

**GTI 2024 Annual Symposium
US-Taiwan Relations: An Ironclad Partnership in a
Period of Global Disruption**

October 16, 2024

8:00 AM - 3:30 PM (ET)

1777 F Street NW, Rockefeller-Peterson Room

[Livestream Available Here](#)

Agenda:

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| 8:00 AM – 8:40 AM | Registration |
| 8:40 AM – 8:45 AM | Welcome Remarks

Jennifer Hu
Chair of the Board of Directors, Global Taiwan Institute |
| 8:45 AM – 8:50 AM | Welcome Remarks

Andrea Yang
Deputy Representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural
Representative Office |
| 8:50 AM – 8:55 AM | Welcome Message (video)

Representative John Moolenaar
Chairman of the House Select Committee on the Strategic
Competition Between the United States and the Chinese
Communist Party |
| 9:00 AM – 9:15 AM | Opening Keynote (virtual)

Raymond F. Greene
Director, American Institute in Taiwan |
| 9:15 AM – 10:45 AM | Panel One: Global Disruption and Simultaneous Conflicts:
Middle East, Ukraine, and Taiwan Strait

Panelists:
Jacqueline Deal (Foreign Policy Research Institute)
Alexander Gray (Global Taiwan Institute/American Foreign Policy |

- Council)
I-Chung Lai (Prospect Foundation)
RADM (ret.) Philip W. Yu (Atlantic Council)
- Moderator: Russell Hsiao (Global Taiwan Institute)
- 10:45 AM – 10:50 AM **Coffee Break**
- 10:50 AM – 12:20 PM **Panel Two: Cross-Strait Relations, 2024 Elections, and US Policy**
- Panelists:
W. Brent Christensen (Brigham Young University)
Willy Wo-Lap Lam (The Jamestown Foundation)
Vincent Chao (Taipei City Council)
Matt Salmon (Arizona State University)
- Moderator: Shirley Kan (Global Taiwan Institute)
- 12:20 PM – 1:00 PM **Luncheon Keynote** (video)
- H.E. Dr. Chia-Lung Lin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan (ROC)
- 1:00 PM – 2:45 PM **Panel Three: Defense and Security Assistance**
- Panelists:
RADM (ret.) Mike Studeman, USN (MITRE)
BRIG GEN (ret.) David R. Stilwell (Air Force Academy's Institute for Future Warfare)
Bonny Lin (Center for Strategic & International Studies)
Liza Tobin (Special Competitive Studies Project)
- Moderator: John Dotson (Global Taiwan Institute)
- 2:45 PM – 3:00 PM **Coffee Break**
- 3:00 PM – 3:30 PM **Closing Keynote**
- Michael S. Chase
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for China, Taiwan and Mongolia

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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Welcome Remarks:

Andrea (Yi-shang) Yang is the deputy representative at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in Washington. Prior to her current position, she served as executive director of the Light Foundation, and has held numerous positions in the Democratic Progressive Party—including deputy secretary general, acting secretary general, and director of the News and Public Opinion Department. At the local government level, Yang served as the chief secretary of the Taichung City Cultural Bureau and has worked with grassroots civil servants on local arts and culture work. As a recipient of the United Kingdom’s Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office’s Chevening scholarship, she studied in Australia and the United Kingdom – at the Australian National University and Royal Holloway, University of London, respectively.

Introductory Remarks:

Representative John Moolenaar represents the hardworking residents of Michigan's Second Congressional District, and currently serves as chairman of the House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party. As Michigan’s senior member of the House Committee on Appropriations, Moolenaar is dedicated to holding the federal government accountable to taxpayers. As a member of the committee, he serves on the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies, the Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies, and the Subcommittee on Financial Services and General Government. During his time in Congress, Congressman Moolenaar has focused on improving the lives of the Michiganders. He has introduced legislation to hold the VA accountable to our veterans; to help rural residents get better internet; and to improve the quality-of-care seniors are receiving. Moolenaar brings years of leadership experience in the private and public sectors to Congress. He began his career as a chemist, after graduating from Hope College with a bachelor’s degree in chemistry. Moolenaar then worked in business development, and as a school administrator. Moolenaar has a master’s degree in public administration from Harvard University. From 2003-2008, he served in the Michigan House of Representatives, and in the Michigan State Senate from 2011-2015.

