

**GTI 2020 Annual Symposium**  
**US-Taiwan Relations: Building the Foundation for a Global Partnership**

September 15-16, 2020  
[Day1](#): 8:25 am – 1:00 pm  
[Day2](#): 8:30 am – 12:30 pm  
Webinar  
Platform: Webex

Agenda:

**September 15 (Day 1)**

8:25am – 8:30am

**Welcome Remarks**

Dr. Wen-Yen Chen (Global Taiwan Institute)

8:30am – 8:40am

**Welcome Remarks**

Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao (Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the U.S.)

8:40am – 9:00am

**Opening Keynote**

The Hon. Dr. Jaushieh Joseph Wu (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Taiwan (ROC))

9:00am – 10:30am

**Panel One: Global Cooperation and Strategy**

Panelists:

Randy Schriver (Project 2049 Institute)

Ashley J. Tellis (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)

Nobukatsu Kanehara (Doshisha University)

John Lee (Hudson Institute)

Vincent Chao (TECRO)

Moderator: Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)

10:30am – 12:00pm

**Panel Two: Taiwan's Political Trends & Cross-Strait Relations**

Panelists:

Bonnie Glaser (Center for Strategic and International Studies)

Shelley Rigger (Davidson College/Global Taiwan Institute)

J. Michael Cole (Global Taiwan Institute)

Amb. (ret.) Steve Young (Global Taiwan Institute)

Richard Bush (Brookings Institution)

Moderator: I-wei Jennifer Chang (Global Taiwan Institute)

12:00pm – 1:00pm

**Luncheon Keynote**

A Conversation with Rep. Mike Gallagher

**September 16 (Day 2)**

8:30am – 9:00am

**Opening Keynote**

The Hon. David Helvey, Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, Department of Defense

9:00pm – 10:30am

**Panel Three: Economic Security & Trade**

Panelists:

Lt. Col. (ret.) Mark Stokes (Project 2049 Institute/Global Taiwan Institute)

Evan Feigenbaum (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)

Will Foreman (Taiwan Readout)

Barbara Weisel (Rockcreek Advisors)

Moderator: Rupert Hammond-Chambers (US-Taiwan Business Council)

10:30am – 12:00pm

**Panel Four: Defense & Non-Military Coercion**

Panelists:

Elbridge Colby (Marathon Initiative)

Eric Sayers (Center for a New American Security)

Lt. Gen. (ret.) Chip Gregson (Center for National Interest/Global Taiwan Institute)

Shirley Kan (Global Taiwan Institute)

Michael Beckley (Harvard Kennedy School)

Moderator: Mike Mazza (Global Taiwan Institute)

12:00pm – 12:30pm

**Closing Keynote**

The Hon. Brent Christensen, Director, American Institute in Taiwan

### **Global Taiwan Institute: About Us**

The Global Taiwan Institute (GTI) serves as a policy incubator for ideas that help to enhance U.S.-Taiwan relations and engage Taiwan in its own right. GTI's mission is to enhance the relationship between Taiwan and other countries, especially the United States, through policy research and programs that advance better public understanding about Taiwan and its people. To realize the vision and mission of GTI, our core programs include:

**Global Taiwan Brief:** A regular online newsletter offering expert analyses on issues related to Taiwan policy, U.S.-Taiwan relations, and Taiwan-China ties using primary materials.

**Public Seminars:** Regular events held at GTI's office that address Taiwan's role in the broader policy debates with a focus on both traditional and non-traditional issues.

**Annual Symposium:** An annual symposium on U.S.-Taiwan policy.

**Fellowships:** A variety of opportunities to facilitate academic and scholarly exchange in the form of funded fellowships based in Washington, D.C. and in Taiwan.

### **Board of Directors (Officers)**

GTI's Board of Directors comprises a cross-generational group of Taiwanese Americans from a variety of sectors. Despite their diverse backgrounds, board members all share a passion for closer ties between the United States and Taiwan.

