

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS

An Initiative of the Council on Foreign Relations



*Sunday, May 7, 2023
5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.*

*Monday, May 8, 2023
7:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.
5:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m.*

*Tuesday, May 9, 2023
8:30 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.*

The 2023 Council of Councils Annual 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 the affiliation of any speaker, participant, or institution attending the meeting. On and off-the-record sessions will be noted on the agenda. An official photographer will be present and pictures will be displayed on the official webpage and social media sites, but use of personal recording devices and cameras is prohibited.

COUNCIL OF COUNCILS MEMBERS

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

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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 (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 Twelfth Annual Conference

Agenda

Sunday, May 7, 2023

CFR New York Office, 58 East 68th Street

5:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Reception* **Robert E. Rubin Library**

6:00 p.m.–7:00 p.m. *Discussion* **David Rockefeller Room**
Technology and Geopolitics

Speakers:

Nicholas Beim, Partner, Venrock

Zaid A. Zaid, Head of U.S. Public Policy, Cloudflare

Moderator:

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

7:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m. *Dinner*

Monday, May 8, 2023

CFR New York Office, 58 East 68th Street

7:30 a.m.–8:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast* **Maurice R. Greenberg and Rita Hauser Rooms**

8:00 a.m.–9:30 a.m. *Session One (Hybrid)* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
The Governance of Artificial Intelligence

Guiding Questions: To what extent, if any, is there consensus within and among nations on the governance of technology in the digital age? How does the effect of technology on values differ across countries, and how do cultural values influence the adoption, use, and governance of technology? Are there any global commonalities? How do those views on values shape approaches to the governance of artificial intelligence (AI)? What steps should be taken to promote greater cooperation and collaboration between nations on AI governance? Do we have the requisite international institutions or oversight mechanisms to implement global governance frameworks or norms related to AI? What role can national governments, the private sector, and civil society play going forward? How have technological advancements

affected the balance of power among global actors—including in the private sector—and what are the implications for the future of international cooperation?

Panelists:

Sergio M. Alcocer, *President, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations (Mexico)*

Lu Chuanying, *Senior Fellow and Director of the Research Center for Cyberspace Governance, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

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

Moderator:

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

9:30 a.m.–9:45 a.m. *Coffee Break* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**

9:45 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Session Two* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Holding Those Responsible for War Crimes Accountable

Guiding Questions: Should war crime accountability be a priority in the context of Ukraine? How can national governments and international organizations work together to investigate and prosecute those responsible for war crimes in Ukraine, and what challenges could arise in this process? What are the implications of the indictments issued so far by the International Criminal Court (ICC) regarding the war in Ukraine? Does the Ukraine war signal a transformation in international willingness to act forcefully to prevent, stop, and establish accountability for war crimes and crimes against humanity more generally? How can the effectiveness and legitimacy of the global justice system be bolstered to respond to crises and conflicts around the world in places such as Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Libya, Myanmar, Palestine, Syria, and Yemen, among others? How can national justice systems and civil society complement the work of the ICC? What should countries do when faced with UN Security Council vetoes or protests from ICC nonstate parties?

Panelists:

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

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

Johannes Thimm, *Deputy Head of the Americas Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Germany)*

Moderator:

David J. Scheffer, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

11:15 a.m.–11:30 a.m. *Coffee Break* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**

11:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m. *Open Discussion* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Common Challenges Think Tanks Face

Moderator:

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

12:00 p.m.–12:30 p.m. *Lunch* **Robert E. Rubin Library**

12:30 p.m.–1:45 p.m. *Public Session* **David Rockefeller Room**
International Cooperation in an Era of Great Power Rivalry

Panelists:

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

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

Richard Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

Leslie Vinjamuri, *Director of the U.S. and the Americas Programme and Dean of the Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs, Chatham House (United Kingdom)*

Moderator:

Margaret Hoover, *Host, Firing Line with Margaret Hoover, PBS*

1:45 p.m.–2:00 p.m. *Coffee Break* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**

2:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m. *Session Three* **Peter G. Peterson Hall**
Reversing the Breakdown of the Global Development Model

Guiding Questions: Are the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) fit for purpose in an age of pandemics, climate change, and armed conflict? What adjustments or reforms should be made? What are the lessons learned from the first five years of SDG implementation, and how can these inform efforts to revitalize progress toward the goals in the years ahead? How can finance and investment be better mobilized to support the achievement of the SDGs, particularly in low-income countries and marginalized communities? What are some of the innovative approaches to development that have emerged in recent years, and how can they be capitalized on? What implications can already be foreseen of not meeting the SDGs by 2030 as originally planned?

