

GTI 2021 Annual Symposium US-Taiwan Relations: Forging a 21st Century Agenda

September 15-16, 2021

[Day 1](#): 8:15 am – 1:00 pm

[Day 2](#): 8:50 am – 1:00 pm

Webinar

Platform: Webex

Agenda:

September 15 (Day 1)

8:15am – 8:30am

Welcome Remarks

Dr. Wen-Yen Chen (Global Taiwan Institute)

8:30am – 8:40am

Opening Remarks

Ambassador Hsiao Bi-khim (Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in the US)

8:40am – 9:00am

Opening Keynote

H.E. Dr. Jaushieh Joseph Wu (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan)

9:00am – 10:30am

Panel One: Grand Strategy

Panelists:

David Stilwell (Fmr. Assistant Secretary of State)

Amb. Derek Mitchell (National Democratic Institute)

Nobukatsu Kanehara (Doshisha University)

Matthew Kroenig (Atlantic Council)

Vincent Chao (Center for Strategic and International Studies)

Moderator: Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)

10:30am – 12:00pm

Panel Two: Economics, Trade, and Development

Panelists:

Bonnie Glick (Center for Strategic and International Studies)

Rick F. Ruzicka III (Fmr. American Institute in Taiwan)

Robert Wang (Global Taiwan Institute)

Kristy Tsun-Tzu Hsu (Taiwan Asia Exchange Foundation/Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research)

Eric Sayers (American Enterprise Institute)

Moderator: Riley Walters (Global Taiwan Institute/Hudson Institute)

12:00pm – 1:00pm

Keynote

A Conversation with United States Representative Ami Bera

Moderator: Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)

September 16 (Day 2)

8:50am – 9:00am

Opening Remarks

Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)

9:00am – 10:30am

Panel Three: Defense & Security

Panelists:

Elbridge Colby (Marathon Initiative)

Matt Turpin (Hoover Institute)

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

John Dotson (Global Taiwan Institute)

Shirley Kan (Global Taiwan Institute)

Moderator: Lt. Gen (ret.) Wallace ‘Chip’ Gregson (Global Taiwan Institute/Center for the National Interest)

10:30am – 12:00pm

Panel Four: Internationalizing the Taiwan Strait

Panelists:

Alex Wong (Hudson Institute)

Walter Lohman (Heritage Foundation)

Ryan Hass (Brookings Institute)

Bonnie Glaser (German Marshall Fund)

I-Chung Lai (Prospect Foundation)

Moderator: Amb. (ret.) Stephen Young (Global Taiwan Institute)

12:00pm – 1:00pm

Closing Keynote

A Fireside Chat with Amb. (ret.) Robert O'Brien

Moderator: Alexander Gray (Global Taiwan Institute/American Foreign Policy Council)

Global Taiwan Institute: About Us

The Global Taiwan Institute (GTI) serves as a policy incubator for ideas that help to enhance US-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, US-Taiwan relations, and Taiwan-China ties using primary materials.

Podcasts: Two regular podcasts featuring a wide range of guests and speakers, all discussing matters related to Taiwan and its relationship with the world.

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 US-Taiwan policy.

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

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Participant Bios

Day 1 (September 15, 2021)

Welcome Remarks:

Dr. Wen-Yen Chen is the chairman of the Board of Directors at the Global Taiwan Institute. Chen was born in Taiwan, received his B.S. and M.S. degrees from the National Taiwan University, and a Ph.D. in psychology from The City University of New York, NY. 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. 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 the Northern American Taiwanese Professors' Association, president and executive director of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs, and advisor to the Taiwan President's Office. Chen was the recipient of a Fulbright Travel Award to China, the Taiwanese American Foundation Award for Public Service, and Care, Inc. for his community service.

Opening Remarks:

Ambassador Bi-khim Hsiao assumed her position as Taiwan's Representative to the United States in July 2020, after serving as a senior advisor 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 advisor 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 M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University in New York and a B.A. 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 of 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 The Ohio State University.

