

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations

*Tuesday, September 6, 2022
7:30 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. U.S. Eastern Time*



Council of Councils Sixth Virtual Conference

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.

Council of Councils Mission Statement

The defining foreign policy challenges of the twenty-first century are global in nature. To help direct high-level international attention and effective policy responses to these threats and opportunities, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has created a Council of Councils (CoC). The CoC is composed of twenty-eight major policy institutes from some of the world's most influential countries. It is designed to facilitate candid, not-for-attribution dialogue and consensus-building among influential opinion leaders from both established and emerging nations, with the ultimate purpose of injecting the conclusions of its deliberations into high-level foreign policy circles within members' countries.

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

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

ARGENTINA

Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI)

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)

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Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI)

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Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

POLAND

Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)

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Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP)

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SAUDI ARABIA

Gulf Research Center (GRC)

SINGAPORE

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

SOUTH AFRICA

Institute for Security Studies (ISS)

South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)

SOUTH KOREA

East Asia Institute (EAI)

TURKEY

Global Relations Forum (GRF)

UNITED KINGDOM

Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs)

International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

UNITED STATES

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Council of Councils Sixth Virtual Conference
International Start Times

(Please double check your time zones)

Tuesday, September 6, 2022

6:30 a.m.–8:00 a.m. Mexico City

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

8:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m. Buenos Aires / Rio de Janeiro

12:30 p.m.–2:00 p.m. Lagos / London

1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m. Berlin / Brussels / Johannesburg/ Paris / Pretoria / Rome / Warsaw

2:30 p.m.–4:00 p.m. Istanbul / Jeddah / Moscow / Tel Aviv

5:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m. New Delhi

6:30 p.m.–8:00 p.m. Jakarta

7:30 p.m.–9:00 p.m. Beijing / Shanghai / Singapore

8:30 p.m.–10:00 p.m. Seoul / Tokyo

9:30 p.m.–11:00 p.m. Sydney

**Council of Councils Sixth Virtual Conference
Agenda**

Tuesday, September 6, 2022

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

Join details for session:

<https://cfr.zoom.us/j/83630969651>

Passcode: 435025

Meeting ID: 836 3096 9651

7:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m.

Session One

The Future of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime

Guiding questions: What do the outcomes of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) Tenth Review Conference and the first meeting of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons states-parties mean for the future of the nonproliferation and disarmament regimes? How can countries manage the risks of escalation and implement the NPT's Article VI disarmament provisions? How can the potential collapse of the U.S.-Russian nuclear arms control system be addressed? What measures are needed to engage the other nuclear-weapons states in talks that would cap or reduce their own deadly arsenals?

Discussion Facilitator:

Ettore Greco, *Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

Introductory Speakers:

William Alberque, *Director of Strategy, Technology, and Arms Control, International Institute for Strategic Studies (United Kingdom)*

Alvin Chew, *Senior Fellow,*

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)

Jo-Ansie van Wyk, *Professor, Department of Political Sciences,*

University of South Africa, and Lead Researcher, Atoms for Development programme, South African Institute of International Affairs (South Africa)

Participant Biographies

Fonteh Akum

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

William Alberque

William Alberque is director of Strategy, Technology, and Arms Control at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, focusing on preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and related delivery systems, as well as risk reduction and arms control. Alberque previously served as the director of NATO's Arms Control, Disarmament, and WMD Non-Proliferation Centre, with more than twenty-five years' experience in arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation. He has a diverse background, with experience in international diplomacy related to arms control and non-proliferation, ranging from policy formulation to negotiations and implementation—as well as chemical-biological defense, small arms and light weapons, landmines, and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. He is an experienced researcher, writer, and public speaker, having addressed the United Nations, European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, news media, and national parliaments, and published on the history of arms control.

Sergio M. Alcocer

Sergio M. Alcocer is president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations, research professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico's (UNAM) Institute of Engineering, and adjunct professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA). Alcocer is also the president of Mexico Exponential, 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, member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, 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. Alcocer was inducted into the National Academy of Engineering for improvements to the seismic safety of buildings in

developing countries through improved design standards and government policies. He received his BS in civil engineering from UNAM and his PhD in structures from the University of Texas at Austin.