Panelists:

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

Tim Sargent, *Distinguished Fellow,
Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada)*

Ye Yu, *Deputy Director and Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for World
Economy Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (China)*

Moderator:

Francisco de Santibañes, *Vice President,
Argentine Council for International Relations (Argentina)*

3:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m. *Free Time*

5:30 p.m.–6:00 p.m. *Reception*

Robert E. Rubin Library

6:00 p.m.–7:00 p.m. *Keynote Briefing*

David Rockefeller Room

Changing U.S. and Global Economic Outlook

Speaker:

Glenn Hubbard, *Dean Emeritus and Russell L. Carson Professor of Finance and
Economics, Columbia Business School*

Moderator:

Benn Steil, *Senior Fellow and Director of International Economics,
Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

7:00 p.m.–8:30 p.m. *Dinner*

David Rockefeller Room

Tuesday, May 9, 2023

CFR New York Office, 58 East 68th Street

8:30 a.m.–9:00 a.m. *Light Breakfast*

Maurice R. Greenberg and Rita Hauser Rooms

9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m. *Session Four*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Revitalizing the World Trade Organization

Guiding Questions: Can anything be done to revive the postwar consensus on trade liberalization? Can the World Trade Organization (WTO) accommodate members that are non-market economies? If so, how? What initial concrete steps can improve the governance of the WTO? As more national governments emphasize economic

security, how can a long-standing exception to the basic rule of nondiscrimination in trade law—for measures taken for reasons of national security—be respected without undermining the rules-based multilateral system? Given the challenges posed by the consensus rule, is there a future for multilateral negotiations, or will the WTO become a forum for coalitions of the willing through plurilaterals?

Panelists:

Seungjoo Lee, *Chair of the Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center, East Asia Institute (South Korea)*

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)*

Moderator:

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

10:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m. *Coffee Break*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

10:45 a.m.–11:15 a.m. *Open Discussion*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

The Future of the Council of Councils

Moderator:

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

11:15 a.m.–12:45 p.m. *Session Five*

Peter G. Peterson Hall

Global Divisions and the Future of World Order

Guiding Questions: The increasing divide between the so-called Global North and Global South, the West and the rest, and democracies and authoritarians are emerging more often in our discussions. Are these terms applicable to our current challenges? What are the pitfalls of using these frameworks when discussing international cooperation and rethinking the structure of the international system? Informed by rethinking these concepts, should policymakers and experts focus on the reform of institutions? If so, which ones should be prioritized? If not, is focusing on more informal forums, such as a steering group in Haass and Kupchan's global concert of major powers, or on norms, such as in Rodrik and Walt's meta-regime, the way forward? How should this inform what topics to discuss at CoC conferences going forward?

Introductory Remarks:

Richard Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations (United States)*

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

Kumar Ramakrishna, *Dean,*

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (Singapore)

Selim Yenel, *President, Global Relations Forum (Turkey)*

Moderator:

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci, *President, Institute of International Affairs (Italy)*

12:45 p.m.–1:30 p.m. *Closing Remarks and Lunch*

Helen & Frank Altschul Room

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.

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. Alcocer is chair of Mexico City's Advisory Committee on Earthquake and Resilience and member of the Advisory Committee on Structural Safety. He is an international member of the U.S. National Academy of Engineering, a member of the Mexican Academy of Sciences and Fundación ICA, an honorary member and former president of the Mexican Society of Structural Engineering (SMIE), and former president of the Academy of Engineering of Mexico. Alcocer was previously provost, coordinator for innovation and development, and director of the Institute of Engineering at UNAM. He was also a nonexecutive member of the board of Empresas ICA and chair of the board of Iberdrola México. He has received an honorary degree from the University of Arizona, 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 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) in Brussels, Belgium; senior fellow at the International Centre for Security and Defense in Tallinn, Estonia; visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, and Natolin, Poland; and editor in chief of the *European Foreign Affairs Review*. Blockmans has advised governments in Europe and Asia on their relations with the European Union. He is a frequent media commentator and has been the leading author on task forces such as *More Union in European Defense* and *Regroup and Reform: Ideas for a More Responsive and Effective European Union*. Blockmans's latest book, *The Obsolescence of the European Neighborhood Policy*, deals with the emergence of a more realist EU foreign policy as applied to its outer periphery. He is the editor of more than twenty academic volumes, including *The EU's Role in Global Governance*.

José Octavio Bordón

José Octavio Bordón is president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI) and director of CARI's United States committee. He is also president of the Center for the Implementation of Public Policies for Equity and Growth's international advisory council. He previously served as ambassador of Argentina in Chile (2016–19) and the United States (2003–07). Bordón also served as national deputy and national senator representing the province of Mendoza, governor of Mendoza (1987–91), and minister of culture, education, and science of the province of Buenos Aires. In 1995, he ran for president of Argentina, obtaining second place with 30 percent of the vote. At the international level, Bordón served as a consultant for various international organizations, including the Inter-American Development Bank, the UN Development Program (UNDP), the World Bank, and the Organization of American States (OAS). He was head of the OAS Electoral Observation Mission for the presidential elections in the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Guatemala (2008–11). During this period, he served as a special advisor to the OAS secretary-general and was political director of the UNDP-OAS Our Democracy in America project. Bordón is a member of the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, DC. He was an Eisenhower global fellow in Philadelphia and research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC. In 1992, he was visiting professor at Georgetown University's Center for Latin American Studies. Bordón studied sociology at the Universidad del Salvador.