Panel One: Grand 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. 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:

David R. Stilwell is the former assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Prior to his appointment as assistant secretary on June 20, 2019, he served in the Air Force for 35 years, beginning as an enlisted Korean linguist in 1980, and retiring in 2015 in the rank of Brigadier General as the Asia advisor to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. He served multiple tours of duty in Japan and Korea as a linguist, a fighter pilot, and a commander. He also served as the defense attaché at the US Embassy in Beijing, People's Republic of China, 2011-2013. Most recently, Stilwell served as the director of the China Strategic Focus Group at US Indo-Pacific Command in Hawaii 2017-2019 and an adjunct senior fellow at the East West Center in Honolulu from 2016-2019. He earned a B.S. in history from the US Air Force Academy (1987), a master's in Asian studies and Chinese language from the University of Hawaii at Manoa (1988), and is a 2009 graduate of the Executive Leadership program at the Darden School, University of Virginia. He was awarded the Department of Defense Superior Service Award in 2015.

Amb. Derek Mitchell is the third president of the National Democratic Institute. From 2012-2016, Mitchell served as US Ambassador to the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (Burma). He was America's first ambassador to the country in 22 years. From 2011-12, he served as the US Department of State's first special representative and policy coordinator for Burma, with the rank of ambassador. Prior to this appointment, Mitchell served as principal deputy assistant secretary of defense, Asian and Pacific Security Affairs (APSA), in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. In that capacity, he spent six months as acting APSA assistant secretary of defense, and was responsible for overseeing the Defense Department's security policy in Northeast, Southeast, South, and Central Asia. For his service, he received the Office of the Secretary of Defense Award for Distinguished Public Service in August 2011. Most recently, Mitchell has been a senior advisor at the Albright Stonebridge Group, the United States Institute of Peace, and the

Center for Strategic and International Studies, as well as a lecturer for the Stanford-in-Washington program. Mitchell has authored numerous books, articles, policy reports, and opinion pieces on international affairs. He is the coauthor of *China: The Balance Sheet—What the World Needs to Know Now about the Emerging Superpower* (2006), and *China and the Developing World: Beijing's Strategy for the 21st Century* (2007). Mitchell received a M.A. in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University and a B.A. from the University of Virginia. He was a visiting scholar at Peking University in 2007. He speaks Mandarin Chinese proficiently.

Nobukatsu Kanehara is a professor at Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan. Previously, 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.

Matthew Kroenig is a professor in the Department of Government and the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He is the author or editor of seven books and his articles have appeared in a wide range of publications, including *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*. Kroenig is also the director of the Global Strategy Initiative and deputy director of the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security at the Atlantic Council. He writes a bi-weekly column for *Foreign Policy*. He has served as a national security advisor on the presidential campaigns of Mitt Romney (2012), Scott Walker (2016), and Marco Rubio (2016). He has served in several positions in the US Department of Defense and the intelligence community in the Bush, Obama, and Trump Administrations, including in the Strategy office in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the CIA's Strategic Assessments Group. Kroenig received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

Vincent Chao is an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Previously, he served as the director of the political division at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) 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: Economics, Trade, and Development

Moderator:

Riley Walters is deputy director of the Japan Chair at the Hudson Institute, as well as a senior non-resident fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute. He was formerly the senior policy analyst and economist at the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. He specializes in macroeconomic issues as well as issues on foreign investment, trade, and technology. Walters has appeared on national television and radio extensively. In the past, he has written for a variety of publications including *The Diplomat*, *The Hill*, *Washington Times*, *The National Interest*, *Fox Business*, and more. Walters is a former Penn Kemble Fellow with the National Endowment for Democracy and a George C. Marshall Fellow with the Heritage Foundation. He was a Mosaic Taiwan Fellow with Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is a National Security Fellow with the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Riley attended Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan received his bachelor's and master's degrees in economics from George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia.

