

**GTI 2022 Annual Symposium**  
**US-Taiwan Relations: Advancing a Rules-Based International Order**

October 5, 2022

8:20 AM – 4:10 PM

1777 F Street NW, Rockefeller-Peterson Room

[Livestream Available Here](#)

**Agenda:**

- 8:20 AM – 8:30 AM      **Welcome Remarks**
- Jennifer Hu, Chair of the Board of Directors, Global Taiwan Institute
- 8:30 AM – 8:40 AM      **Opening Remarks (Video)**
- Amb. Hsiao Bi-khim, Representative to the United States, Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office
- 8:40 AM – 8:55 AM      **Opening Keynote (Video)**
- H.E. Tsai Ing-wen, President, Republic of China (Taiwan)
- 9:00 AM – 10:30 AM      **Panel One: Grand Strategy Post-Russian Invasion of Ukraine**
- Panelists:  
Victor Cha (Center for Strategic and International Studies)  
Nobukatsu Kanehara (Doshisha University)  
Miles Yu (Hudson Institute)  
Ash Jain (Atlantic Council)
- Moderator: Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)
- 10:30 AM – 10:40 AM      **Coffee Break**
- 10:40 AM – 12:10 PM      **Panel Two: Economic Security, Tech, and Trade**
- Panelists:  
Christian Castro (Former State Department)  
Shihoko Goto (Woodrow Wilson Center)  
Amb. Kurt Tong (The Asia Group)  
Jonathan Ward (Atlas Organization)

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

12:10 PM – 1:00 PM      **Luncheon Keynote**

1:00 PM – 2:30 PM      **Panel Three: Cross-Strait Relations and Internationalization of the Strait**

Panelists:

Amb. Raymond Burghardt (Former American Institute in Taiwan Chairman)

Bonnie Glaser (German Marshall Fund)

Michael Mazza (Global Taiwan Institute/German Marshall Fund/American Enterprise Institute)

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

Moderator: John Dotson (Global Taiwan Institute)

2:30 PM – 2:40 PM      **Coffee Break**

2:40 PM – 4:10 PM      **Panel Four: Integrated Deterrence, Defense, and Security Cooperation**

Panelists:

Lt. Col. (ret.) Ivan Kanapathy (Center for Strategic and International Studies)

Cmdr. (ret.) Vincent P. Chen (Global Taiwan Institute)

Shirley Kan (Global Taiwan Institute)

Toshi Yoshihara (Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments)

Moderator: Lt. Gen. (ret.) Wallace “Chip” Gregson (Global Taiwan Institute/Sasakawa Peace Foundation)

### 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:** Three 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**

### **Welcome Remarks:**

**Jennifer Hu** is the chair of the board of directors at the Global Taiwan Institute. A GTI co-founder, she previously served as vice chair of the board of directors from 2016-2020, before becoming chair in 2020. At GTI, she leads the institute's strategic growth and development, planning, and fundraising initiatives. In addition to her work at GTI, she is responsible for legal and regulatory issues related to the operation of a proposed high-speed passenger rail system in Texas. She also advises on federal regulatory, policy, and legislative issues related to high-speed rail, railroad safety, and surface transportation. Ms. Hu serves as a voting member representing rail passengers on a federal advisory committee and also serves on two Transportation Research Board standing committees. Prior to joining the Texas project in 2010, she spent several years in Taiwan where she held public service positions including presidential aide at the Office of the President of Taiwan, and the director-general of the Bureau of Civil Affairs at the Tainan City Government. She received a BS from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an MSFS from Georgetown University, and a JD and LLM from The George Washington University Law School. She is a member of the New York and Texas Bars.

### **Opening Remarks:**

**Ambassador Hsiao Bi-khim** 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, [www.globaltaiwan.org](http://www.globaltaiwan.org) 5 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 MA in political science from Columbia University in New York and a BA in East Asian studies from Oberlin College, Ohio.