Esther Brimmer

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

Chen Dongxiao

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

Francisco de Santibañes

Francisco de Santibañes is vice president of the Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), global fellow at the Wilson Center for International Scholars, and professor at Austral University. He is also the author of *Argentina and the World: Keys for a Successful Integration*; *The Rebellion of Nations: Crisis of Liberalism and Rise of Popular Conservatism*; and *From Perpetual Twilight to Strategic Development*. De Santibañes is also the author of numerous articles published in magazines specialized in Argentina and abroad.

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 was previously a visiting fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, an advisor to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, and a lawyer. Fullilove 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 the 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 has been the director of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) since 2015. He is a member of the Institute of Advanced Studies in National Defence's scientific committee and the editorial board of the French journals *Politique étrangère*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and *Etudes*. Gomart was a member of the French Ministry of Armed Forces' strategic review committee for its *Strategic Review of Defence and National Security 2017*. He has published extensively on Russia, energy and digital issues, think tanks, and country risk. Gomart's most recent book is *Les ambitions inavouées*,

and he has also authored *L'Affolement du monde* and *Guerres invisibles*. He has been awarded the rank of Knight of the National Order of Merit. Gomart received his EMBA from Hautes Études Commerciales de Paris and his PhD from Pantheon-Sorbonne University.

Richard Haass

Richard Haass, a veteran diplomat, respected scholar, and proven leader, is in his twentieth year as president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He previously served in the State Department under Presidents George W. Bush and Ronald Reagan, at the White House under George H.W. Bush, and the Pentagon during the Carter administration. He was U.S. envoy to the Cyprus negotiations and the Northern Ireland peace process, and after 9/11 was U.S. coordinator for the future of Afghanistan. Haass is the author or editor of fourteen books on American foreign policy, one book on management, and one on American democracy. His latest book, *The Bill of Obligations: The Ten Habits of Good Citizens* became a *New York Times* best seller. Haass is the recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award, the Presidential Citizens Medal, and the Tipperary International Peace Award. A Rhodes scholar, Haass holds numerous honorary degrees, a doctorate of philosophy degree from Oxford University, and a bachelor's degree from Oberlin College.

Paul-Simon Handy

Paul-Simon Handy is the Institute for Security Studies' (ISS) regional director for East Africa and representative to the African Union. He is also visiting lecturer at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. Handy is on the editorial board of the *African Security Review* and has advised various governments and regional and international organizations on a wide range of African and global security matters. Most recently, he led the development of the UN Strategy for Peace Consolidation, Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution in the Great Lakes region. Handy initially joined ISS in 2007 and served in various research and management functions, including deputy executive director and research director. He also served for five years in the UN Panel of Experts on the Central African Republic before rejoining ISS in 2019. Handy has extensive experience in policy analysis, strategy development, and conflict prevention. He previously held teaching positions at the Free University of Berlin before joining the German Institute for International and Security Affairs as associate fellow. Handy has published widely on issues related to African security architecture, governance, state fragility, and the Africa policy of the EU, France, and Germany. He studied political science and international relations at the University of Yaoundé, Free University of Berlin, and Leipzig University, where he obtained his PhD.

Dhruva Jaishankar

Dhruva Jaishankar is executive director of the Observer Research Foundation America, which he founded in 2020. He is also a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute and writes a monthly column on international affairs for the *Hindustan Times*. Between 2012 and 2020, Jaishankar held positions at the Observer Research Foundation, as a fellow at Brookings India, the Brookings Institution, and the German Marshall Fund, and was a visiting fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He has published research on India's relations with the United States, Australia, Europe, Japan, and Southeast Asia; defense and security policy; and globalization, democracy, and technology.

Jaishankar's research has appeared in several books, policy reports, and publications including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Survival*. He is a member of the Trilateral Commission and was an IISS-SAIS Merrill Center Young Strategist in 2013 and a Brent Scowcroft Award fellow in 2005. He holds an MA in security studies from Georgetown University and a BA in history and classics from Macalester College.

Memduh Karakullukçu

Memduh Karakullukçu is the founding president (2009–19) and board member (2009–23) of the Global Relations Forum. He is the venture partner at D4 Ventures, a United Kingdom-based technology investment platform; chairs the international advisory firm Kroton Consulting, advising tech companies on global, legal, and political challenges; and serves as the founding partner of the Turkish online legal informatics initiative Kanunum. Karakullukçu is the senior advisor at Vuslat Foundation, a Switzerland-based international nongovernmental organization on rebuilding social cohesion through innovative communication practices. His policy work includes technology and economic development, technology and security, global energy dynamics, and global economic and financial governance. Previously, he served as founding managing director of the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) ARI science park, Istanbul's leading technology entrepreneurship community. During his tenure at ITU, Karakullukçu was senior advisor to the president; coordinator of the law, technology, and policy graduate program; and strategic advisor at the university's Center for Satellite Communications. He has also served as a member of the academic staff at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Earlier in his career, he worked as a specialist in structured finance in London and Istanbul. Karakullukçu recently coauthored a book on Turkish foreign policy, *Değerler, Çıkarlar ve Dönüşüm*. He received a BS in electrical engineering and economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), an MSc in finance from LSE, and a JD from Columbia University. Karakullukçu is a member of the New York State Bar Association.

