

---

# Annual review

2024/25

**Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is a world-leading policy institute based in London. Our mission is to help governments and societies build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.**

---

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical including photocopying, recording or any information storage or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the copyright holder. Please direct all enquiries to the publishers.  
Copyright © The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2025

This publication is printed on FSC-certified paper and printed sustainably in the UK by Pureprint, a CarbonNeutral® company with FSC® chain of custody and an ISO 14001 certified environmental management system recycling over 99% of all dry waste.

[designbysoapbox.com](http://designbysoapbox.com)



## Sir Simon Fraser

### Chair of Council

In an unsettled world, Chatham House has a vital role in advancing understanding and proposing ways forward.

I am proud of the research the institute has produced over the past year – whether on the global governance of AI, Ukraine's future, how nations can maintain momentum on climate change, or the many other important themes touched on in this annual review.

Chatham House has continued to bring together speakers and audiences from around the world to share knowledge and ideas. We have welcomed prominent guests including Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelenskyy, NATO secretary-general Mark Rutte,

Indian foreign minister S. Jaishankar and former speaker of the US House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi, and we held an excellent 10th edition of our London Conference in June. But it is the many expert gatherings held under the Chatham House Rule that enable our teams to engage with policymakers, advisers and commentators to make a difference.

For all of this, I pay tribute to Bronwen Maddox and the excellent team she leads. Thanks also to my fellow Council and committee members for giving their time and energy so willingly in support of the institute's strategic priorities and governance. And finally, thanks to our members and supporters, without whom none of our work would be possible.



## Bronwen Maddox

Director and Chief Executive

At an extraordinary time in international relations, Chatham House has risen to the challenges of radical change in the rules-based world order. With countries, companies and citizens anxious to know what comes next, there is new demand for our ideas and for our role in facilitating the discussions – both in public and under the Rule – that will shape the answer to that question.

The challenges have been amplified by Donald Trump in his second term as US president. But as we point out in our work, the changes under way also stem from longer-term trends, particularly the geopolitical rivalry between the US and China and political reactions to the effects of globalization.

Many of those we speak to tell us they still need some rules and will devise their own, often regionally, if major powers abandon this territory. Our focus is therefore firmly on helping to shape the new governance of the world, including through the resolution of existing conflicts. This effort will be led in particular by our Global Governance and Security Centre, but also by our strengthened country and regional programmes and all parts of the institute.

As always, I want to thank our members, supporters and partners who make our work possible and keep us vigorously independent. Most important, I want to thank the tremendous staff at Chatham House for all their efforts over the past year; we are already immersed in plans for the year to come.



### What America First means for the world

Our magazine, *The World Today*, successfully relaunched in September 2024. The cover article predicting ‘[What a second Trump presidency would mean for the world](#)’ generated more views than any other feature in the magazine’s recent history.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: JASON FORD

## Global governance in a less predictable world

### US speakers included Antony Blinken and Victoria Coates

Against the backdrop of a shifting and contested global order, Chatham House has continued to provide critical insights into the changing role of the US as well as the international response.

Our US commentary ranked in the top five on Google for searches related to the presidency of Donald Trump and its far-reaching impacts. Furthermore, our research paper examining [Competing visions of international order](#) had more than 12,000 views in the first two weeks of publication.

US speakers at Chatham House events included former US secretary of state [Antony Blinken](#); Senator Ruben Gallego; Victoria Coates, vice president of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute, The Heritage

Foundation; and Nancy Pelosi, former speaker of the House of Representatives.

In the run-up to the 2025 NATO summit, NATO secretary-general [Mark Rutte](#) gave a keynote address on European security and the growing threat from Russia. During the year, we also hosted Louise Arbour, former UN high commissioner for human rights, Muhammad Yunus, chief advisor of Bangladesh, UK foreign secretary David Lammy, Finnish foreign minister Elina Valtonen and around 20 other foreign ministers.



### **Analysing the role of rising powers**

We discussed India's rise, its role in the Indo-Pacific and New Delhi's approach to the emerging multipolar global order with India's minister of external affairs, Dr S. Jaishankar.

PHOTO: CARMEN VALINO

## **Influencing policy on China**

Chatham House experts contributed to the UK's China 'audit', which is shaping government strategy for engaging with China. We briefed the UK's Foreign Affairs Committee on crucial foreign policy questions including UK–China relations, and contributed to the UK government's internal *World in 2025* report, which informs upcoming foreign policy priorities. We also convened meetings with the UK and like-minded governments to discuss and align policies on engagement with China, particularly in relation to cyber and emerging technology issues.