Panelists:

Bonnie Glick is a senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and formerly served as the deputy administrator of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Prior to her appointment, Glick was served as the senior vice president for Meridian's GlobalConnect Division, worked for twelve years with IBM, and served twelve years as a US diplomat in the Department of State. While at IBM, Glick served in a variety of positions, ranging from account executive in the Global Business Services Division to business development executive in IBM's Research Division. At the State Department, she served tours of duty in the US Mission to the United Nations during Operation Desert Shield, in the US Embassy in Addis Ababa Ethiopia as the country transitioned out of 17 years of communist rule, and in the US Embassy in Managua Nicaragua in the period immediately after the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas. She returned to Washington to serve on the Secretary of State's Operations Center Staff, followed by two years as a senior officer in the White House Situation Room, and then in the State Department's Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs. Glick holds a B.A. in Government/International Relations from Cornell University, an M.A. in international affairs from Columbia University, and an MBA from the Robert H. Smith School of Business at the University of Maryland. She speaks Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Amharic, French, and Russian.

Francis Rick F. Ruzicka III was formerly the director for trade and commercial programs at the American Institute in Taiwan's (AIT) Washington, DC office. In that capacity, he was responsible, in coordination with USTR, for the development, negotiation, and implementation of AIT's economic, trade, and commercial policy, programs, and agreements with Taiwan on behalf of the US Government. From 1996 until rejoining AIT in 1999, Ruzicka was the deputy assistant US trade representative for Asia and the Pacific, responsible for developing policy and negotiating trade agreements with Indonesia, Korea, India, Pakistan, and other South Asian countries. Ruzicka worked at USTR for 17 years developing trade policy and negotiating agreements in the functional areas of textiles and agriculture with Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, and Taiwan. He was instrumental in the negotiation of Taiwan's accession to the GATT and later WTO, as well as the TIFA in 1994. From 1983 to 1986, Ruzicka was the chief of the Commercial Unit at the American Institute in Taiwan. When he returned to USTR in 1986, Rick negotiated the market access package in the US-Canada Free-Trade Agreement (FTA). From 1976 to 1979, he negotiated market access agreements with Asian developing countries during the GATT Tokyo Round multilateral trade negotiations. He received a B.A. from Holy Cross College and an M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

Robert Wang is a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and an adjunct professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. Wang was a career foreign service officer in the US Department of State from 1984 to 2016. He also served as the senior US official for APEC from 2013 to 2015. From 2011 to 2013, Wang was the deputy chief of mission at the US embassy in Beijing and from 2006 to 2009 the deputy director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT). He was an adjunct professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service from 2015 to 2016, as well as a visiting fellow with the Freeman Chair in China Studies at CSIS from 2009 to 2010. Wang attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at the National Defense University (2000–2001) and earned his Ph.D. in political science at the University of Iowa in 1976. He is the author of *Taiwan's Vibrant Democracy and Beleaguered Economy* (CSIS, August 2016).

Kristy Tsun-Tzu Hsu is the director of the Taiwan-ASEAN Studies Center at the Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research (CIER), Taiwan. She also serves as an advisor for the Taiwanese government's Asian, in particular Southeast Asian and Indian policy, including the New Southbound Policy, as well as on other trade-related policy areas. Additionally, she leads the Joint Feasibility Study of FTA with a number of other Asian countries. She currently serves as an adjunct research fellow at the Taiwan-Asia Exchange Foundation (TAEF), senior advisor to the Taiwan Chamber of Commerce in Vietnam, advisory member of the Trade and Development Committee of the ROC National Confederation of Industries and the International Affairs Committee of ROC Chamber of Commerce, advisor to the Council of Taiwanese Chambers of Commerce in Vietnam, advisor to the Association of Foreign Relations, and advisor to the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce, or CNAIC's monthly publication CNAIC Magazine, and Standing Supervisor to Taiwan Women Film/Video Association. She was the executive secretary and associate research fellow at the Chinese Taipei APEC Study Center, Taiwan Institute of Economic Research (TIER) from 1998-2003. She has also served as a journalist with the *Commercial Times* in Taiwan from 1989-1997, as well as correspondent in Tokyo in 1990. Hsu obtained her LLM from the School of Law, Soochow University, Taiwan, and B.A. from the Department of Foreign Literature and Languages of National Taiwan University, Taiwan.