Rene M. Kern

Rene M. Kern is a special advisor at General Atlantic, a global growth equity investment firm, where he has worked since 1996. Kern served as partner and managing director of General Atlantic from 1998 to 2018. During his career, he led the firm's European and Latin American business, financial services practice, and capital partnering team. He also served on the firm's executive, investment, and portfolio committees. Kern joined General Atlantic after six years with Morgan Stanley in New York and London and two years with Bain & Company in Boston. He is a fellow and vice chair of the University of Pennsylvania's Joseph H. Lauder Institute, member of the University of California, Berkeley's executive committee, and foundation board and copresident of the Rene Kern Family Foundation, a philanthropy which is supporting not-for-profit organizations in education, climate change, and health care in the United States. He earned a BS in business administration from the University of California, Berkeley's Haas School, an MBA from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, and an MA in international studies from the University of Pennsylvania's School of Arts and Sciences.

Alex Krasodomski

Alex Krasodomski is a senior research associate in the Digital Society Initiative at Chatham House, where he leads efforts on digital public infrastructure, open source sustainability, and articulating, measuring, and advocating for an internet compatible with democracy. He is also a fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue. Until June 2022, Krasodomski was interim research director at Demos, and director of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Media, during which time he authored more than a dozen major reports on digital election integrity, content moderation practices, digital regulation, and the intersection of tech and politics.

Seungjoo Lee

Seungjoo Lee is chair of the East Asia Institute's (EAI) Trade, Technology, and Transformation Research Center and professor of political science and international relations at Chung-Ang University. He currently serves as a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Advisory Committee on Economic Security and Foreign Affairs. Lee's research focuses on the nexus of economics and security, economic statecraft, U.S.-China technology competition, and global digital governance. He previously taught at the National University of Singapore and Yonsei University. Lee has held various positions in academic associations in Korea such as the Korean Political Science Association and the Korean Association of International Studies. He is coauthor of *The Political Economy of Change and Continuity in Korea: Twenty Years After the Crisis*. Lee also edited *Northeast Asia: Ripe for Integration?*, *International Political Economy in Cyberspace*, and *Korea's Middle Power Diplomacy*. His publications have appeared in various journals such as the *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding*, *Asian Survey*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Korean Political Science Review*, *Natural Hazards Review*, and *Pacific Review*. Lee received his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

Zongyuan Zoe Liu

Zongyuan Zoe Liu is a fellow for international political economy at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Her work focuses on international political economy, global financial markets, sovereign wealth funds, supply chains of critical minerals, development finance, emerging markets, energy and climate change policy, and East Asia-Middle East relations. Liu's regional expertise is in East Asia, specifically China and Japan, and the Middle East, focusing on Gulf Cooperation Council countries. Prior to joining CFR, Liu was an instructional assistant professor at Texas A&M's Bush School of Government and Public Service in Washington, DC, where she taught courses on global economy, economic statecraft, and Chinese foreign policy. She joined the Bush School after post-doctoral fellowships at the Columbia-Harvard "China and the World Program" and the Center for International Environment and Resource Policy at Tufts University's Fletcher School. Liu was a research fellow at the Edwin O. Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies and a research associate at the New York University Stern Center for Sustainable Business. She was also a visiting research fellow at the Institute for International Monetary Affairs in Tokyo, Bank of Mitsubishi-UFJ, and the Delma Institute in Abu Dhabi. She taught courses on Asian energy security and political risk analysis at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Liu is the author of *Can BRICS De-dollarize the Global Financial System?*, and the forthcoming *Sovereign Funds: How the Communist Party of China Finances its Global Ambitions*. She received her BA in history from Shandong Normal University, MA in international

relations from the George Washington University Elliott School of International Studies, and PhD in international relations from Johns Hopkins University. Liu is also a CFA charter holder.

James M. Lindsay

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in CFR's David Rockefeller Studies Program as well as CFR's eleven fellowship programs. He has written widely on the American foreign policy-making process. Lindsay's most recent book, coauthored with Ivo H. Daalder, is *The Empty Throne: America's Abdication of Global Leadership*. His previous book with Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize. Lindsay has been a senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Iowa and the University of Texas, and from 1996 to 1997 served as director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. Lindsay writes the blog *The Water's Edge* and hosts the weekly podcast *The President's Inbox*.

Lu Chuanying

Lu Chuanying is senior fellow and director of the research center for cyberspace governance at the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies. He is cofounder of the Roundtable on Military Cyber Stability and chief editor of *Information Security and Communication Privacy*. Lu was previously a visiting fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Oxford University. He has published several journal and newspaper articles on cyberspace governance and cybersecurity.

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, Mair was a member of the Federation of German Industries' executive board. He joined SWP in 1992 as a research associate, serving as a member of the executive board from 2009 to 2010, research director from 2007 to 2009, and head of the Middle East and Africa research division from 2001 to 2007. Mair earned his PhD from the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and was a doctoral scholar in the Ifo Institute for Economic Research's developing countries department.