An article by our experts on China's policy in Latin America resulted in a meeting with the Chilean foreign ministry and an invitation to brief senior officials at the Chinese ministry of commerce. Our publications included: an Academy fellow research paper on [Workplace AI in China](#); an examination of the China–US relationship, [China 'under siege'](#); plus a paper and event on the [importance of the China-India relationship for the global order](#).

# Providing crucial analysis amid trade and economic uncertainty

## We hosted expert debate on the future of the US dollar

UK business secretary Jonathan Reynolds spoke at our Global Trade 2025 Conference. Our expert commentary covered key areas such as reform of the WTO and Europe's competitive standing in the global economy. Our 'Independent Thinking' podcast brought together experts during the IMF and World Bank spring meetings in Washington, DC to provide timely analysis about the future of the US dollar. This was also a central theme discussed at a Chatham House dinner that week hosted by the British ambassador to the US.

At our Sanctions 2024 Conference, leading academics, as well as UK government and EU Commission officials, discussed the efficacy of sanctions as a foreign policy tool. We hosted talks between diplomats from Europe and the Americas, alongside business leaders, and election observation and human rights experts, to discuss sanctions negotiations in the lead-up to Venezuela's presidential elections in July 2024. After the elections, we held meetings in London and Brazil on how best to respond to electoral fraud and the post-election repression.



## Hosting African heads of mission

In January 2025, we brought together African heads of mission and the UK foreign secretary, David Lammy, to discuss the UK's new Approach to Africa – a strategic framework to create mutually beneficial partnerships with African nations.

PHOTO: CLAIRE BALLARD

# Developing policy to strengthen UK and European security

## Our experts gave oral evidence to the House of Lords European Affairs Committee's inquiry into resetting UK-EU relations

We provided a written submission to the UK government's Strategic Defence Review and participated in discussions with the Ministry of Defence. The value of our contribution was acknowledged by those involved in the review. We also hosted UK minister for the armed forces Luke Pollard, who outlined a plan for the modernization of the British military at our 2024 Security and Defence Conference.

Our experts gave oral evidence to the House of Lords European Affairs Committee's inquiry into resetting UK-EU relations, highlighting the potential for increased cooperation on defence and industry. We also gave oral evidence to the House of Commons Defence Select Committee on the UK's contribution to European security. Our conference on Europe's Strategic Choices analysed challenges in security and defence, as well as competitiveness and

technology. Our podcast '[Should Europe start planning for the worst?](#)', with Timothy Garton Ash and Georgina Wright, asked whether Europe can still rely on the US for its security. Overall, the 'Independent Thinking' podcast audience grew by 56 per cent in 2024/25.

A central theme of our work is supporting governments to build societal resilience and develop a comprehensive approach to security. In the past year, this has involved working closely with the Finnish and Norwegian governments to share learning with the UK and other European governments. We also advised governments across Europe on EU-UK defence industrial cooperation, rebuilding the European security architecture and sanctions. Our experts took part in policy discussions at the NATO Summit Public Forum in The Hague.



### Defending Ukraine

During his June 2025 visit to the UK, Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, came to Chatham House for an under-the-Rule discussion about the defence and reconstruction of Ukraine. Zelenskyy discussed Ukraine's military position and his hopes for the NATO summit.

PHOTO: CARMEN VALINO

## Supporting planning for Ukraine's post-war recovery

**The paper *Four scenarios for the end of the war in Ukraine* was our most-read publication of 2024, attracting 100,000 views**

Our Ukraine Forum continued to play a central role in planning the annual Ukraine Recovery Conference. We held many events, including with Nobel Laureate Oleksandra Matviichuk, who joined us in February 2025 to discuss Ukraine's fight for a just peace. This event was accompanied by an exhibition, titled *War Diaries: Unheard Voices of Ukrainian Children*.

In addition to the president, we hosted Ukraine's ambassador

to the UK, Valerii Zaluzhnyi, in October 2024. And at our Safeguarding Europe Conference, experts from the UK, EU and US joined exiled Russian analysts to discuss how to deter Russia in Ukraine.

Our briefing paper *Four scenarios for the end of the war in Ukraine* received significant international media coverage and was the most-read publication in 2024, with almost 100,000 views.

# Tackling conflicts in the Middle East and Africa

**We convened high-level discussions on the Israel–Palestine conflict, hosting politicians and diplomats from across the region**

Our [Cross-Border Conflict, Evidence, Policy and Trends \(XCEPT\)](#) project explored the drivers behind conflict in the Middle East and Africa. The project, which is informing and supported by UK International Development, published research on how to respond to [Iran and its allies](#) in the ‘axis of resistance’, [how supply chains fuel transnational conflict in the Middle East](#), the role of [human trafficking across Libya](#), and how the [sesame trade in Ethiopia and Sudan](#) fuels violence and political instability. A final paper pulled together lessons from the project, looking at [Why peacebuilding fails and what to do about it](#).