Eric Sayers is a nonresident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). He also serves as vice president at Beacon Global Strategies, a national security consulting firm in Washington, DC. Previously, he served as an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Prior to joining BGS, Sayers was a consultant to the Commander's Action Group at US 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. Sayers has published in *War on the Rocks*, *Joint Forces Quarterly*, the *Naval War College Review*, *Defense News*, *The National Review*, and the US Naval Institute's *Proceedings Magazine*. 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.

Keynote

Congressman Ami Bera has represented California's 7th Congressional District in the US House of Representatives since 2013. The 7th district is located just east of California's capital city, Sacramento, and lies entirely within Sacramento County. Representative Bera is currently a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where he serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, Central Asia, and Nonproliferation. He is also a senior member on the House Committee on Science, Space, and Technology. Congressman Bera is also vice chair for outreach for the New Democrat Coalition, a group of over 100 forward-thinking Democrats who are committed to pro-economic growth, pro-innovation, and fiscally responsible policies. Congressman Bera is the longest-serving Indian American serving in Congress. He has lived in Elk Grove, California for over 20 years with his wife Janine, who is also a medical doctor. They are proud parents to their daughter, Sydra.

Day 2 (September 16, 2021)

Panel Three: Defense & Security

Moderator:

Lt. Gen. (ret.) Wallace “Chip” Gregson is a member of GTI’s Advisory Board and formerly served as the assistant secretary of defense for 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 US Naval Academy, and a M.A. in strategic planning from the Naval War College, and international relations from Salve Regina College.

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. Formerly, he served as the director of the Defense Program at the Center for a New American Security, where he led CNAS’ work on defense issues. Previously, 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 US 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 US 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. He is the author of the forthcoming *The Strategy of Denial: American Defense in an Age of Great Power Conflict* (Yale University Press, 2021).

Matt Turpin is a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution specializing in US policy towards the People’s Republic of China, economic statecraft, and technology innovation. He is also a senior

advisor at Palantir Technologies. From 2018 to 2019, Turpin served as the US National Security Council's Director for China and the Senior Advisor on China to the Secretary of Commerce. In those roles, he was responsible for managing the interagency effort to develop and implement US Government policies on the People's Republic of China. Before entering the White House, Turpin served over 22 years in the US Army in a variety of combat units in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, and was also an assistant professor of history at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He retired from the Army in 2017. From 2013 to 2017, he served as an advisor on the People's Republic of China to the Chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon and was assigned to assist the deputy secretary of defense with the Defense Innovation Initiative, a program to examine the implications of great power competition on the Department of Defense and the role of innovation in US defense policy. From 2010 to 2013, Turpin was the chief of crisis planning at the United States Pacific Command in Honolulu. There he assisted in the planning and implementation of policies and operations for America's largest Combatant Command. Turpin has a M.A. in history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a B.S. from the United States Military Academy at West Point.

Lt. Col. (ret.) Mark Stokes 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 US 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, as well as graduate degrees in international relations and Asian studies from Boston University and the Naval Postgraduate School, respectively. He has a working proficiency in Mandarin Chinese.

John Dotson is the deputy director at the Global Taiwan Institute. Dotson has performed extensive writing and research on a range of political and national security issues related to US policy in East Asia, including Chinese propaganda and influence efforts, military-civil fusion efforts within the People's Liberation Army, and patterns in military coercion efforts directed against Taiwan. He is a proficient Mandarin linguist who has performed extensive original research in indigenous Chinese language sources. Dotson holds an M.A. in national security studies from the US Naval War College, and a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins-SAIS.

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. 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. Kan graduated *cum laude* from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School.