Opening Keynote:

Raymond F. Greene assumed duties as the director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) on July 8, 2024. Prior to this assignment, he served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Tokyo, Japan. He is a member of the State Department’s Senior Foreign Service with the personal rank of Minister-Counselor and has spent his entire 28-year career advancing US diplomatic, economic, and security engagement with the Indo-Pacific region. In Washington, Greene was director for Japan and East Asian Economic Affairs at the National Security Council and Director of the Office of Economic Policy in the State Department’s Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In the latter capacity, he was elected as Chair of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum’s Economic Committee. Overseas, Greene served as US consul general in Chengdu, China, Okinawa, Japan and as the deputy director at AIT. Earlier

assignments included chief of the Political-Military Affairs Unit at the US Embassy in Tokyo, deputy chief of the Political Section at AIT Taipei, and as a political officer in Tokyo and Manila. Greene was the first Baker-Kato Diplomatic Exchange Fellow at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo. He also was assigned as a State Department Faculty Advisor at the US Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Panel One: Geopolitical and Economic Shifts in the Taiwan Strait

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 US Trade Representative. Hsiao received his JD 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 BA in international studies from the American University's School of International Service and the University Honors Program.

Panelists:

Jacqueline Deal is a non-resident senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute; the co-founder of the American Academy for Strategic Education, a non-profit focused on educating a rising generation of strategic thinkers in the United States and improving strategic thought about contemporary US national security policy; and the president and CEO of the Long Term Strategy Group, a Washington, DC-based defense consultancy. Her recent work has focused on the history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and of US-CCP relations. Deal is also a member of the editorial board of *Parameters*, the journal of the US Army War College, and a member of the advisory board of the Alexander Hamilton Society and the Vandenberg Coalition. Her work has been published in *Foreign Policy*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *National Interest*, *New York Times*, and *Politico*, among other outlets, and she has testified on multiple occasions before the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission on Capitol Hill, as well as in US state legislatures.

Alexander Gray most recently 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). 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.

I-Chung Lai is the president of the Prospect Foundation, a Taiwan-based think tank. Prior to joining the Prospect Foundation, he held several prominent positions within the Democratic Progressive Party, serving as executive director of the DPP Mission to the United States and as the director general of the Department of International Affairs. He has also worked as a special assistant with the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in Tokyo.

Rear Admiral Philip W. Yu, US Navy (ret.) is a nonresident senior fellow in the Indo-Pacific Security Initiative at the Atlantic Council's Scowcroft Center for Strategy and Security. During his naval career, Yu served his at-sea tours aboard fast attack nuclear submarines and ballistic missile submarines, along with staff tours at fleet headquarters in Yokosuka, Japan and Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. After transferring to the US Navy's Foreign Area Officer community, Yu served multiple tours overseas working alongside allied nations, from the transatlantic alliance at NATO, coalition headquarters in Afghanistan, to combined forces headquarters in South Korea, as well as with partners in Taiwan. As a staff officer at US Indo-Pacific Command and on the Navy headquarters staff at the Pentagon, Yu led trilateral military cooperation initiatives between Seoul, Tokyo, and Washington. As a senior officer, Yu was responsible for risk reduction dialogue between the US military and the People's Liberation Army of China, and he culminated his career as the US defense attaché to the Russian Federation, advising and reporting on events in Moscow during the Kremlin's 2022 invasion of neighboring Ukraine.

Panel Two: Cross-Strait Relations, 2024 Elections, and US Policy

Moderator:

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 GTI's Advisory Board. She writes analyses and participates in conferences. 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.

Panelists:

W. Brent Christensen became an adjunct professor in Brigham Young University's Political Science Department in January 2024 after 35 years in the US Foreign Service. In his last

assignment in the Foreign Service, he served as the US representative to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in Montreal, Canada. Previously, he was director of the American Institute in Taiwan (AIT) from 2018 to 2021. He also served as deputy director of AIT and as director of the State Department's Office of Taiwan Coordination. He has served three assignments at the US Embassy in Beijing, as well as assignments at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, and in the US missions in Hong Kong and South Africa. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he was a captain in the US Air Force. He earned an MA in East Asian studies from the George Washington University, a BA in Chinese language and literature from Brigham Young University, and a DMD degree from the Oregon Health and Science University. He has received a Presidential Meritorious Service Award, the State Department's Charles E. Cobb Jr. Award, and honorary doctorates from the Sun Yat-sen University and Kaohsiung Medical University.

Willy Wo-Lap Lam is a senior fellow at The Jamestown Foundation, and a regular contributor to China Brief. He is an adjunct professor at the Center for China Studies, the History Department, and the Master's Program in Global Political Economy at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is the author of six books on China, including *Chinese Politics in the Era of Xi Jinping* (2015). His latest book, *Xi Jinping: The Hidden Agendas of China's Ruler for Life*, was released by Routledge Publishing in August 2023.

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 was 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 BA from York University in Canada and an LLM from the University of London.

