficient writer on maritime affairs and military history, with recent articles including “Japanese Perspective on China’s Rise as a Naval Power” and “Maritime Strategy and National Security in Japan and Britain.” He is a graduate of the National Defense Academy and studied at the U.S. Naval War College’s Naval Command College.

Lukasz Kulesa

Lukasz Kulesa is 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 an MA in international relations and European studies from the Central European University and is a graduate of the law department of the Jagiellonian University.

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 with the participation of *Foreign Affairs* 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.

Orysia Lutsevych

Orysia Lutsevych is head of the Ukraine Forum and research fellow in the Russia and Eurasia programme at Chatham House. Since joining Chatham House in 2012, her research has focused on social change and the role of civil society in democratic transition in the post-Soviet region. Her recent research focuses on the state and societal resilience, where she is leading a new effort to design a resilience index on foreign encroachment. In 2017, she coordinated and co-authored a major Chatham House report “The Struggle for Ukraine,” which assessed changes since Euromaidan and provided policy recommendations. She is also author of the Chatham House publications “Agents of the Russian World: Proxy Groups in the Contested Neighbourhood” and “How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.” Her media work includes contributions to the BBC, the Guardian, The Times, CNN, the *Financial Times*, the *New York Times* and Open

Democracy. She has an MS in international relations from Lviv State University and an MS in public administration from the University of Missouri.

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.

Eghosa E. Osaghae

Eghosa E. Osaghae is a professor of political science and director general of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. 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 program on ethnic and federal studies and directed the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Ibadan 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*.

Paul Samson

Paul Samson is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI). He currently focuses on the transformation of the global economy through digitization, scenarios for an evolving world order, and institutional global governance challenges. During twenty-four years with the government of Canada, Samson's positions included associate deputy minister with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, director general of strategic policy at the former Canadian International

Development Agency, and assistant deputy minister-level roles with Global Affairs Canada and Finance Canada's International Trade and Finance branch. He also held several positions at the Privy Council Office during the tenure of three different prime ministers and worked at Natural Resources Canada and Environment Canada. Samson also served as director for Canada, Egypt, and Ethiopia at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank from 2018 to 2019, comanager of the Canada-UK Policy Forum on the Modern Economy from 2018 to 2019, and Canada's deputy for finance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum from 2015 to 2019. He frequently led Canadian delegations for meetings with multilateral development banks, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations and the Global Environment Facility. He was co-chair of the Group of Twenty (G20) Framework Working Group on the global economy from 2015 to 2019. Earlier in his career, he worked at Green Cross International, the Peace Research Institute, and the Belfer Center for Science and international Affairs. Samson completed his BA at the University of British Columbia and his MA and PhD in international relations at the University of Geneva's Graduate Institute. He completed postdoctoral studies in global environment assessment at Harvard University.

Hanna Shelest

Hanna Shelest is the director of the Security Studies program at the Foreign Policy Council "Ukrainian Prism," editor in chief of *UA: Ukraine Analytica*, and a non-resident senior fellow at the Center for European Policy Analysis. Her main research interests are conflicts resolution, hybrid warfare and security studies, Ukraine foreign policy, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). She served for more than ten years as a senior researcher at the National Institute for Strategic Studies Odessa branch under the president of Ukraine. Shelest was a Think Visegrad fellow in 2019, Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey visiting research fellow in 2018, Marshall Memorial fellow in 2016, NATO Defense College visiting research fellow in 2014, John Smith fellow in 2012, Black Sea Young Reformer in 2011, and Rotary Peace fellow in 2010. She also has experience in public relations and lobbying and taught at universities and defense colleges in Ukraine and abroad. She has numerous academic and media articles published worldwide and is a regular presenter at international conferences and media commenter. She was recognized as a "forty under forty Ukrainian Emerging Leader" in 2013 by the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation. Shelest received her MA in international relations at Odessa National University and a PhD in international relations from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. She also holds a professional certificate in peace and conflict resolution from the Chulalongkorn University's Rotary Peace Center.

Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. He 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 18, 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 from 2005 to 2009. He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations, from 1999 to 2005, and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels from 1994 to 1999, the United

Nations in New York from 1988 to 1992, the Turkish Embassy in Kabul from 1984 to 1986, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development from 1981 to 1984.

Yu Tiejun

Yu Tiejun is a professor at Peking University's School of International Studies and president of the university's Institute of International and Strategic Studies. He was a Fulbright Visiting scholar at the security studies program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) from 2018 to 2019, was a visiting scholar at Stanford University and Harvard University from 2005 to 2006, and studied at the University of Tokyo from 1998 to 2000. Yu is executive editor in chief of *China International Strategy Review* and has written extensively on international security, East Asian international relations, and China's foreign and defense policy. He was awarded Peking University's Excellent Teaching Award and Distinguished Research Award in 2010 and 2017, respectively. Yu received his BA, MA, and PhD from Peking University.

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is chair of the management board of the Institute of Contemporary Development and professor and head of the department of risk management and insurance at Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He is also president of the All-Russian Insurance Association, the Russian Association of Motor Insurers, and the National Union of Liability Insurers, as well as a member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, the management board of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, and the Russian International Affairs Council. He graduated from Moscow State University.

Patricia Zúñiga

Patricia Zúñiga is director general of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. She also works on gender equality projects, primarily with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and most recently with the Mexican Ministry of Education. From 2018 to 2021, she was project manager and head of the liaison office of the hydrocarbons program at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's Institute of Geology. From 2017 to 2018, she coordinated the innovation group to support and advise the Mexican Ministry of Economy's negotiators during the North American Free Trade Agreement renegotiations. Zúñiga served as executive director of the Academy of Engineering from 2015 to 2018; technical secretary from 2002 to 2014 of the Scientific and Technological Consultative Forum, which serves as an external consultative body for the executive and legislative branches of the Mexican government; director of promotion and scientific development for Mexico's National Council for Science and Technology from 1993 to 2002; and external advisor to member states' radiation safety and capacity-building at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1993 to 2000. She led the IAEA's international program on control and safe use of radiation sources from 1988 to 1993. She has received numerous awards, including the 1992 UN Distinguished Service Award and the National Institute for Women in Mexico City's Omecihuatl Medal. Zúñiga graduated from the faculty of sciences at UNAM.