Leigh Morris Sloane

Leigh Morris Sloane is managing director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)-Americas. In this role, she manages the operations and activities for the Washington office and works closely with her IISS colleagues in Berlin, London, Manama, and Singapore to ensure that constituents based in the Americas connect with the institute's world-leading research and convening power. Morris Sloane has over twenty-five years of experience in international affairs at the nexus of research, higher education, and policymaking. Prior to joining IISS, she served as chief of staff at the Brookings Institution, where she managed the executive secretariat and the president's activities. Previously, she served as executive director of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs. She has also managed the Council on Foreign Relations' *Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program* and helped

establish the Middle East Initiative at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Additionally, Morris Sloane serves as vice chair of the board of directors for the Public Policy and International Affairs Program, which works to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in public service. She holds a BA from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and an MA from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

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. Muhibat's 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. Muhibat earned a master's degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science and a doctorate from the University of Hamburg.

Ferdinando Nelli Feroci

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

Shannon K. O'Neil

Shannon K. O'Neil is the vice president of studies and Nelson and David Rockefeller senior fellow for Latin America studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). She is an expert on global trade, supply chains, Mexico, Latin America, and democracy. O'Neil has lived and worked in Mexico and Argentina. She was a Fulbright scholar and a Justice, Welfare, and Economics fellow at Harvard University, and has taught Latin American politics at Columbia University. Before turning to policy, O'Neil worked in the private sector as an equity analyst at Indosuez Capital and Credit Lyonnais Securities. She is a columnist for Bloomberg Opinion, and a frequent guest on national broadcast news and radio programs. Dr. O'Neil has often testified before Congress, and regularly speaks at global

academic, business, and policy conferences. O'Neil is the author of *The Globalization Myth: Why Regions Matter*, which chronicles the rise of three main global manufacturing and supply chain hubs and what they mean for U.S. economic competitiveness. She also wrote *Two Nations Indivisible: Mexico, the United States, and the Road Ahead*, which analyzes the political, economic, and social transformations Mexico has undergone over the last three decades and why they matter for the United States. She holds a BA from Yale University, an MA in international relations from Yale University, and a PhD in government from Harvard University. She is a member of the board of directors of the Tinker Foundation.

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 honorary director 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* (United Arab Emirates), *Hindustan Times*, and the *Telegraph*. Pant's 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*.

Kumar Ramakrishna

Kumar Ramakrishna is professor of national security studies, provost's chair in national security studies, research advisor to the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, and dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS). From 2020 to 2022, he was head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research and associate dean for policy studies at RSIS; he also headed RSIS's national security studies programme from 2016 to 2020 and the Centre of Excellence for National Security from 2006 to 2015. A historian by background, Ramakrishna is a frequent public speaker and media commentator on counterterrorism and has written in numerous internationally journals. His recent research has focused on understanding, preventing, and countering violent extremism in Southeast Asia. Ramakrishna's latest book is *Extremist Islam: Recognition and Response in Southeast Asia*. He is also the author of *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–1958* and *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalisation in Indonesia*. He earned a bachelor's in political science from the National University of Singapore, a master's in defense studies from the University of New South Wales, and a doctorate in history from Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London.

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. Rozental 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 Mexico's ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1995 to 1997, deputy foreign minister of Mexico from 1988 to 1994, ambassador to Sweden from 1983 to 1988, and permanent representative of

Mexico to the United Nations in Geneva from 1982 to 1983. 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 Inter-American 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 master's degree in international economics from the University of Pennsylvania and a degree in international relations from the Universidad de las Américas.

Paul Samson

Paul Samson is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He previously held senior positions in the Canadian government, including assistant deputy minister-level roles with Global Affairs Canada and Finance Canada, and associate deputy minister with Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. Among other positions, Samson has served as director for Canada, Egypt, and Ethiopia at the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and as Canada's deputy for finance at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. He was co-chair of the G20 Framework Working Group on the global economy during five different presidencies. Earlier in his career, Samson worked with former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at Green Cross International in Geneva and held fellowships with Pacific Northwest Labs and the Peace Research Institute Oslo. He was also a research fellow at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Samson holds a BA from the University of British Columbia and an MA and PhD in international relations from the Graduate Institute, Geneva. He completed postdoctoral studies in global environment assessment at Harvard University.

Tim Sargent

Tim Sargent is a distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation with twenty-eight years of experience with the Canadian government. He most recently served as deputy minister of Fisheries and Oceans Canada. Sargent's research interests center on the implications of digital technologies for the global economy, and on how trade policy and international governance need to respond to this challenge. Sargent has held positions in five different government departments. In 2016, Sargent became deputy minister of international trade at Global Affairs Canada, where he was involved in negotiations including the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement, the Canada-EU Trade Agreement, and the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. He supported the minister of international trade at the World Trade Organization meetings and helped set up and host the first meeting of the Ottawa Group. Before that, he was associate deputy minister at Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, and later became associate deputy minister of finance, and a Group of Seven, Group of Twenty, and Financial Stability Board deputy. Sargent was also the Department of Finance's representative on the Financial Stability Board, served as secretary to several cabinet committees, and as assistant secretary to the cabinet on economic and regional development policy. In 2007, Sargent became assistant secretary to the cabinet within the Privy Council Office and was responsible for advising the prime minister on a wide variety of issues, including monetary, tax, and fiscal policy. He began his career at the Department of Finance, where he researched the effects of technological change, policies to combat climate change, and unemployment insurance. Sargent earned

a BA in economics from the University of Manchester, an MA from Western University, and PhD in economics at the University of British Columbia.

