

GTI 2025 Annual Symposium A New Era for US-Taiwan Relations in a Changing International System

October 1, 2025

8:00 AM - 4:40 PM (ET)

1777 F Street NW, Rockefeller-Peterson Room

<u>Livestream Available Here</u>

Agenda:

8:00 AM - 8:30 AM Registration

8:30 AM – 8:40 AM Welcome Remarks

Jennifer Hu

Chair of the Board and President, Global Taiwan Institute

8:40 AM – 9:00 AM Welcome Remarks

Ambassador Alexander Yui Tah-ray

Representative, Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative

Office

9:00 AM – 10:15 AM Panel One: Policy Trends in Washington, Taipei, and Beijing

Panelists:

Ann E. Kowalewski (Beacon Global Strategies)

Chin-fu Hung (Bernard Hung) (National Cheng-Kung University)

Willy Wo-Lap Lam (The Jamestown Foundation)

Moderator: John Dotson (Global Taiwan Institute)

10:15 AM – 11:45 AM **Panel Two: Taiwan's International Partnerships**

Panelists:

Thomas Shattuck (Perry World House, University of

Pennsylvania)

Yuki Tatsumi (Institute of Indo-Pacific Security)

Leland Lazarus (Lazarus Consulting)

Adrienne Wu (Global Taiwan Institute)

Moderator: Alexander Gray (American Global Strategies)



11:45 AM – 12:00 PM **Coffee Break**

12:00 PM – 12:45 PM Luncheon Keynotes

H.E. Dr. Chia-Lung Lin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan

(ROC)

Ingrid Larson (AIT/Washington)

12:45 PM - 1:00 PM **Break**

1:00 PM – 2:15 PM Panel Three: Trade and Technology Policies

Panelists:

C.C. Chen (former ROC Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs)

Riley Walters (Hudson Institute)

Libby Lange (Special Competitive Studies Project)

Moderator: Lotta Danielsson (US-Taiwan Business Council)

2:15 PM - 2:25 PM **Break**

2:25 PM – 3:45 PM Panel Four: Defense and Security Challenges in the

Indo-Pacific

Panelists:

Michael Studeman (RADM USN, ret.)

Alison O'Neil (Institute for the Study of War)

Jamie Ocon (Taiwan Security Monitor)

K.J. Hsu (Taipei District Court)

Moderator: Michael Hunzeker (George Mason University)

3:50 PM – 4:40 PM Perspectives from Senior Policymakers

Speakers:

Wallace Gregson (Lt.Gen., USMC; Asst. SECDEF for

Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, 2009-2011)

Ely Ratner (Asst. SECDEF for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs,

2021-2025; Principal, Marathon Initiative)

Moderator: John Dotson (Global Taiwan Institute)



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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Venue Information:

Location:

1777 F Street NW, Rockefeller-Peterson Room (second floor)

Public Transit:

Venue is in close proximity to Farragut West metro station (Orange, Silver, and Blue lines) and Farragut North metro station (Red line)

Parking:

Parking is available at 1800 G St NW, just around the corner from the venue





Participant Bios

Welcome Remarks:

Jennifer Hu is the chair of the board of directors and president 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 volunteer work at GTI, she is an expert in high-speed rail and intercity passenger rail safety and regulatory issues. Currently, she is leading the rail safety regulatory effort for Alto, Canada's largest infrastructure project to build a high-speed rail system between Toronto and Quebec City Prior to joining large infrastructure projects 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 Bachelor of Science in Economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; a Master of Science in Foreign Service from Georgetown University; and a Juris Doctor and a Master of Law in Business and Finance from The George Washington University Law School. She is a member of the New York and Texas Bars.

Opening Keynote:

Ambassador Alexander Yui Tah-ray is Taiwan's Representative to the United States, a role he assumed in December 2023. He has over 35 years of experience in diplomacy and previously served as Taiwan's Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2021 to 2023. His past overseas assignments include serving as Taiwan's Representative to the European Union and Belgium, as well as Ambassador to Paraguay from 2015 to 2018. Ambassador Yui has held various leadership roles within Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focusing on Latin American, European, and global affairs. Throughout his career, he has worked to expand Taiwan's global partnerships and strengthen its international presence. His extensive experience includes postings in New York, San Salvador, and Geneva, reflecting his commitment to advancing Taiwan's foreign policy goals. Ambassador Yui received a BA in politics and foreign languages and a MA in Spanish literature from Texas A&M University.