Panel Four: Internationalizing the Taiwan Strait

Moderator:

Amb. (ret.) Stephen Young is a member of GTI's Advisory Board. Previously, he served as a US diplomat for over 33 years, with assignments in Washington, Taipei, Moscow, Beijing, Kyrgyzstan, and Hong Kong. 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. He earned a B.A. at Wesleyan University and a Ph.D. in history at the University of Chicago. Young speaks Russian and Mandarin Chinese.

Panelists:

Alex Wong is a senior fellow at Hudson Institute. His research spans US national security policy and foreign affairs, with a particular focus on US strategy in the Indo-Pacific region and the future of the Korean Peninsula. Wong is a commissioner on the US-China Economic & Security Review Commission, a bi-partisan panel appointed by Congress to examine the national security implications of the trade and economic relationship with China. Wong most recently served in the executive branch as the deputy special representative for North Korea and the deputy assistant secretary for North Korea at the US Department of State. Prior to assuming these duties, Wong led the State Department's efforts to implement the Free & Open Indo-Pacific Strategy as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Regional & Security Affairs in the State Department's East Asia Bureau. In 2020, Wong was nominated and unanimously approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to be the US Ambassador for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations, a position in which he would have represented the United States on all matters before the UN Security Council. Wong is a licensed attorney and spent years counseling Fortune 100 clients on international trade and governmental investigations matters at a Washington, DC-based international firm. He began his legal career as a clerk for the honorable Janice Rogers Brown of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. Wong received his J.D. with high honors from Harvard Law School where he was the managing editor of the *Harvard Law Review* and an editor of the *Harvard International Law Journal*. He graduated *summa cum laude* from the University of Pennsylvania with a bachelor's degree in English literature and French.

Walter Lohman is the director of the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. In addition to his management responsibilities, Lohman is a policy analyst focused on US relations with its treaty allies in Japan, South Korea, and Australia, as well as with India and the countries of Southeast Asia. He is also the leading voice at Heritage on the US-Taiwan relationship, and is a close observer of China policy. Lohman joined Heritage in 2006 as senior research fellow for Southeast Asia, Australia, and New Zealand, and was promoted to director the following spring. Since 2013, he has also served as an adjunct professor at Georgetown University, where he has

led graduate seminars on American foreign policy interests in Southeast Asia and the role of Congress in Asia policy. Lohman previously served for four years as senior vice president and executive director of the US-ASEAN Business Council. There, he oversaw the regional trade association's mission of building the United States' market share in Southeast Asia, opened the organization's offices in Indonesia and Thailand, and led multiple delegations of Fortune 500 companies to the region. The formative years of Lohman's career were spent on Capitol Hill. In 2002, he served as a senior professional Republican staffer advising then-Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC), the ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, on issues affecting East Asia. From 1991 to 1996, Lohman was a policy aide to Sen. John McCain (R-AZ), advising him on foreign policy, trade and defense issues and drafting related legislation. Lohman holds a bachelor's degree in humanities from Virginia Wesleyan College and a master's degree in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia.

Ryan Hass is a senior fellow and the Michael H. Armacost Chair in the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution, where he holds a joint appointment to the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for East Asia Policy Studies. He is also the Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies. He was part of the inaugural class of David M. Rubenstein fellows at Brookings and is a nonresident affiliated fellow in the Paul Tsai China Center at Yale Law School. Hass focuses his research and analysis on enhancing policy development on the pressing political, economic, and security challenges facing the United States in East Asia. From 2013 to 2017, Hass served as the director for China, Taiwan and Mongolia at the National Security Council (NSC) staff. In that role, he advised President Obama and senior White House officials on all aspects of US policy toward China, Taiwan, and Mongolia, and coordinated the implementation of US policy toward this region among US government departments and agencies. He joined President Obama's state visit delegations in Beijing and Washington respectively in 2014 and 2015, and the president's delegation to Hangzhou, China, for the G-20 in 2016, and to Lima, Peru, for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders Meetings in 2016. Prior to joining the NSC, Hass served as a foreign service at the US Embassy in Beijing, where he earned the State Department Director General's award for impact and originality in reporting, an award given annually to the officer whose reporting had the greatest impact on the formulation of US foreign policy. Hass also served in Embassy Seoul and Embassy Ulaanbaatar, and domestically in the State Department Offices of Taiwan Coordination and Korean Affairs. Hass received multiple Superior Honor and Meritorious Honor commendations during his 15-year tenure in the Foreign Service. He graduated from the University of Washington and attended the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies prior to joining the State Department.