David J. Scheffer

David J. Scheffer is senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), with a focus on international law and international criminal justice. Scheffer was the Mayer Brown/Robert A. Helman Professor of Law (2006–20) and is director emeritus of the Center for International Human Rights at Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. He is also professor of practice at Arizona State University's Washington campus. He was vice-president of the American Society of International Law (2020–22) and held the International Francqui Professorship at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium in 2022. He was the UN secretary-general's special expert on UN assistance to the Khmer Rouge Trials (2012–18), and the Tom A. Bernstein genocide prevention fellow at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Simon-Skjoldt Center for the Prevention of Genocide (2019–21). Scheffer was the first U.S. ambassador at large for war crimes issues (1997–2001) and led the U.S. delegation to the UN talks establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC). He signed the Rome Statute of the ICC on behalf of the United States in 2000. He also negotiated the creation of four other war crimes tribunals. He chaired the Atrocities Prevention Inter-Agency Working Group (1998–2001) and served as senior advisor and counsel to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations Madeleine Albright and on the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council (1993–97). Scheffer worked on the staff of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs (1987–89) and as an analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1989–1993) and the U.S. Institute of Peace (2001–02). He authored the award-winning *All the Missing Souls: A Personal History of the War Crimes Tribunals*, and *The Sit Room: In the Theater of War and Peace*. For decades he has been publishing widely about international law and politics in law reviews, political journals, and on op-ed pages. Scheffer earned degrees from Harvard College, Oxford University, and Georgetown University Law Center.

Shao Yuqun

Shao Yuqun is director of the Institute of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao Studies, and senior fellow in the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies' (SIIS) Center for American Studies. 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.

Benn Steil

Benn Steil is senior fellow and director of international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York. He is also the founding editor of *International Finance*, a scholarly economics journal; lead writer of the Council's *Geo-Graphics* economics blog; and creator of eight web-based interactives tracking *Global Monetary Policy*, *Global Imbalances*, *Global Growth*, *Global Trade*, *Global Energy*, *Sovereign Risk*, *China's Belt and Road*, and *Central Bank Currency Swaps*. He is the author, most recently, of *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War*, the New-York Historical Society's 2019 book of the year, and *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a*

New World Order. Forthcoming is a political biography entitled *The World That Wasn't: Henry Wallace and the Fate of the American Century*.

Johannes Thimm

Johannes Thimm is deputy head of the Americas research division at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). He works on issues of U.S. foreign policy and its domestic determinants, as well as U.S. foreign policy toward international organizations, the United Nations, and international law. In his current role at SWP, Thimm is a frequent contributor to German and international media. He is the author of *The United States and Multilateral Treaties: A Policy Puzzle*, an analysis of the U.S. reluctance to join many international agreements. Thimm has also worked for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna and the Goethe Institute in Tallinn. He studied political science and international relations at the University of Washington and Yale University, and received his PhD from Freie Universität Berlin.

Leslie Vinjamuri

Leslie Vinjamuri is director of the U.S. and the Americas programme and dean of the Queen Elizabeth II Academy for Leadership in International Affairs at Chatham House. Vinjamuri is also deputy chair of the Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission, a trustee of the Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, an advisory board member of the London School of Economics and Political Science's (LSE) Phelan United States Centre and LSE IDEAS, and the vice president of the board of the Institute for Integrated Transitions. Vinjamuri leads research on the United States, geopolitics, and democracy in America, and is leading a project on the U.S. role in a global recovery. Vinjamuri continues in her role as a permanent member of the academic faculty of the department of politics at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. She was previously on the faculty of Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and has held fellowships at Harvard University and LSE. Earlier, Vinjamuri worked at the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Congressional Research Service. She has written extensively on U.S. politics and foreign policy, human rights, international order, and transatlantic relations, and is co-editor and contributing author with Charles A. Kupchan of *Anchoring the World*, and *Human Rights Futures* with Stephen Hopgood and Jack Snyder. Vinjamuri's articles have appeared in many journals and books including *Foreign Affairs*, *International Security*, *Ethics and International Affairs*, *Daedalus*, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, and *Survival*. She has a BA from Wesleyan University, an MSc from LSE, and a PhD from Columbia University.

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 the Max Planck Institute of Innovation and Competition from 2014 to 2015, the Peterson Institute for International Economics in 2014, Tartu University in 2013, the Swiss Institute of Comparative Law in 2010, and Victoria University in Melbourne in 2006. Wang 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.