Dr. Wen-Yen Chen  
*Chairman*

Jennifer Hu  
*Vice Chairperson*

Chieh-Ting Yeh  
*Vice Chairperson*

Charles Pan  
*Secretary*

Mary Chou  
*Treasurer*

### **Advisory Council**

Dr. Wen-Yen Chen  
*Co-Chair*

Dr. David Tsai  
*Co-Chair*

James Wang

Dr. Peter Chow

### **Advisory Board**

Joe Bosco  
Gordon Chang  
Ralph Cossa  
June Teufel Dreyer

Thomas Hughes  
Shirley Kan  
Michael Reilly  
Matt Salmon

John Tkacik  
Gerrit van der Wees  
Masahiro Wakabayashi  
Arthur Waldron

Dafydd Fell  
Richard Fisher  
Wallace Gregson  
Lanhee J. Chen

Fang-long Shih  
William Stanton  
Mark Stokes  
Shelley Rigger

Robert Wang  
Toshi Yoshihara  
Stephen M. Young

## **Participant Bios**

### **Day 1 (September 15, 2020)**

#### **Welcome Remarks:**

**Dr. Wen-Yen Chen** is the chairman of the Board of Directors at the Global Taiwan Institute. Dr. Chen was born in Taiwan, received his B.S., M.S. degree from the National Taiwan University, and Ph.D. in Psychology from The City University of New York, NY. Dr. Chen served as faculty, chairperson of the psychology department, and associate dean of the College of Liberal and Fine Arts of the University of the District of Columbia. After retirement, he also taught a course in Taiwan history as an adjunct professor at George Mason University, VA. He has been involved in Taiwan democracy movement since the Formosa incident in 1979. Since then he has served in various Taiwanese American organizations including as president of Northern American Taiwanese Professors' Association, president and executive director of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, and adviser to the Taiwan President's office. Dr. Chen was the recipient of a Fulbright Travel Award to China, Taiwanese American Foundation Award for Public Service, and Care, Inc. for his community service.

**Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao** assumed her position as Taiwan's Representative to the United States in July 2020, after serving as a Senior Adviser to the President at the National Security Council of Taiwan. Representative Hsiao previously served four terms in the Taiwan Legislature, representing overseas citizens for the first term, and then the constituents of Taipei City and Hualien County through different terms. For many years she was ranking member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and previously the chair of the USA Caucus in the Legislative Yuan. She began her political career serving as Director of the Democratic Progressive Party International Affairs Department. After Taiwan's first democratic change of government in 2000, she became an Adviser in the Office of the President and was international spokesperson for all DPP presidential elections between 2000 and 2012. Representative Hsiao has taken on numerous leadership roles in international organizations. She was the Chair of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD), an organization representing Asian democratic political parties. Between 2005 and 2012, she was elected Vice President on the Bureau of Liberal International (LI), a London-based global political party organization. She is also a founding Board Member of the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. Born in Kobe, Japan, Representative Hsiao grew up in Tainan, a city in southern Taiwan. She has an MA in Political Science from Columbia University in New York and BA in East Asian Studies from Oberlin College, Ohio.

**Opening Keynote (video):**

**The Honorable Dr. Jaushieh Joseph Wu** is the foreign minister of Taiwan. Prior to his current appointment, he was the secretary-general in the Office of the President (May 2017 – February 2018), secretary-general at the National Security Council (May 2016 – May 2017), secretary-general of the Democratic Progressive Party (May 2014 – May 2016), executive director in the Committee on Policy Research and Coordination for the Democratic Progressive Party (June 2012 – May 2014), representative to the United States for the Democratic Progressive Party (May 2012 – May 2016), representative of Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States (April 2007 – August 2008), chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council (May 2004 – April 2007), deputy secretary-general in the Office of the President (2002-2004), and research fellow in the Institute of International Relations at the National Chengchi University (1989 – 2002). Dr. Wu received his B.A. in political science from National Chengchi University in Taiwan, an M.A. in political science from the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and a Ph.D. in political science from Ohio State University.