Matt Salmon is the vice president for government affairs at Arizona State University. Formerly, he represented the 5th District of Arizona for five terms in Congress. Matt served three terms before honoring a self-imposed term limit and leaving Congress in 2000, at which time he worked as a consultant to ASU on matters related to education policy. He returned to Congress in 2012 and was re-elected in 2014 and retired in 2016. Salmon was a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, serving as chairman of the Subcommittee on the Western Hemisphere, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific. In that capacity he has led numerous delegations to China. From 1977 to 1979 Matt lived in Taiwan as a Mormon missionary and speaks fluent Mandarin. During his tenure in Congress, he introduced several pieces of legislation to expand Taiwan's space, such as the bill to include Taiwan in Interpol. In 2017, Matt joined GTI's delegation to Taiwan for a conference with Taiwan think tanks. Matt graduated from ASU in 1981 and holds a Master's of Public Administration from Brigham Young University.

Luncheon Keynote

H.E. Dr. Chia-lung Lin (林佳龍) is the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Republic of China (Taiwan). Minister Lin has a distinguished background in political science, public administration, and government service. He holds a PhD in political science from Yale University and previously served as mayor of Taichung and Minister of Transportation and Communications. Lin has an academic career with significant international experience, having taught at National Chengchi University and worked in various government positions. Known for his strategic thinking, he focuses on Taiwan's global engagement, particularly strengthening diplomatic ties and promoting Taiwan's democratic values.

Panel Three: Defense and Security Assistance

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:

Mike Studeman is the former commander of the Office of Naval Intelligence and a retired rear admiral, is one of our nation's leading national security professionals, with extensive global experience in intelligence, foreign policy, and defense matters. He is an internationally recognized expert on Asian affairs, with deep expertise on China. Studeman has led intelligence operations at every level, from the tactical to the strategic, and in Navy, joint, national, and interagency assignments. He supported combat operations ranging from Desert Storm to the Balkans to Afghanistan. He also contributed to a range of counterterrorism, counter-narcotics, and counter-proliferation operations. Additionally, Studeman helped formulate strategies and execute operations to deal with challenges from Iran, North Korea, Russia, and China.

David R. Stilwell recently completed a term as 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 BS in history from the US Air Force Academy (1987), a master's degree 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 in Charlottesville, Virginia. He was

awarded the Department of Defense Superior Service Award in 2015. He speaks Korean, Chinese, and limited Japanese.

Bonny Lin is a senior fellow for Asian security and director of the China Power Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Previously, she was the acting associate director of the Strategy and Doctrine Program of RAND Project AIR FORCE and a political scientist at the RAND Corporation, where she analyzed different aspects of US competition with China, including US-China competition for influence in the Indo-Pacific and China's use of gray zone tactics against US allies and partners. Her research advised senior leaders in the Department of Defense, including military leaders at US Pacific Air Forces and US Army Pacific. Lin also served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 2015 to 2018, where she was director for Taiwan, country director for China, and senior adviser for China. Lin holds a PhD in political science from Yale University, a master's degree in Asian studies with a focus on China from the University of Michigan, and a bachelor's degree in government from Harvard College.

Liza Tobin is the senior director of research and analysis for economy at the Special Competitive Studies Project (SCSP). Before joining SCSP, she served on the National Security Council staff as China director, where she led the development of multiple US strategies and policies related to China, including on trade and economics, climate and the environment, military issues, and China's influence beyond the Indo-Pacific. Before serving at the National Security Council, Tobin worked for more than a decade in various capacities as a China specialist for the US government, including as a senior adviser at the US Indo-Pacific Command and an economic analyst at the CIA, and in various roles in the private sector and academia. She holds an MA in international relations with concentrations in China studies and international economics from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, a graduate certificate from the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, and a BA in China studies and biblical studies from Gordon College.

Closing Keynote

Michael S. Chase became the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for China on 8 February 2021 and assumed the responsibilities for Taiwan and Mongolia in October 2022. He was previously a senior political scientist at RAND where his research focused on Chinese military modernization, China's approach to strategic deterrence, Taiwan's defense policy, and Indo-Pacific security issues. Prior to working at RAND, he was an associate professor at the US Naval War College (NWC) in Newport, Rhode Island, where he taught in the Strategy and Policy Department and conducted research on Chinese maritime issues in the Center for Naval Warfare Studies (CNWS). Before teaching at NWC, he was a research analyst at Defense Group Inc. and an associate international policy analyst at RAND. He has also taught courses on China and Indo-Pacific security issues at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and Georgetown University. He holds a PhD in international affairs and MA in China Studies from SAIS, and a BA in politics from Brandeis University.