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*.

Isabel Bosman

Isabel Bosman is a researcher in the African Governance and Diplomacy programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). From 2020, she worked on SAIIA's Atoms for Development Project, which focuses on the peaceful use of nuclear energy in Africa and nuclear governance issues more broadly. Her work also focuses on the nexus between technology and politics, democracy, security, and non-proliferation. She holds a master's degree in political studies from the University of the Witwatersrand.

Alvin Chew

Alvin Chew is a senior fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His research interests span across the broad range of nuclear related policies and developments, including global nuclear security and non-proliferation issues. He previously served in Singapore's permanent mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and worked closely with member states on IAEA nuclear safety and security resolutions.

Chaesung Chun

Chaesung Chun is director of the East Asia Institute's National Security Center and professor at Seoul National University's department of political science and international relations. He chairs the advisory committee for South Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and is a member of the advisory committees of the Ministry of Defense, Republic of Korea Army, and Republic of Korea Navy. He was president of the Korean Association of International Studies and a visiting professor at Keio University in Tokyo from 2017 to 2018 and 2010 to 2011. He also served as director of Seoul National University's Center for International Studies and a vice president of Seoul National University's Institute of Peace and Unification Studies. His major works include *Sovereignty and International Relations: Northeast Asian International Relations Theory: Politics among Incomplete Sovereign States*; *Sovereignty and International Relations: Modern Sovereign States System and the Evolution of the Empire*; and *Is Politics Moral: Reinhold Niebuhr's Transcendental Realism, East Asian International Relations*. He received his BA and MA from Seoul National University and his PhD in international relations theory from Northwestern University.

Eduardo Diez

Eduardo Diez is coordinator of the Argentine Council for International Relations' nuclear issues committee. He is also executive director of the Argentine-American Dialogue Foundation, director of the University of Belgrano's department of international relations, professor of international relations at several universities. He previously served as the national director of international policy at the Argentine Ministry of Defense.

Roberto Dondisch

Roberto Dondisch is a distinguished fellow at the Stimson Center, coordinator of the Peace and Security Unit at the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (COMEXI), and member of New York University Pathfinders advisory taskforce on halving global violence. He is an international strategist and former diplomat, and served as chief Mexican negotiator to the Paris Agreement, UN Sustainable Development Goals, and the Arms Trade Treaty. He also served as director general for global issues, focal point for Mexican membership to the UN Security Council, and head consul of Mexico in Seattle, Washington. A former Fulbright scholar, he holds a BA in international relations from the Universidad Iberoamericana, MS in foreign service from Georgetown University, and MA and PhD from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Héloïse Fayet

Héloïse Fayet is a research fellow at the French Institute of International Relations' (Ifri) Security Studies Center and the coordinator of the Deterrence and Proliferation Research program. Her research focuses on nuclear issues, mostly proliferation in the Middle East, the evolution of nuclear weapon state's doctrines, and cyber-nuclear nexus. She also works on Middle Eastern geopolitics and strategic prospective. Before joining Ifri, Fayet spent three years at the French Ministry of Defense as an analyst on the Middle East. She graduated from Sciences Po Paris with a bachelor's degree and dual master's degree in international security and journalism, including a year abroad at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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/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 Etudes Commerciales de Paris and his PhD in history from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Ettore Greco

Ettore Greco is executive vice president of the Institute of International Affairs (IAI). He also heads the institute's multilateralism and global governance program. He was previously the director of IAI from 2008 to 2017, worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from 2006 to 2007, and taught at the University of Parma and the University of Bologna. From 2000 to 2006, Greco worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. Between 1993 and 2000, he directed IAI's program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also deputy director of IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006, he was editor of the *International Spectator*. He is the author of several publications on the European Union's institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations, and arms control.