**Panel One: Global Cooperation and Strategy***Moderator:*

**Russell Hsiao** is the executive director of GTI, senior fellow at The Jamestown Foundation, and adjunct fellow at Pacific Forum. He is a former Penn Kemble fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy and visiting scholar at the University of Tokyo's Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia. He previously served as a senior research fellow at The Project 2049 Institute and national security fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Prior to those positions he was the editor of China Brief at The Jamestown Foundation from October 2007- to July 2011 and a special associate in the International Cooperation Department at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy. While in law school, he clerked within the Office of the Chairman at the Federal Communications Commission and the Interagency Trade Enforcement Center at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. Mr. Hsiao received his J.D. and certificate from the Law and Technology Institute at the Catholic University of America's Columbus School of Law where he served as the editor-in-chief of the Catholic University's Journal of Law and Technology. He received a B.A. in international studies from the American University's School of International Service and the University Honors Program.

*Panelists:*

**Randall Schriver** is Chairman of the Board at The Project 2049 Institute. Most recently, Mr. Schriver served as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs from 8 January 2018 to 31 December 2019. Prior to his confirmation as Assistant Secretary, Mr. Schriver was a founding partner of Armitage International LLC, a consulting firm that specializes in international business development and strategies. He was also a founder of the Project 2049 Institute and served as President and CEO. Previously, Mr. Schriver served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. From 2001 to 2003, he served as Chief of Staff and Senior Policy Advisor to the Deputy Secretary of State. From 1994 to 1998, he worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, including as the senior official responsible for the day-to-day management of U.S. bilateral relations with the People's Liberation Army and the bilateral security and military relationships with Taiwan. Prior to his civilian service, he served as an active duty Navy Intelligence Officer from 1989 to 1991, including a deployment in support of Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. After active duty, he served in the Navy Reserves for nine years, including as Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and an attaché at U.S. Embassy Beijing and U.S. Embassy Ulaanbaatar. Mr. Schriver has won numerous military and civilian awards from the U.S. government and was presented while at the State Department with the Order of the Propitious Clouds by the President of Taiwan for service promoting U.S.-Taiwan relations. Mr. Schriver received a Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Williams College and a Master of Arts degree from Harvard University.

**Ashley J. Tellis** holds the Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and is a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, specializing in international security and U.S. foreign and defense policy with a special focus on Asia and the Indian subcontinent. While on assignment to the U.S. Department of State as senior adviser to the undersecretary of State for political affairs, he was intimately involved in negotiating the civil nuclear agreement with India. Previously he

was commissioned into the Foreign Service and served as senior adviser to the ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi. He also served on the National Security Council staff as special assistant to President George W. Bush and senior director for strategic planning and Southwest Asia. Prior to his government service, Tellis was senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation and professor of policy analysis at the RAND Graduate School. He is a counselor at the National Bureau of Asian Research, the research director of its Strategic Asia program and co-editor of the program's sixteen most recent annual volumes, including this year's *Strategic Asia 2020: U.S.-China Competition for Global Influence*. He is the author of *India's Emerging Nuclear Posture* (2001) and co-author of *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (2000). Tellis serves as an adviser to the Chief of Naval Operations. He earned his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

**Nobukatsu Kanehara** is Professor of Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan. Mr. Kanehara served as assistant chief cabinet secretary to Prime Minister Shinzo Abe from 2012 to 2019. In 2013, he also became the inaugural deputy secretary-general of the National Security Secretariat. He also served as deputy director of the Cabinet Intelligence and Research Office. Mr. Kanehara served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as director-general of the Bureau of International Law, deputy director-general of the Foreign Policy Bureau, ambassador in charge of the United Nations and Human Rights, deputy director-general of European affairs in charge of Russia and Eastern Europe. He served abroad as deputy chief of mission in Seoul; minister at the Embassy of Japan in Washington, D.C.; and minister of the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations. He was decorated by the president of Republic of France with Ordre de la Legion d'Honneur.