We also held our sixth Iraq Initiative Conference, with opening remarks by former Iraqi prime minister Dr Haider al-Abadi, plus a closed roundtable with Iraq’s current prime minister, Mohammed Shia’ al-Sudani.

We convened high-level discussions on the Israel–Palestine conflict, with ambassadors and other senior representatives from the region. In September 2024, we also hosted Saudi Arabia’s [Prince Turki al-Faisal](#), who discussed how developments related to the conflict were impacting the region, as well as the role external actors could play to support de-escalation. In March 2025, *The World Today* magazine published an interview with Yair Golan, leader of Israel’s opposition Democrats party.



### Supporting accountable governance and resilience in Nigeria

Our Social Norms and Accountable Governance (SNAG) in Nigeria project culminated in a March 2025 conference in Abuja, bringing together leading voices on Nigeria's anti-corruption agenda. The conference was accompanied by a research paper, *Taking action against corruption in Nigeria*. During the year, we also hosted Nigeria's foreign minister, Ambassador Yusuf M. Tuggar.

PHOTO: PATIENCE ADAKA JAMES

## Promoting debate on how to end the war in Sudan

We welcomed Dr Abdalla Hamdok, former prime minister of Sudan and then-chairperson of the Coordination of Civil Democratic Forces (Tagadum), in October 2024 to discuss the prospects for conflict resolution in Sudan. We have continued to provide an important platform for discussion on Sudan at a time when many civilian voices continue to be sidelined.

In March 2025, our paper on *Gold and the war in Sudan* detailed how the gold trade connects Sudan's civil war to the wider region. The paper ranked in the top results on Google for 'Sudan'. Following publication, we briefed the UK government ahead of the UK-hosted London Sudan Conference 2025.

## Facilitating climate cooperation

### We published an agenda for joint UK–China climate action

Chatham House continued its work with the UK's Climate Change Committee (CCC) and the China Expert Panel on Climate Change (CEPCC). In September 2024, we hosted the third dialogue between the CCC and CEPCC in Beijing. The feedback on this and previous meetings indicated that we helped to keep momentum going at a time when other channels were constrained.

At COP29 in Azerbaijan, we strengthened these activities, bringing together members of the UK CCC, the Department of Energy Security and Net Zero, the FCDO and the CEPCC. We also published research on [\*Closing the climate finance gap\*](#), including how to use the limited finance available more effectively and the potential for Azerbaijan to deliver an impactful summit. In the run-up to COP29, we held a debate on how to govern a warming planet with speakers including former Canadian prime minister Kim Campbell, former

WTO director-general Pascal Lamy (both part of the Climate Overshoot Commission) and Professor Michael Obersteiner. We also held an event with Todd Stern, lead US negotiator for the Paris Agreement, to discuss climate cooperation in a fractured world.

Our experts highlighted opportunities for UK–China climate cooperation when feeding into the UK's China 'audit'. We published our recommendations in a January 2025 paper outlining [\*An agenda for UK–China climate cooperation\*](#). Findings were shared with UK government departments ahead of the UK's March 2025 call for action and cooperation from China to tackle the climate emergency, and for the institutionalization of climate cooperation. With COP30 approaching in late 2025, we hosted discussions with Brazilian counterparts on making climate governance fit for purpose.

# Playing a central role in AI policy and practice

## We convened experts who shaped the development of the EU's General-Purpose AI Code of Practice

We hosted events at the Paris AI Action Summit in February 2025, where voices from Europe and the US encouraged investment in sovereign and public approaches to artificial intelligence (AI). Our leadership in exploring paths for middle powers to capitalize on AI continues to be the bedrock for our engagement with European, Indian, Canadian and UK governments.

We regularly convened meetings of experts who have shaped the development of the EU's General-Purpose AI Code of Practice. The code is a guide for companies seeking to comply with the world's most substantive AI regulation, the EU AI Act. More than 40 decision-makers and those with influence on policy shared

their thoughts on how transparency should be reflected in the final code of practice. This resulted in recommendations for AI policymakers and the European AI Office designed to ensure that transparency is central to the code's future text and approach.

Our publications included *Artificial intelligence and the challenge for global governance*, a collection of nine essays on achieving responsible AI. Separately, the *November 2024 issue of International Affairs* featured a special section on 'Cybersecurity and International Relations: Developing Thinking Tools for Digital World Politics'. This issue has been viewed over 38,000 times and has been cited more than 20 times in leading journals, news outlets and policy documents.



## Leveraging emerging technologies in Nigeria

As part of a trip to Nigeria in March 2025, Chatham House director and chief executive Bronwen Maddox visited the UNDP Innovation Center in Lagos. She met UNDP Nigeria resident representative, Elsie Attafuaah, and engaged with social innovators who are using emerging technologies to improve outcomes in Nigeria for SDG 16 ('Peace, justice and strong institutions').