Guo Xiaobing

Guo Xiaobing is a research professor and director of the Center for Arms Control Studies at China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations. His research focuses on space security, arms control, international nonproliferation, and export control. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Georgia's Center for International Trade and Security.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass is a veteran diplomat and influential voice on American foreign policy. He is serving his nineteenth 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 latest book is *The World: A Brief Introduction*. A Rhodes Scholar, he holds master's degree and doctorate of philosophy degrees from Oxford University and is the recipient of numerous honorary degrees.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is 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 (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*, with two former Turkish undersecretaries of foreign affairs and intelligence. Karakullukçu 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. He is a member of the NY Bar.

Yang Gyu Kim

Yang Gyu Kim is a principal researcher at the East Asia Institute and a lecturer at Seoul National University's department of political science and international relations. His research focuses on international security, including coercive diplomacy, nuclear weapons strategy, power transition, U.S.-China relations, and North Korea. Kim was a visiting scholar at Columbia University's Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies and taught international relations theory, security, and foreign policy courses at Florida International University as an adjunct professor from 2020 to 2021. His recent works include "At the Brink of Nuclear War: Feasibility of Retaliation and the U.S. Policy Decisions During the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis" and "The Feasibility of Punishment and the Credibility of Threats: Case Studies on the First Moroccan and the Rhineland Crises." He holds a bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate in international relations from Seoul National University.

Yoji Koda

Yoji Koda 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 deputy head of research at the Polish Institute of International Affairs, where he supervises the institute's research on international security, transatlantic relations, Russia, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. His areas of expertise include nuclear and conventional

deterrence, arms control, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Russian security policy, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the transatlantic security relationship. From 2014 to 2019, he was research director of the European Leadership Network. From 2010 to 2012, Kulesa served as the deputy director of the Strategic Analyses Department at the Polish National Security Bureau. His publications include “Russia’s Military After Ukraine: Down But Not Out,” “Poland and the OSCE,” and “Dilemmas of Arms Control: Meeting the Interests of NATO’s North-Eastern Flank.” Kulesa holds a master’s degree in international relations and European studies from the Central European University and is a graduate of the law department of the Jagiellonian University.

Patricia Lewis

Patricia Lewis leads the International Security programme at Chatham House. Previously she served as deputy director and scientist-in-residence at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the former Monterey Institute of International Studies; director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research; and director of the Verification Research, Training, and Information Centre in London. Lewis served on the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission chaired by Hans Blix; the advisory panel on future priorities of the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons; and was an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament. She is the recipient of the American Physical Society’s 2009 Joseph A. Burton Forum Award outstanding contributions to the public understanding or resolution of issues involving the interface of physics and society. She holds a BSc in physics from Manchester University and a PhD in nuclear physics from Birmingham University.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR’s David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR’s eleven fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign policymaking 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 in 1996–97 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 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 co-hosts the weekly podcast, *The World Next Week*.

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.

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

Bessma Momani

Bessma Momani is senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), full professor in the University of Waterloo's department of political science, and assistant vice president of research and international. She is also a Fulbright Scholar, fellow at the University of Calgary's School of Public Policy, adviser to Public Safety Canada's National Security Transparency advisory group, and visiting scholar for Global Affairs Canada's International Assistance Research and Knowledge Division. She sits on the advisory council to the Middle East Institute's program on Economics and Energy, board of the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation, and editorial board of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. She was interim international assistant vice president at the University of Waterloo, assistant vice president for research and international in the University of Waterloo's office of research, a 2015 fellow at the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation, non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and Stimson Center, and a visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Mortara Center. She has worked as a consultant to the International Monetary Fund, both in the communications office and the Independent Evaluation Office. Momani is currently the director of a three-year-funded Department of National Defence network called the Defence and Security Foresight Group. In recent years, Momani spearheaded the Pluralism Project, which explored the link between Canadian diversity and economic prosperity. Momani has authored, coauthored, and coedited more than ten books. In addition, she has written more than eighty peer-reviewed academic articles or book chapters that examine international organizations, international political economy, gender and diversity, political economy of the Middle East, and geopolitics of the Middle East. As a frequent media and political analyst on the Middle East, international affairs, and the global economy, Momani has written editorials in the *Globe and Mail*, the *New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Economist*, the *National Post*, and the *Toronto Star*.