Ye Yu

Ye Yu is deputy director and associate research fellow of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies' Institute for World Economy Studies. Her research specializes in global development cooperation, with a focus on the role of bilateral and multilateral development finance institutions, the evolution of global development systems shaped by the Group of Twenty (G20) process, and China's role within the forum. Ye has conducted numerous projects on those topics commissioned by Chinese ministries and the National Social Science Foundation and published a series of academic papers and books. Ye earned her PhD in international economic law from Fudan University and is a visiting fellow at Yale University and the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Selim Yenel

Selim Yenel has been president of the Global Relations Forum (GRF) since January 2020. He was previously a career diplomat, entering the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1979. Yenel served as first deputy secretary-general at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation in 2019, undersecretary at the Ministry of EU Affairs from 2017 to 2018, ambassador and permanent delegate of Turkey to the European Union from 2011 to 2017, deputy undersecretary for bilateral political affairs and public diplomacy from 2009 to 2011, and ambassador to Vienna, Austria, from 2005 to 2009. He also worked on EU affairs in Ankara, Turkey, until the opening of accession negotiations, from 1999 to 2005, and served as a member of the Turkish delegation to the European Union in Brussels from 1994 to 1999, the United Nations in New York from 1988 to 1992, the Turkish Embassy in Kabul from 1984 to 1986, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development from 1981 to 1984. Yenel recently published a book in Turkish, *The European Union's Turkey Challenge*.

Szymon Zaręba

Szymon Zaręba is head of the Global Issues programme at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He is also an assistant professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Zaręba's research interests include various issues of international and EU law and jurisprudence, mostly those arising within the post-Soviet space and the Middle East. He also closely follows the developments at the Council of Europe and the United Nations and its specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization. Zaręba has participated in several collaborative research projects, mostly on international recognition, human rights protection, and global health management. He earned an LLM in law and an MA in international

relations from the University of Warsaw, and a PhD in law from the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Law Studies.

Zhao Long

Zhao Long is a senior fellow and the deputy director of the Institute for Global Governance Studies at Shanghai Institutes for International Studies and a council member of the China National Association for International Studies. His research focuses on global governance, Russian and Central Asian studies, and Arctic affairs, and he has published many academic articles and commentaries. Zhao was a visiting scholar of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC, and at the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin. From 2015 to 2016, he was on secondment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of Treaty and Law. Zhao received a PhD in law, an MA in international law, and a BSc in jurisprudence from East China Normal University, and graduated from the law faculty at Moscow State University of Russia.

Keynote Speaker Biographies

Nick Beim

Nick Beim is a partner at Venrock, the venture capital firm created by the Rockefeller family that helped pioneer the venture capital industry. He focuses primarily on artificial intelligence, software, financial technology, and defense. Beim serves on the boards of directors of companies including Dataminr, an AI platform that identifies critical breaking information from publicly available data; Rebellion Defense, which develops AI-driven products that serve the mission of national defense; Percipient.ai, an advanced computer vision analytics platform; Interos, a multifactor, multitier risk management platform; and Altruist, a digital investment platform for financial advisors. Beim serves on the board of directors of the Council on Foreign Relations and of Endeavor, a nonprofit that supports high-impact entrepreneurs globally. He also serves on the executive advisory committee of the Center on Global Energy Policy. Beim previously worked at Matrix Partners, Goldman Sachs, and McKinsey & Company. He received a BA in philosophy from Stanford University and an MPhil in international relations from Oxford University, where he was a Marshall Scholar.

Margaret Hoover

Margaret Hoover is the host of PBS' "Firing Line with Margaret Hoover," a public-affairs, multi-platform program that includes long-form interviews and a rigorous exchange of ideas with the guiding principle that civil discourse is a civic responsibility. A CNN contributor, Hoover has served in the White House under President George W. Bush, in the Department of Homeland Security, on Capitol Hill, and on two presidential campaigns. She is the president of American Unity Fund, a political organization focused on achieving full freedom and equality for LGBT Americans. A bestselling author, her writing has appeared in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Daily News*, *Daily Beast*, CNN.com, and FoxNews.com. Hoover serves on the boards of Stanford University's Hoover Institution, the Hoover Presidential Foundation, the Belgian American Educational Foundation, the Markle Foundation, and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Raised in Colorado, Hoover has lived in China, Mexico, Bolivia, and Taiwan, speaks fluent Spanish, and studied Mandarin Chinese.

Glenn Hubbard

Glenn Hubbard is dean Emeritus, Russell L. Carson professor of finance and economics, and director of the Jerome A. Chazen Institute for Global Business at Columbia Business School. Hubbard is a specialist in public economics, managerial information and incentive problems in corporate finance, and financial markets and institutions. He has written more than one hundred articles and books on corporate finance, investment decisions, banking, energy economics and public policy, including two textbooks, and has authored *The Wall and the Bridge* and coauthored *The Aid Trap: Hard Truths About Ending Poverty*; *Balance: The Economics of Great Powers From Ancient Rome to Modern America*; and *Healthy, Wealthy, and Wise: Five Steps to a Better Health Care System*. Hubbard has applied his research interests in business as a corporate director consultant on taxation and corporate finance; in government as a former chair of the U.S. Council of Economic Advisers, and the OECD Economic Policy Committee, as well as deputy assistant secretary of the U.S. Treasury Department and as a consultant to the Federal Reserve Board, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and many government agencies; and in academia in faculty collaboration or visiting appointments at Columbia University, University of Chicago, and Harvard University. He is co-chair the Committee on Capital Markets and

Regulation and past chair of the Economic Club of New York and the Study Group on Corporate Boards. Hubbard received his BA and BS degrees from the University of Central Florida, and holds AM and PhD degrees in economics from Harvard University.