### **Opening Keynote:**

**H.E. Tsai Ing-wen** is the president of the Republic of China (Taiwan). She joined the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2004 and became a DPP legislator at-large (2005-2006). She was then appointed to serve as vice premier (2006-2007). After the DPP returned to the opposition, Dr. Tsai was elected DPP chairperson for two successive terms (2008-2010 and

2010-2012), the first woman to chair a major political party in Taiwan. She returned as DPP chairperson in 2014, a position she held until 2018. Dr. Tsai represented the DPP in Taiwan's presidential election in 2012, becoming Taiwan's first female presidential candidate. She ran again as the DPP candidate in 2016, and was elected as the nation's president. The first female head of state in Taiwan's history, Dr. Tsai is also the first female head of state in Asia who was not born into a political family. Dr. Tsai represented the DPP in the nation's presidential election in 2020 and was successfully re-elected with over 8.17 million votes, the highest total in history. Dr. Tsai was officially sworn in as the President in May and concurrently serves as DPP chairperson. Dr. Tsai graduated from National Taiwan University with a Bachelor of Laws degree in 1978. She then studied in the US and the UK, obtaining a Master of Laws degree from Cornell University Law School in 1980 and a PhD in Law from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1984, specializing in international trade law and competition law.

**Panel One: Grand Strategy Post-Russian Invasion of Ukraine***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:*

**Victor Cha** is the senior vice president for Asia and Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). He joined CSIS in May 2009 as a senior adviser and the inaugural holder of the Korea Chair. He is professor of government and holds the D.S. Song-KF Chair in the Department of Government and the School of Foreign Service (SFS) at Georgetown University. In July 2019, he was appointed vice dean for faculty and graduate affairs in SFS. He left the White House in 2007 after serving since 2004 as director for Asian affairs at the National Security Council (NSC). At the White House, he was responsible primarily for Japan, the Korean peninsula, Australia/New Zealand, and Pacific Island nation affairs. Dr. Cha was also the deputy head of delegation for the United States at the Six-Party Talks in Beijing and received two outstanding service commendations during his tenure at the NSC. He is the author of five books, including the award-winning *Alignment Despite Antagonism: The United States-Korea-Japan Security Triangle* (Stanford University Press, 1999) (winner of the 2000 Ohira Book Prize) and *The Impossible State: North Korea, Past and Future* (Harper Collins Ecco, 2012), which was selected by *Foreign Affairs* as a "Best Book on the Asia-Pacific for 2012." His newest book is *Powerplay: Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia* (Princeton University Press, 2016).

**Ash Jain** is director for democratic order with the Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security, where he oversees the Atlantic Council's Democratic Order Initiative and D-10 Strategy Forum. His work focuses on strengthening cooperation among democracies and advancing a rules-based, democratic order. He previously served as a member of the Secretary of State's policy planning staff. Jain was a Bosch public policy fellow with the German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Academy and executive director for the Project for a United and Strong America, where he coordinated a bipartisan foreign policy task force to produce a blueprint for a values-based national security strategy. He also served as an adviser for the White House Office of Global

Communications and with the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. He is the author or co-author of several publications, including *Present at the Re-Creation: A Global Strategy to Revitalize, Adapt, and Defend the Rules-Based International System*; *An Alliance of Democracies: From Concept to Reality in an Era of Strategic Competition*; *Countering China's Challenge to the Free World*; *Strategy of Constraint: Countering Russia's Challenge to the Democratic Order*; and *Nuclear Weapons and Iran's Global Ambitions: Troubling Scenarios*.

**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. 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, DC; 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.

**Miles Yu** is a senior fellow and director of the China Center at Hudson Institute. He is also a professor of East Asia and military and naval history at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Dr. Yu specializes in Chinese military and strategic culture, U.S. and Chinese military and diplomatic history, and U.S. policy toward China. Dr. Yu joined the Trump administration and served as the China policy adviser to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. In that capacity, he advised the secretary on all China-related issues, helped overhaul U.S. policy toward China, and participated in key U.S. government interagency deliberations on major policy and government actions with regard to China and other East Asian countries, including Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. He is a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution as a member of the Military History/Contemporary Conflict Working Group. From 2011 to 2016, he wrote the weekly column "Inside China" for the *Washington Times*. Since 1996, he has been an editorial consultant to Radio Free Asia, and a contributor to various media outlets including the *Wall Street Journal* and PBS News Hour. Dr. Yu received a doctorate in history from the University of California, Berkeley, a master's degree from Swarthmore College, and a bachelor's degree from Nankai University.