Panel One: Policy Trends in Washington, Taipei, and Beijing:

Moderator:

John Dotson is the director at GTI. He has served previously as a US Navy officer, as a staff member of the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, and as an editor of the Jamestown Foundation's publication China Brief. John has performed extensive writing and research on a range of political and national security issues related to US policy in East Asia, to include Chinese propaganda and united front work, elite politics within the Chinese Communist Party, military-civil fusion efforts within the People's Liberation Army, and Taiwan defense



policy. He is a proficient Mandarin linguist, who has performed extensive original research in indigenous Chinese language sources. John holds an M.A. in National Security Studies (with "highest distinction") from the US Naval War College, and a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins-SAIS.

Panelists:

Ann E. Kowalewski is a senior non-resident fellow at GTI. She has a decade of experience in think tank, government, and private sector on Indo-Pacific policy. Annie led the Indo-Pacific portfolio as a senior professional staff member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where she managed legislation and oversight regarding strategic competition with the People's Republic of China (PRC), US policy towards Taiwan, alliance management, and the US diplomatic and security posture in the region. She also served as an Indo-Pacific senior policy analyst on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for three years. Prior to serving on the Hill, Ms. Kowalewski spent four years researching Indo-Pacific issues at various think tanks. As a research associate with the American Enterprise Institute, she researched, wrote, and presented on topics to include US Indo-Pacific strategy, PRC military modernization programs, and recommendations for strengthening US defense alliances in the Indo-Pacific. She was also a China research assistant for Georgetown's Center for Security Studies and the United States Institute of Peace. Before her career in DC, Ms. Kowalewski served in the Scottish Parliament for two years as a parliamentary assistant working on EU case law and nuclear non-proliferation issues. She received her MA in Security Studies from Georgetown University and her LLB (Hons) from the University of Edinburgh, School of Law. She is fluent in Mandarin.

Dr. Chin-fu Hung is a professor of Political Science at National Cheng-Kung University. His research areas include Chinese Political, Economic, and Social Reforms and Transformations, PRC Propaganda and Ideology, and Political and Socio-economic Development in East and Southeast Asia. Most recently, Professor Hung published a paper on China's domestic and international propaganda during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Dr. Willy Wo-Lap Lam is a Senior Fellow at The Jamestown Foundation, where he regularly contributes to their China Brief. He is also an Adjunct Professor at the Center for China Studies 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. His latest book, From Confucius to Xi Jinping: The DNA of Chinese Politics, was published this year and examines how ideas of Confucius, Han Fei, and others continue to shape the Chinese Communist Party's rule—from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping.

Panel Two: Taiwan's International Partnerships

Moderator:

Alexander B. Gray is the Chief Executive Officer of American Global Strategies LLC, an international strategic advisory firm that he co-founded with former U.S. National Security Advisor Robert C. O'Brien. Mr. Gray most recently served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC). He is also a Senior Nonresident Fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute (GTI) and previously visited Taipei, Taiwan as



a research fellow. His areas of expertise include defense, aerospace, maritime affairs, and technology.

Panelists:

Thomas J. Shattuck is a senior program manager at the University of Pennsylvania's Perry World House and a non-resident fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute. His research focuses on cross-Strait relations, Taiwanese and Chinese domestic and foreign affairs, Taiwan's semiconductor industry, and the US role in the Indo-Pacific. He is the former Deputy Director of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI), where he is currently a non-resident fellow. He has also been affiliated with the Pacific Forum, the Modern War Institute at West Point, and the Foreign Policy for America's NextGen Initiative.

Yuki Tatsumi is a senior director at the Institute for Indo-Pacific Security (IIPS). Previously, she served as senior fellow and co-director of the East Asia Program and director of the Japan Program at the Stimson Center, and has also worked at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and the Embassy of Japan in Washington. Tatsumi has over 20 years of experience of in-depth research and program development in the field of the U.S.-Japan alliance and Japan's national security policy-making. In 2012 she was awarded the Letter of Appreciation from the Ministry of National Policy of Japan for her contribution in advancing mutual understanding between the United States and Japan. She is a recipient of the 2009 Yasuhiro Nakasone Incentive Award.