Zaid A. Zaid

Zaid A. Zaid is the head of U.S. public policy at Cloudflare and was previously the head of North America for strategic response policy at Meta. Zaid is also a senior fellow at the Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress and a Truman National Security Project fellow. He serves on the advisory committee at the Council of Global Equality, the board of iMMAP, the board of governors at Georgetown University, and the board of advisors of the Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. Zaid served on the Joe Biden/Kamala Harris transition on the agency review teams for the U.S. Department of State and the International Development Agencies. He was special assistant to President Barack Obama and associate White House counsel and senior attorney advisor to the general counsel at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). He joined the Obama administration from WilmerHale. Prior to law school, he was a political officer in the Foreign Service. He served in Baghdad, Iraq; Cairo, Egypt; Tunis, Tunisia; and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. Zaid holds degrees from Columbia Law School, the Tufts' Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and Georgetown University.

Hybrid Participant Biographies

Duygu Söyler Aytaç

Duygu Söyler Aytaç is senior director at Global Relations Forum (GRF). She also directs the GRF Young Academics program and its publications and coordinates GRF community programs, which connect students and young professionals with GRF's work and advance a culture of intellectual diversity, rational and constructive debate, and analytic coherence. Aytaç's work focuses on technology and socioeconomic transformation, green transitions, and gender equality. Prior to joining GRF in 2019, she worked at Infakto Research Workshop where she conducted social and political research on various topics. She obtained a BA in political science and international relations from Boğaziçi University and an MA in political science from Central European University, where she specialized in political communication.

Deon Cloete

Deon Cloete is the head of the Futures programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), where he leads the institute's work on strategic foresight, systemic innovation, and anticipatory governance. His research interests span complexity-informed approaches to systemic change, innovation, and transformative futures by re-imagining complex systems change, and the roles of cross-scale change agents. He is an experienced facilitator of interpersonal, organizational and large-scale transformative change with a focus on systems change co-creation for sustainability and just transitions. Cloete is an accredited member of the Association for Professional Futurists, an RSA fellow and a research fellow at Stellenbosch University's Centre for Sustainability Transitions at Stellenbosch University.

Lei Shaohua

Lei Shaohua is a senior research fellow at Peking University's Institute of International and Strategic Studies and assistant professor and deputy chair of the Department of International Organization and International Public Policy at the university's School of International Studies. His research focuses on comparative political economy, industrial policy, and Sino-U.S. relations. He is author of "Industrial Policy and Great Power Competition," "The Change of Global Industrial Structure and Political Cleavages," and "Global Value Chain under COVID-19." He received his doctorate in political science from the University of Utah.

Lauren Kahn

Lauren Kahn is a research fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where her work focuses on defense innovation and the effect of emerging technologies on international security, with a particular emphasis on artificial intelligence. Prior to joining CFR, Kahn worked as a research fellow at Perry World House, the University of Pennsylvania's global policy think tank, where she helped launch and run its project on emerging technologies and global politics. Her work has appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, *Defense One*, *Lawfare*, *War on the Rocks*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, and *Orbis*, and has been featured in the *Economist*. She received her bachelor's degree in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania, and is currently pursuing a master's degree in computer and information technology at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Engineering and Applied Sciences.

Yasushi Kudo

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

Abdulaziz Sager

Abdulaziz Sager is a Saudi strategic expert specializing in international politics and regional security issues relating to the Middle East and North Africa region, and the founder and chair of the Gulf Research Center. Sager is a member of various councils, advisory and academic committees, institutes, and international research centers. He is also a guest professor at several universities. Sager participates in a wide range of international and regional conferences that address issues pertaining to the Gulf region. Notably, Sager has authored and edited numerous publications and has many articles in local and international newspapers relating to Gulf affairs and regional issues, and he frequently contributes to major international media outlets. He is also the editor-in-chief of both *Araa*, a monthly Arabic-language magazine focused on Gulf affairs, and *The Gulf Yearbook*. Sager holds a doctorate in politics and international relations from Lancaster University, a master's degree from the University of Kent and a bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Economics and Administration at King Abdulaziz University.

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal has been president of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV) since 2000. Previously, he served as FGV's vice president from 1997 to 2000, general director of its Graduate School of Economics (EPGE) from 1994 to 1997, and director of its School of Business from 1992 to 1994. He began his work at the foundation as a professor in the EPGE. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering and was awarded Brazil's Grand Cross of the National Order of Scientific Merit, as well as several military awards. Simonsen Leal studied civil engineering at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and received a PhD in economics from Princeton University.

Qi Haotian

Qi Haotian is a senior research fellow at Peking University's Institute of International and Strategic Studies and assistant professor at the university's School of International Studies. He teaches courses on international security, military science, and game theory. His research interests cut across three

areas, including technological transitions and world politics, international security and conflict management, and methodologies of social sciences

Igor Yurgens

Igor Yurgens is also the director of the Moscow State University of International Relations' Sustainable Development Centre, a member of the presidential council for Civil Society Institutions and Human Rights, and a member the management board of the Russian International Affairs Council. He graduated from Moscow State University.