## **Panel Two: Economic Security, Tech, and Trade**

### *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:*

**Christian Castro** is a former senior foreign service officer with the US Department of State. During his time at the State Department, he served in a variety of positions within the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, including director of the Office of Taiwan Coordination, director of the Office of Multilateral (ASEAN) Affairs, and senior advisor for cyber policy. He received his BA in international relations from Georgetown University and his MA in national security policy studies from National Defense University. He also completed a graduate fellowship at National Chengchi University.

**Shihoko Goto** is the director for geoeconomics and Indo-Pacific enterprise and deputy director for the Asia Program at the Wilson Center. She specializes in trade relations and economic issues across the Indo-Pacific, and is also focused on the political developments in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. She is also a columnist for *The Diplomat* magazine and contributing editor to *The Globalist*. She was a fellow of the Mansfield Foundation/Japan Foundation US-Japan Network for the Future for 2014 to 2016. Prior to joining the Wilson Center, she was a financial journalist covering the international political economy with a focus on Asian markets. As a correspondent for *Dow Jones News Service* and *United Press International* based in Tokyo and Washington, she has reported extensively on policies impacting the global financial system as well as international trade. She was also formerly a donor country relations officer at the World Bank. She received the Freeman Foundation's Jefferson journalism fellowship at the East-West Center and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation's journalism fellowship for the Salzburg Global Seminar. She is fluent in Japanese and French. She received an MA in international political theory from the Graduate School of Political Science, Waseda University, Japan, and a BA in modern history, from Trinity College, University of Oxford, UK.

**Amb. Kurt Tong** is a partner and member of the Executive Committee at The Asia Group, where he leads the firm's work in Japan and Hong Kong, and on East Asia regional policy

matters. Prior to joining The Asia Group, Ambassador Tong served as consul general and chief of mission in Hong Kong and Macau, leading US political and economic engagement with that important free trade hub. Prior to that role, he served as the principal deputy assistant secretary for economic and business affairs at the State Department from 2014 to 2016, guiding the Department's institutional strengthening efforts as its most senior career diplomat handling economic affairs. He also served as the deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires at the US Embassy in Tokyo from 2011 to 2014, where he played a key role in setting the stage for Japan's entry into the Trans-Pacific Partnership and supporting Japan's recovery from the Great East Japan Earthquake. In 2013, he received the Cordell Hull Award for Economic Achievement by Senior Officers for his outstanding success in advancing US economic interests by reducing trade barriers, increasing market access for American products, and enhancing international cooperation across the Asia Pacific region. He also received Presidential Meritorious Service Awards for 2011 and 2018. Earlier in his career, Ambassador Tong served as economic minister-counselor in Seoul, counselor for environment, science, and health at the US Embassy in Beijing, deputy treasury attaché in Tokyo, and as an economic officer in Manila.

**Jonathan Ward** is the founder and president at the Atlas Organization, a strategic advisory firm focused on US-China competition. He is the author of *China's Vision of Victory*, a handbook to the global strategy of the Chinese Communist Party which utilizes numerous primary documents to explain their near and long-term vision in their own words. Dr. Ward is an expert on Chinese global strategy and US-China competition. He earned his PhD in China-India relations at the University of Oxford and his undergraduate degree at Columbia University where he studied the Russian and Chinese languages.

**Luncheon Keynote**

**Ambassador James F. Moriarty** is the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT). Prior to this position, he served as special assistant to the President of the United States and senior director for Asia at the National Security Council (2002-2004). In that role, he advised the President and coordinated US policy on East Asia, Southeast Asia, the Pacific, and South Asia. Moriarty served previously as director for China affairs at the National Security Council (2001-2002). He led the political sections at the US Embassy in Beijing (1998-2001) and the American Institute in Taiwan (1995-1998). In Beijing, he helped negotiate agreements that put to rest tensions resulting from the US bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade and the collision of a Chinese fighter jet with a US EP3. In Taipei, he helped create the template for the United States to work with a democratically elected Taiwan administration. Moriarty was also US ambassador to Bangladesh (2008-2011) and Nepal (2004-2007). Earlier assignments in Moriarty's 36-year career as a US diplomat included additional postings in Taipei (1988-1989) and Beijing (1989-1991), as well as work in Washington, DC, South Asia, and Africa. Since retiring from the Foreign Service in 2011, Ambassador Moriarty has worked in the private sector and as an independent consultant.