PHOTO: REJOICE EMMANUEL

# Finding solutions to the big questions

During the past year, we held more than 300 private and public events – conferences, workshops, roundtables and expert briefings – in London and internationally with partners. Our members, from more than 95 countries, joined our rich programme of events.

Our March 2025 Climate and Energy Conference kicked off with a keynote speech by COP30 CEO Ana Toni. Our first Space Security Conference opened with an address by UK Space

Agency chief executive Dr Paul Bate. Other conference topics included trade and competition policy, security and defence, and cybersecurity.

The unique convening power and independence of Chatham House allow us to bring people on all sides of the debate together to discuss difficult questions and seek common ground. Where necessary, we use the Chatham House Rule to encourage free debate among participants.



## Building a better NATO

In June 2025, NATO secretary-general Mark Rutte spoke on NATO's future in a more dangerous world.

PHOTO: CARMEN VALINO



## Debating democracy

In October 2024, ahead of the US election, former speaker of the House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi discussed leadership and her political legacy.

PHOTO: CARMEN VALINO

## Influencing policy decision-makers

Speakers from the past year, some under the Chatham House Rule, have included:

---

**Mohammed Shia' al-Sudani**,  
Prime Minister, Iraq

---

**Louise Arbour**,  
Former UN High Commissioner  
for Human Rights

---

**Jean-Noël Barrot**,  
Minister for Europe  
and Foreign Affairs, France

---

**Antony Blinken**,  
Secretary of State, US

---

**Hon. Shirley Ayorkor Botchwey**,  
Secretary-General, The Commonwealth

---

**Baiba Braže**,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Latvia

---

**Victoria Coates**,  
Vice President, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom  
Davis Institute, The Heritage Foundation

---

**Ahunna Eziakonwa**,  
UNDP Assistant Administrator  
and Regional Director for Africa

---

**Dr S. Jaishankar**,  
Minister of External Affairs, India

---

**H.E. Musa Timothy Kabba**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs and  
International Cooperation, Sierra Leone

---

**Dr Constantinos Kombos**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Republic of Cyprus

---

**Professor Rachel Kyte**,  
Special Representative for Climate, UK

---

**David Lammy**,  
Secretary of State for Foreign,  
Commonwealth and  
Development Affairs, UK

---

**H.E. Ronald Lamola**,  
Minister of International Relations  
and Cooperation, South Africa

---

**Gabrielius Landsbergis**,  
Former Minister of Foreign  
Affairs, Lithuania

---

**Enrique Manalo**,  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Philippines

---

**H.E. Olivier J. P. Nduhugirehe**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
and International Cooperation, Rwanda

---

**Tho Dinh Nguyen**,  
President, Institute of Strategy,  
Policy on Natural Resources  
and Environment, Ministry of Natural  
Resources and Environment, Vietnam

---

**Nancy Pelosi**,  
Former Speaker of the House  
of Representatives, US

---

**Luke Pollard**,  
Minister for the Armed Forces, UK

---

**Mihai Popșoi**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Moldova

---

**Rt Hon. Jonathan Reynolds MP**,  
Secretary of State for Business and Trade, UK

---

**Mark Rutte**,  
Secretary-General, NATO

---

**Tomás Saieg Páez**,  
Head of Circular Economy,  
Ministry of the Environment, Chile

---

**Sir John Sawers**,  
Former Chief of MI6, UK

---

**Ambassador Elmer Schialer**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peru

---

**Radosław Sikorski**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Poland

---

**Peter Szijjarto**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
and Trade, Hungary

---

**H.E. Mamadou Tangara**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
International Cooperation and  
Gambians Abroad, The Gambia

---

**Rt Hon. Dame Emily Thornberry MP**,  
Chair, Foreign Affairs Select Committee, UK

---

**Ana Toni**,  
Executive Director, COP30

---

**H.E. Ambassador Yusuf M. Tuggar**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria

---

**Elina Valtonen**,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Finland

---

**H.E. Thérèse Kayikwamba Wagner**,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Democratic Republic of the Congo

---

**H.E. Professor Muhammad Yunus**,  
Chief Adviser to the  
Government, Bangladesh

---

**Ernesto Zedillo**,  
Former President of Mexico

---

**Volodymyr Zelenskyy**,  
President, Ukraine

Independent thinking since 1920



**The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

**Chatham House**

10 St James's Square, London SW1Y 4LE

T + 44 (0)208 713 0313

[contact@chathamhouse.org](mailto:contact@chathamhouse.org) | [chathamhouse.org](http://chathamhouse.org)

Charity Registration Number: 208223