**John Lee** is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute. He is also a senior fellow (non-resident) at the United States Studies Centre and adjunct professor at the University of Sydney. From 2016 to 2018, he was senior national security adviser to Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop. In this role, he served as the principal adviser on Asia and for economic, strategic, and political affairs in the Indo-Pacific region. Dr. Lee was also appointed the Foreign Minister's lead adviser on the 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, the first comprehensive foreign affairs blueprint for Australia since 2003 and written to guide Australia's external engagement for the next ten years and beyond. He has held adjunct professorships at the Australian National University and University of Sydney. He is one of the foremost experts on the Chinese political economy and on strategic and economic affairs pertaining to the Indo-Pacific. Dr. Lee's articles have been published in leading policy and academic journals in the United States, Asia, and Australia. He received his master's and doctorate in international relations from the University of Oxford and his Bachelor of Laws and arts degrees (first class, philosophy) from the University of New South Wales.

**Vincent Chao** is the director of the political division at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the United States. Prior to this role, he served as the chief of staff to Taiwan's foreign minister and senior-level positions at the Office of the President and National Security Council. Before joining the government, he was the deputy director of the International Affairs Department in the Democratic Progressive Party and deeply involved in President Tsai's 2016 presidential campaign. He has also served as a researcher in the Thinking Taiwan Foundation and as a reporter at the *Taipei Times*. He holds a B.A. from York University in Canada and an LLM from the University of London.



## **Panel Two: Taiwan's Political Trends & Cross-Strait Relations**

### *Moderator:*

**I-wei Jennifer Chang** is a research fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute. Prior to GTI, Ms. Chang was senior program specialist in the China Program at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), where she examined China's role in global conflict zones spanning from the Indo-Pacific region to the Middle East and Africa. Ms. Chang joined USIP after working as a researcher at the Embassy of India in Washington, D.C., and the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. She also covered Taiwanese politics and society as a reporter for *The China Post* in Taipei. Ms. Chang has also published widely on Chinese foreign and security policy, Asia-Middle East relations, civil wars, ethnic conflict, and religious freedom. She has written for several publications including *9DashLine*, *Foreign Policy*, The Jamestown Foundation's *China Brief*, *Jadaliyya*, *Middle East Research and Information Project*, *ISLAMiCommentary*, and the Middle East Institute's *Middle East-Asia Project*. Ms. Chang holds two master's degrees in International Relations and Journalism from the University of Maryland and a Bachelor's degree in Asian Studies from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. She is fluent in Mandarin Chinese.

### *Panelists:*

**Bonnie Glaser** is a senior adviser for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at CSIS, where she works on issues related to Asia-Pacific security with a focus on Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia, and a senior associate with the Pacific Forum. Ms. Glaser has worked for more than three decades at the intersection of Asia-Pacific geopolitics and U.S. policy. From 2008 to mid-2015, she was a senior adviser with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies, and from 2003 to 2008, she was a senior associate in the CSIS International Security Program. Prior to joining CSIS, she served as a consultant for various U.S. government offices, including the Departments of Defense and State. Ms. Glaser has published widely in academic and policy journals, including the *Washington Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, *Asian Survey*, *International Security*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, as well as in leading newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune* and in various edited volumes on Asian security. She is also a regular contributor to the Pacific Forum web journal *Comparative Connections*. She is currently a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific and a member of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. She served as a member of the Defense Department's Defense Policy Board China Panel in 1997. Ms. Glaser received her B.A. in political science from Boston University and her M.A. with concentrations in international economics and Chinese studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

**Shelley Rigger** is the Brown Professor of East Asian Politics at Davidson College. She has a PhD in Government from Harvard University and a BA in Public and International Affairs from Princeton University. She has been a visiting researcher at National Chengchi University in Taiwan (2005) and a visiting professor at Fudan University (2006) and Shanghai Jiaotong