Bonnie S. Glaser is director of the Asia Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. She was previously senior advisor for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Glaser is concomitantly a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia, and a senior associate with the Pacific Forum. For more than three decades, Glaser has worked at the intersection of Asia-Pacific geopolitics and US policy. From 2008 to mid-2015, she was a senior advisor 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 US government offices, including the Departments of Defense and State. 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 US 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. 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.

I-Chung Lai is the president of the Prospect Foundation and the executive director of the International Affairs committee of the Taichung City Government. He is also an assistant professor at Mackay College for Medicine and Management. Lai previously served as director general of the Department of International Affairs (2007-2008) and director general of the Department of China Affairs (2006-2008) in the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Prior to that, he was special assistant for policy to the Taiwan Representative to Japan (2000-2003), executive director for the DPP Mission in the United States (1999-2000). He received his Ph.D. from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) and has been a visiting researcher at Cornell University.

Closing Keynote: A Fireside Chat with Amb. (ret.) Robert O'Brien

Moderator:

Alexander Gray is a senior non-resident fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute and a managing partner at American Global Strategies LLC. Previously, he served as deputy assistant to the President and chief of staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC) from 2019 to 2021, where he managed the National Security Advisor's Front Office and was responsible for all personnel, budget and security functions of the NSC. Gray was the first-ever director for Oceania and Indo-Pacific Security at the NSC, responsible for US relations with Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands. He represented the US at numerous international conferences, including the 2019 Pacific Islands Forum in Tuvalu, and intelligence and diplomatic exchanges with Australia and New Zealand. Previously, Gray served as the special assistant to the President for the Defense Industrial Base at the White House National Economic Council (NEC). As the principal official in the Executive Office of the President responsible for the defense industrial base and supply chain resiliency, Gray authored Executive Order 13806, the first-ever whole-of-government assessment of the defense industrial base, and led the interagency team supervising its implementation. In addition to his Executive Branch service, Gray served as a member of the 2016 Presidential Transition Team at the US Department of State and as Senior Advisor to former US Rep. J. Randy Forbes (R-VA), primarily supporting his Chairmanship of the Seapower & Projection Forces Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee and the Congressional China Caucus. A term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Gray is a member of the Board of Visitors of the US Coast Guard Academy for a three-year term. His writings have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The National Interest*, *Newsweek*, *The Hill*, *The Diplomat*, *The Oklahoman*, *National Review Online*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, *Real Clear Defense*, *Naval War College Review*, and the Proceedings of the US Naval Institute. Gray is a graduate of the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University (B.A. international affairs) and is a recipient of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service and the National Security Council's Outstanding Service Award.

Speaker:

Ambassador Robert O'Brien served as the 28th United States National Security Advisor from 2019 to 2021. Previously, he served as the Special Presidential Envoy for Hostage Affairs, with the personal rank of Ambassador, from 2018 to 2019. Ambassador O'Brien's previous government posts include service as US Alternate Representative to the United Nations General Assembly; Co-Chairman of the State Department's Public-Private Partnership for Justice Reform in Afghanistan; and as a Member of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee. A practicing attorney in Los Angeles for over three decades, Ambassador O'Brien holds degrees from the University of California-Berkeley School of Law and the University of California-Los Angeles. He served in the U.S. Army Reserve's Judge Advocate General's Corps, with the rank of Major.