### Panel Three: Cross-Strait Relations and Internationalization of the Strait

#### *Moderator:*

**John Dotson** is the deputy director at GTI. John 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 MA in National Security Studies from the US Naval War College, and a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins-SAIS.

#### *Panelists:*

**Ambassador Raymond Burghardt** served as the chairman of the Board of Trustees at the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) from February 2006 to September 2016. He has also served as US Ambassador to Vietnam from 2001 to 2004, deputy chief of mission at the US embassies in Manila (1993-96) and Seoul (1990-93), and political counselor in Beijing (1987-89). Ambassador Burghardt received his BA from Columbia College in 1967 and completed his graduate studies at the Columbia School of International and Public Affairs.

**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 Department of Defense's Defense Policy Board China Panel in 1997. Glaser received her BA in political science from Boston University and her MA with concentrations in international economics and Chinese studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

**Michael Mazza** is a senior non-resident fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute. He is also a visiting fellow in foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), where he analyzes US defense policy in the Asia-Pacific region, Chinese military modernization,

cross-Strait relations, Korean Peninsula security, and US strategy in Southeast Asia. Mazza has contributed to numerous AEI studies on Asian security issues. He was recognized as a 2010-2011 Foreign Policy Initiative Future Leader.

**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 BA 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.

**Panel Four: Integrated Deterrence, Defense, and Security Cooperation***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 BA from the US Naval Academy, and an MA in strategic planning from the Naval War College, and international relations from Salve Regina College.

*Panelists:*

**Lt. Col. (ret.) Ivan Kanapathy** is a senior associate (non-resident) at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he also holds the Freeman Chair in China Studies. From March 2018 to July 2021, Kanapathy served on the White House’s National Security Council staff as director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia and deputy senior director for Asian affairs. Prior to this position, he worked at the American Institute in Taiwan, representing US interests and advising on military and security issues in Taipei. Kanapathy holds an MA (with distinction) in East Asia security studies from the Naval Postgraduate School, a BS in physics and economics from Carnegie Mellon University, and an AA and diploma (with highest honors) in Chinese – Mandarin from the Defense Language Institute.

**Cmdr. (ret.) Vincent P. Chen** is a member of the Global Taiwan Institute’s Advisory Board. He retired from active-duty service in June 2021. He served the Navy as a submarine warfare and foreign area officer. Through consecutive navy and joint assignments, Chen acquired in-depth knowledge and insight on Indo-Pacific defense policy and national strategy with a particular focus on China, Taiwan, and cross-Strait issues. For ten consecutive years, he managed aspects of US–China security relations and US–Taiwan defense cooperation at the highest echelon for the United States Navy and the Department of Defense (2011–2021).

**Shirley Kan** is an independent specialist in Asian security affairs whose service for the US Government has included working for Congress at the non-partisan Congressional Research Service (CRS) from 1990 to 2015. She is a founding member of the Global Taiwan Institute’s Advisory Board. Kan participated in the Commandant’s National Security Program at the Army War College in 2012. During the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-1996, she supported the defense attaché at the Embassy in Beijing. In China in 1989, she observed the pro-democracy movement and political-military crisis while serving as the political intern at the Consulate-General in

Shenyang. Kan graduated *cum laude* from Georgetown University and from the University of Michigan's graduate school.

**Toshi Yoshihara** is a senior fellow at Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), as well as a member of the Global Taiwan Institute's Advisory Board. He previously held the John A. van Beuren Chair of Asia-Pacific Studies and was a professor of strategy at the US Naval War College. Dr. Yoshihara has served as a visiting professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University; the School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego; and the Strategy Department of the US Air War College. He currently teaches a graduate course on sea power in the Indo-Pacific at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. His latest book, with James R. Holmes, is the second edition of *Red Star over the Pacific: China's Rise and the Challenge to US Maritime Strategy* (Naval Institute Press, 2019). The book is listed on the US Navy Chief of Naval Operations Professional Reading Program and the Indo-Pacific Command's Professional Development Reading List. In 2016 he was awarded the Navy Meritorious Civilian Service Award in recognition of his scholarship on maritime and strategic affairs at the Naval War College. He holds a PhD from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, an MA from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, and a BSFS from the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.