Roberto Garcia Moritan

Roberto Garcia Moritan is director of the Argentine Council for International Relations' nuclear issues committee and a career diplomat. He was previously assigned to the Argentine embassy in the United States and the mission of Argentina to the United Nations and served as Argentina's permanent representative in Geneva to international organizations. He served at the Foreign Ministry as secretary of state for foreign affairs and vice chancellor (2005–08), undersecretary of foreign policy (2003–05), and undersecretary for Latin American affairs (2000–02). He has extensive experience in multilateral

cooperation, presiding over the Conference on Disarmament on two occasions (1991 and 2011) and the conference for the negotiation of the Conventional Arms Trade Treaty, among others.

Ong Keng Yong

Ong Keng Yong has been executive deputy chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore since November 2014. Concurrently, he is ambassador-at-large at the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, non-resident high commissioner to Pakistan and non-resident ambassador to Iran. Ong also serves as chairman of the Singapore International Foundation. Ong was high commissioner of Singapore to Malaysia from 2011 to 2014. From 2008 to 2011, he served as director of the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) at the National University of Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. He served as secretary-general of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations from 2003 to 2007. He was Singapore's high commissioner to India and concurrently ambassador to Nepal from 1996 to 1998. From 1998 to 2002, he was press secretary to the then Singapore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong.

Sameer Patil

Sameer Patil is a senior fellow at the Observer Research Foundation Mumbai. His work focuses on the intersection of technology and national security, including cybersecurity. He also researches India's national security priorities, counterterrorism, and regional security, and has recently examined India's nuclear decision-making in the context of disarmament policy. Patil has participated in several Track 1 and Track 1.5 dialogues, including U.S.-India and India-UK strategic intelligence dialogues, post-2008 Mumbai attack dialogues, and India-UK Track 1.5 cyber dialogues. In 2019, he received the prestigious Canberra fellowship, awarded by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Patil is the author of *Securing India in the Cyber Era* and co-edited *Moving Forward EU-India Relations: The Significance of the Security Dialogues*. Patil holds a MPhil and PhD in international politics from Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Qi Haotian

Qi Haotian is assistant professor at Peking University's School of International Studies. He teaches courses on international security, military science, and game theory. His research interests cut across technological transitions and world politics, international security and conflict management, and methodology of social sciences.

Andrés Rozental

Andrés Rozental is president of the consulting firm Rozental and Asociados, which advises multinational companies on their corporate strategies in Latin America. He was founding president of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations. He is also active in nongovernmental organizations and projects relating to global governance, migration policy, climate change, Latin American politics, and promoting democracy. He was a career diplomat for more than thirty-five years, including serving as ambassador to the United Kingdom (1995–97), deputy foreign minister of Mexico (1988–94), ambassador to Sweden (1983–88), and permanent representative of Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva (1982–83). Since 1994, Rozental has held the lifetime rank of eminent ambassador of Mexico.

He sits on London's International Institute for Strategic Studies' advisory council and is a member of the Interamerican Dialogue in Washington. Rozental holds nonexecutive board positions in several multinational companies. He holds advisory positions with Brookfield Asset Management, Toyota, and Ingredion in Mexico. Rozental is the author of four books on Mexican foreign policy. He holds a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas and a master's degree in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Miguel Ruíz Cabañas Izquierdo