University (2013 & 2015). She is a non-resident fellow of the China Policy Institute at Nottingham University and a senior fellow of the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI). She is also a director of The Taiwan Fund, a closed-end investment fund specializing in Taiwan-listed companies. Rigger is the author of two books on Taiwan's domestic politics, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (Routledge 1999) and *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party* (Lynne Rienner Publishers 2001). In 2011 she published *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse*, a book for general readers. She has published articles on Taiwan's domestic politics, the national identity issue in Taiwan-China relations and related topics. Her monograph, "Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics and 'Taiwan Nationalism'" was published by the East West Center in Washington in November 2006. In 2019-20 she was a Fulbright Senior Scholar based in Taipei, where she worked on a study of Taiwan's contributions to the PRC's economic take-off and a study of Taiwanese youth.

**J. Michael Cole** is a Taipei-based policy analyst. He is a senior non-resident fellow with GTI; senior fellow with the Macdonald-Laurier Institute in Ottawa, Canada; senior non-resident fellow with the Taiwan Studies Programme at the University of Nottingham, UK; and research associate with the French Centre for Research on Contemporary China. From 2014-2016, he was an employee of the Thinking Taiwan Foundation, a think tank founded by Tsai Ing-wen where he was chief editor of *Thinking Taiwan*. He was deputy news chief and a columnist/reporter at the *Taipei Times* from 2006-2013. Prior to relocating to Taiwan in 2005, he was an intelligence officer with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) in Ottawa. He has a master's degree in War Studies from the Royal Military College of Canada. His work has appeared in a variety of publications, including the *Wall Street Journal*, *Foreign Policy*, *Nikkei Asian Review*, *South China Morning Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Globe and Mail*, *Lowy Interpreter*, *National Interest*, *China Brief*, *the Age*, *Jane's Defence Weekly*, and CNN. He is a regular commentator on Channel News Asia, Al Jazeera, BBC News, CNN, and is a consultant for various governments and the defense industry. His two latest books, both published in 2020, are *Cross-Strait Relations Since 2016: The End of the Illusion* (Routledge) and *Insidious Power: How China Undermines Global Democracy* (Eastbridge), co-edited with Dr. Hsu Szu-chien.

**Ambassador Stephen M. Young, ret.** is a member of GTI's Advisory Board. He served as a U.S. diplomat for over 33 years, with assignments in Washington, Taipei, Moscow, Beijing, Kyrgyzstan and Hong Kong. He earned a B.A. at Wesleyan University and a Ph.D. in history at the University of Chicago. Young was ambassador to the Kyrgyz Republic, director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT), and consul general to Hong Kong. Young first lived in Taiwan as a teen in the 1960s, when his father was a MAAG advisor to the Taiwan military. He has lived a total of 11 years in Taiwan. Since retiring to his family home in New Hampshire in 2013, Young has been writing and speaking. He was a visiting professor at Wesleyan University in 1994-95, where he taught a seminar on modern Chinese foreign policy. Young speaks Russian and Mandarin Chinese.

**Richard C. Bush III** is a non-resident senior fellow in the Center for East Asian Policy Studies (CEAP) at the Brookings Institution, where he used to hold the Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. From 2002 to 2018, he was director of CEAP. Mr. Bush's two-decade public service career spans Congress, the intelligence community, and the U.S. State

Department. From 1997 to 2002, he was chairman and managing director of the American Institute in Taiwan. At Brookings, he has focused on China-Taiwan relations, U.S.-China relations, the Korean peninsula, and Japan's security. His latest book, *Difficult Choices: Taiwan's Quest for Security and the Good Life*, will be published early next year.