Miguel Ruíz-Cabañas Izquierdo has been a career ambassador in the Mexican Foreign Service since June 1998. He is a professor of Mexican foreign policy and director of the Initiative on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the Tecnológico de Monterrey, Santa Fe. Additionally, he is co-coordinator of the Mexican chapter of the Sustainable Development Solutions Network, the most important international network of universities and research centers that promote sustainable development. He served as undersecretary for multilateral affairs and human rights in the Ministry of Foreign Relations (2015–18). He was Mexico's ambassador to Italy, concurrent in Albania, Malta, and San Marino, and served as Mexico's permanent representative to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Food Program, and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (2011–15). He also served as Mexico's ambassador to Japan (2004–11) and Mexico's permanent representative to the Organization of American States (2001–04). Ruíz Cabañas has extensive experience as a negotiator in bilateral relations with the United States, as well as in multilateral forums. He was also Mexico's lead negotiator of the Declaration on Hemispheric Security (2003), Inter-American Convention Against Terrorism (2002), and Inter-American Democratic Charter (2001). He participated in the negotiations of the Paris Agreement, SDGs, several of the conferences of the state parties to promote international cooperation against climate change, and the 2016 UN biodiversity conference. He has a degree in international relations from the College of Mexico and a master's degree in political science from Columbia University.

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is founder and chair of the Gulf Research Center, a global think tank based in Saudi Arabia with a worldwide network of partners and offices in both the Gulf region and Europe. He is an expert on Gulf politics and strategic issues, author and editor of numerous publications, and frequent contributor to major international media channels such as Al Arabiya, the BBC, CNN, and France 24. In 2015 and 2017, Sager chaired and moderated the Syrian opposition meetings in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He holds a PhD in politics and international relations from Lancaster University with a focus on Gulf security affairs.

Yul Sohn

Yul Sohn is president of the East Asia Institute and professor at the Graduate School of International Studies (GSIS) and Yonsei University's Underwood International College. He served as president of the Korean Association of International Studies in 2019, dean of GSIS from 2012 to 2016, and president of the Association for Contemporary Japan in 2012. Before joining Yonsei University, Sohn taught at Chung-Ang University and was a visiting scholar at the University of Tokyo; Waseda University; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and University of California, Berkeley. Sohn has

served on several government advisory committees, including the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the South Korean Ministry of Trade, Korean National Diplomatic Academy, the Northeast Asian History Foundation, and the Korea Foundation. Sohn has written extensively on Japanese and East Asian political economics, East Asian regionalism, and global governance. His recent publications include *Japan and Asia's Contested Order*, coauthored with T.J. Pempel; *Understanding Public Diplomacy in East Asia*, coauthored with Jan Melissen; and *South Korea Under U.S.-China Rivalry: The Dynamics of the Economic-Security Nexus in Trade Policymaking*. Sohn received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Rakesh Sood

Rakesh Sood is a distinguished fellow at the Observer Research Foundation. He has over thirty-eight years of experience in foreign affairs, economic diplomacy, and international security issues. He served in the Indian Foreign Service as special envoy of the Indian prime minister for disarmament and nonproliferation issues from 2013 to 2014, ambassador to France from 2011 to 2013, ambassador to Nepal from 2008 to 2011, and ambassador to Afghanistan from 2005 to 2008. He served as India's first ambassador and permanent representative to the Conference on Disarmament at the United Nations in Geneva. He also chaired a number of international working groups, including those relating to negotiations on landmines and cluster munitions, and was a member of the UN secretary-general's disarmament advisory board from 2002 to 2003. Sood set up the Indian Foreign Ministry's Disarmament and International Security Affairs, which he led for eight years until the end of 2000. During this period, he was in charge of multilateral disarmament negotiations, bilateral dialogues with Pakistan, and strategic dialogues with other countries and dealt with India's participation in the ASEAN Regional Forum. He began his career in the Indian Foreign Service in 1976, serving in the Indian missions in Brussels, Dakar, Geneva, and Islamabad in different capacities and as deputy chief of mission in Washington, DC. Since his retirement from the Indian Foreign Service, he writes and comments regularly in both print and audio visual media on India's foreign policy, its economic dimensions, and regional and international security issues. Sood earned a postgraduate degree in physics and economics and defense studies.

Jo-Ansie van Wyk

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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 (2019), undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs (2017–18), ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union (2011–17), deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy (2009–11), and ambassador to Vienna (2005–09). He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara until the opening of accession negotiations (1999–2005) and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels (1994–99), the United Nations in New York (1988–92), the Turkish Embassy in Kabul (1984–86), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1981–84).

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