**Luncheon Keynote**

**Congressman Mike Gallagher** is a 7th generation Wisconsin native and represents Wisconsin's 8th District in the U.S. House of Representatives. He joined the United States Marine Corps the day he graduated from college and served for seven years on active duty as a Counterintelligence/Human Intelligence Officer and Regional Affairs Officer for the Middle East/North Africa, where he deployed twice to Al Anbar Province, Iraq as a commander of intelligence teams.

Mike currently serves as the co-chair of the Cyberspace Solarium Commission and on the House Armed Services and Transportation and Infrastructure Committees.

**Day 2 (September 16, 2020)****Opening Keynote:**

**Mr. David F. Helvey** is currently Performing the Duties of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs. Previously he was the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs from January 20, 2017 until December 31, 2019. He is responsible for developing and overseeing the execution of the United States' defense and security policy in the Indo-Pacific region. Prior assignments in the Office of the Secretary of Defense include, most recently, Senior Advisor performing the duties of the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs from June 2016 to January 2017 and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia from December 2012 to April 2015, with earlier assignments as Country Director for China; Director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia; Senior Advisor for China Policy and Integration; and Principal Director for East Asia. From April 2015 to June 2016, Mr. Helvey served as Visiting Distinguished Research Fellow in the Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Mr. Helvey has been awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Medal, the Office of the Secretary of Defense Exceptional Civilian Service Medal, the Paul H. Nitze Award for Excellence in International Security Affairs, the Director of National Intelligence Award for Collaboration Leadership, and the DIA Director's Award for Meritorious Civilian Service. Mr. Helvey graduated from American University with an MA in U.S. Foreign Policy and from West Virginia University with a BA in Political Science.

### **Panel Three: Economic Security & Trade**

*Moderator:*

**Rupert Hammond-Chambers** is the president of the U.S.-Taiwan Business Council. He was born and raised in Scotland before emigrating to the United States in 1987 and earning a B.A. at Denison University. As a new graduate in 1991, he worked for Advanced Telecommunication Corporation (ATC). In April 1993, he joined The Center for Security Policy, a defense and foreign policy think tank in Washington, D.C., as the associate for development. He began working for the U.S.-Taiwan Business Council in October 1994. In March of 1998, he was promoted to vice president. Mr. Hammond-Chambers is also the managing director, Taiwan for Bower Group Asia.

*Panelists:*

**Lt. Col. Mark Stokes, USAF ret.**, is a member of GTI's Advisory Board and the executive director of The Project 2049 Institute. Previously, he was the founder and president of Quantum Pacific Enterprises, an international consulting firm, and vice president and Taiwan country manager for Raytheon International. He has served as executive vice president of Laifu Trading Company, a subsidiary of the Rehfeldt Group; a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and member of the Board of Governors of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taiwan. A 20-year U.S. Air Force veteran, Stokes also served as team chief and senior country director for the People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Mongolia in the Office of the assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs. He holds a B.A. from Texas A&M University, and graduate degrees in international relations and Asian studies from Boston University and the Naval Postgraduate School. He has working proficiency in Mandarin Chinese.

**Evan A. Feigenbaum** is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, where he oversees research in Washington, Beijing and New Delhi on a dynamic region encompassing both East Asia and South Asia. He is also the 2019-20 James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor at the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. Initially an academic with a PhD in Chinese politics from Stanford University, Feigenbaum's career has spanned government service, think tanks, the private sector, and three major regions of Asia. During the George W. Bush Administration, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Central Asia, and Member of the Policy Planning Staff with principal responsibility for East Asia and the Pacific. He is the author of three books and monographs, including *The United States in the New Asia* (CFR, 2009, co-author).

**William Foreman** has spent most of his career in journalism. He served as a bureau chief for The Associated Press in Taipei, Hong Kong and Guangzhou for a total 10 years. He left journalism in 2010 to be a Knight-Wallace Fellow at the University of Michigan, which later hired him to devise and execute the institution's first global communications strategy. After five years at the university, he left to become the director of public relations at Heifer International, an NGO working to end hunger with economic development and entrepreneurship. For the past three years, he has served as the President of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei. He

recently left the organization to launch his own consultancy, Taiwan Read-out. Foreman earned a bachelor's degree in philosophy from the University of Kansas and attended the graduate school of journalism at the University of Maryland at College Park.

**Barbara Weisel** is a managing director at Rock Creek Global Advisors, an international economic policy advisory firm, where she focuses on international trade and investment policy and negotiations as well as market access and regulatory matters. Ms. Weisel has more than 25 years of experience advancing international trade and investment initiatives, expanding market access in Asia-Pacific markets, and resolving specific issues faced by businesses in the Asia-Pacific. Ms. Weisel served most recently as Assistant U.S. trade Representative for Southeast Asia and the Pacific. She was the US chief negotiator for the 12-country Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) from its inception in 2008 through its signing in 2016. Before joining USTR, she worked at the State Department from 1984-1994, serving in a variety of positions, including as international economist on Japan, the Persian Gulf, and North Africa. Ms. Weisel earned two M.A. degrees from Harvard University in 1983, one in public policy with a focus on international development, and the other in religious studies, with a focus on Islamic civilization. She has a B.A. from Connecticut College.

**Panel Four: Defense & Non-Military Coercion***Moderator:*

**Michael Mazza** is a senior non-resident fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute (GTI), a non-resident fellow at GMF, and a visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). He analyzes U.S. defense policy in the Asia-Pacific region, Chinese military modernization, cross-Taiwan Strait relations, Korean Peninsula security, and U.S. interests in Southeast Asia. Mazza writes regularly for the Global Taiwan Brief, GTI's biweekly publication, and he has contributed to numerous AEI studies on American grand strategy in Asia, U.S. defense strategy in the Asia-Pacific, and Taiwanese defense strategy. His published work includes pieces in *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Foreign Affairs*. Mazza was recognized as a 2010-11 Foreign Policy Initiative Future Leader. Mazza has an MA in international relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced and International Studies and a BA in history from Cornell University. He has lived in China where he attended the Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies at Tsinghua University in Beijing.

*Panelists:*

**Elbridge Colby** is co-founder and principal of The Marathon Initiative, a policy initiative focused on developing strategies to prepare the United States for an era of sustained great power competition. Previously, Colby was from 2018-2019 the Director of the Defense Program at the Center for a New American Security, where he led the Center's work on defense issues. Before that, Colby served as the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Strategy and Force Development from 2017-2018. In that role, he served as the lead official in the development and rollout of the Department's preeminent strategic planning guidance, the 2018 National Defense Strategy (NDS). He also served as the primary DOD representative in the development of the 2017 National Security Strategy. Prior to entering government service, Colby was from 2014 to 2017 the Robert M. Gates senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security, where he focused on a range of defense issues and consulted regularly with the Defense Department and other U.S. government elements. From 2010 to 2013 he was principal analyst and division lead for global strategic affairs at CNA. Earlier in his career he served for over five years in the U.S. government at the Department of Defense, Department of State, and in the Intelligence Community working on a range of strategic forces, WMD, and intelligence reform matters, including service with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq in 2003. Colby has also served on the staff of a number of government commissions, including the 2014 National Defense Panel, the 2008-2009 Strategic Posture Commission, and the 2004-2005 President's WMD Commission. Colby is a graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School.

**Eric Sayers** is Vice President at Beacon Global Strategies, a national security consulting firm in Washington DC. He is also an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Prior to joining BGS, Mr. Sayers was a consultant to the Commander's Action Group at U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) where he served as Special Assistant to the Commander. In this capacity, he advised Admiral Harry Harris on long-range strategic engagements and special initiatives in the Indo-Pacific theater and Washington DC. He was previously a Professional Staff Member with the majority staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, where he



managed the Asia-Pacific/Pacific Command policy portfolio and advised Chairman John S. McCain on regional security issues. Mr. Sayers has published in *War on the Rocks*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, the *Naval War College Review*, *Defense News*, *The National Review*, and the U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings Magazine*. Mr. Sayers holds an M.Sc. in Strategic Studies from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore and an M.A. and B.A. in Political Science from The University of Western Ontario. He is a term-member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

**Lt. Gen. Wallace Gregson, USMC ret.** is a member of GTI's Advisory Board, and he served as the assistant secretary of defense, Asian and Pacific Security Affairs. Previously, he served as chief operating officer for the United States Olympic Committee, then as an independent consultant before entering government in 2009. From 2003 to 2005, he was commanding general of the Marine Corps Forces Pacific and Marine Corps Forces Central Command, where he led and managed over 70,000 marines and sailors in the Middle East, Afghanistan, East Africa, Asia, and the United States. From 2001 to 2003 he served as commanding general of the III Marine Expeditionary Force in Japan, where he was awarded the Japanese Order of the Rising Sun; the Gold and Silver Star; the Korean Order of National Security Merit, Gukseon Medal; and the Order of Resplendent Banner from the Republic of China. Prior to his time in Japan he was director of Asia-Pacific policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1998 to 2000. His civilian education includes a B.A. from the U.S. Naval Academy, and a M.A. in strategic planning from the Naval War College, and international relations from Salve Regina College.

**Shirley Kan** is a founding member of GTI's Advisory Board and an independent specialist in Asian security affairs. Since the late 1980s, her service for the US government has included working for Congress at the non-partisan Congressional Research Service (CRS) from 1990 to 2015. Ms. Kan speaks at events and writes analyses that have appeared widely in publications. She attended the Commandant's National Security Program at the Army War College in 2012. During the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-1996, she directly assisted the Defense Attaché at the Embassy in Beijing. At the Consulate in Shenyang in 1989, she reported on the pro-democracy movement and political-military crisis, while serving as the Political Intern. Ms. Kan graduated *cum laude* from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School.

**Michael Beckley** is a Jeane Kirkpatrick Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), where his research focuses on US-China competition, long-term trends in the US-China power balance, US alliances and grand strategy, and US economic and defense policy in East Asia. Concurrently, he is an associate professor at Tufts University. Previously, Dr. Beckley worked at the Harvard Kennedy School, the US Department of Defense, the RAND Corporation, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. Beckley is the author of "Unrivaled: Why America Will Remain the World's Sole Superpower" (Cornell University Press, 2018). He has also been published in a variety of academic journals and in the popular press. These include *International Security*, the *Journal of East Asian Studies*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Financial Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Harvard Business Review*, and *The Washington Post*. His broadcast appearances include NPR's "On Point." He has a PhD in political science from Columbia University and a BA in international studies from Emory University.

**Closing Keynote (video):**

**Mr. W. Brent Christensen** assumed the position of Director of the American Institute in Taiwan in August 2018. Mr. Christensen has been in the United States Foreign Service for more than 30 years and has extensive experience in senior positions relating to Taiwan and China. Mr. Christensen was Deputy Director of the American Institute in Taiwan's Taipei office. Prior to that, he was Director of the State Department's Office of Taiwan Coordination, where he had a primary role in formulating U.S. policy toward Taiwan. He has served three assignments at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, the most recent being Environment, Science, Technology and Health Counselor. Mr. Christensen has also served as a Senior Level Career Development Advisor in the State Department's Human Resources Bureau. Prior to that assignment, he served as the Foreign Policy Advisor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS). Other overseas postings include Hong Kong and South Africa. Mr. Christensen also served as a Congressional Fellow on the staff of Senator Olympia Snowe. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he served as a captain in the U.S. Air Force. Mr. Christensen is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service and holds the personal rank of Minister-Counselor. Mr. Christensen earned an M.A. in East Asian Studies from the George Washington University, a B.A. in Chinese language and literature from Brigham Young University and has also received a DMD degree from the Oregon Health and Sciences University.