Leland Lazarus is the founder and CEO of Lazarus Consulting, a firm specializing in strategic analysis, geopolitical communication, and cultural intelligence. Additionally, Leland is Vice Chair of the National Board of the Fulbright Association, is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Formerly, he served as Associate Director of National Security at Florida International University, U.S. diplomat in China and the Caribbean, and Special Assistant and Speechwriter for two four-star SOUTHCOM Commanders.

Adrienne Chih-fang Wu is a senior programs manager at the Global Taiwan Institute and the host and producer of Taiwan Salon, GTI's cultural policy and soft power podcast. With an interest in exploring the intersection of culture and policy, her research focuses on how Taiwan can strengthen international connections through nation branding, cultural diplomacy and a strong civil society. She is a member of the UC Berkeley US-Taiwan Next Generation Working Group, where she is conducting a research project on the barriers to importing Taiwanese cultural products, and a member of the Foreign Policy for America's Next Gen Initiative. Additionally, she was a 2024 Taiwan-US Policy Program Delegate. Previously a Taiwan Delegate for Strait Talk 2023 at George Washington University, she is currently a Strait Talk facilitator-in-training. She spent seven years living in Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan.

Luncheon Keynotes



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.

Ingrid Larson is the managing director of the Washington Office of the American Institute in Taiwan. Ms. Larson joined AIT after a 22-year career in the State Department. She served as the Director of the Office of Taiwan Coordination, and also as the Deputy Director of the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs' Office of Public Diplomacy, where she helped shape strategic programs for Taiwan and the broader region. Promoted to the Senior Foreign Service in 2018, her overseas posts included Korea, Mexico, China, Tunisia, and Cyprus.

Panel Three: Trade and Technology Policies

Moderator:

Lotta Danielsson is the executive vice president of the US-Taiwan Business Council, a non-profit organization dedicated to developing the trade and commercial relationship between the United States and Taiwan. She is also a Nonresident Fellow at the National Bureau of Asian Research. Lotta is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the Council. Her work includes membership retention and development, research on current Taiwan policy issues, and research to identify the needs of U.S. businesses in Taiwan. She oversees all member products and services, and manages the development of new value-added membership services. She also oversees all events and conferences, and she has planned the annual U.S.-Taiwan Defense Industry Conference – which serves as an important platform for bilateral dialogue on Taiwan's national security and defense needs – since its inception in 2002. In addition, Lotta supervises responses to member requests, prepares press releases, manages websites and social media, and acts as the Council editor. She has served as Executive Vice President since 2025 and as Vice President since 2003, after joining the Council as Director of Corporate Affairs in 2000.

Panelists:

Chern-Chyi "C.C." Chen is the senior advisor to The Asia Group and the former Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs of Taiwan. As Deputy Minister, Chen led efforts in implementing Taiwan's trade policies within Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), including Taiwan's WTO accession. Chen contributed significantly to the negotiations and implementation of the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) negotiations and the establishment of the Economic Prosperity Partnership Dialogue (EPPD) with the United States. As Chief Counsel at the Office of Trade Negotiations, Chen served as a lead negotiator for bilateral negotiations and agreements with Singapore, New Zealand, Japan, and mainland China. Chen has served in Taiwan's Representative Offices in the United States, Europe, and Singapore.



Riley Walters is a senior non-resident fellow of the Global Taiwan Institute and Senior Fellow at Hudson Institute. His areas of expertise include international trade policy, investment regulations, technology and innovation, cybersecurity, and the intersection of economics and national security. He is also an expert on east Asian political affairs, primarily focusing on Japan and Taiwan. Riley was formerly the senior policy analyst and economist at The Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. Walters is a prolific writer, contributing extensively to policy papers and media outlets including Global Taiwan Brief, The Hill, Japan Times, The Messenger, The Diplomat, the Washington Times, the National Interest, Geopolitical Intelligence Services, and others.

Libby Lange is a director of Intelligence at the Special Competitive Studies Project (SCSP). Prior to SCSP, Libby worked as an Intel Analyst at Graphika, where she focused on Chinese state-linked influence operations and public health misinformation. Prior to Graphika, she served as a speechwriter and communications manager for Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen, accompanying the President on multiple state visits. Libby holds an M.A. in Global Affairs from Yale University and a B.A. in Political Science from National Taiwan University.

Panel Four: Defense and Security Challenges in the Indo-Pacific

Moderator:

Michael Hunzeker is an associate professor at George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government, the associate director of the Schar School's Center for Security Policy Studies, and a senior nonresident fellow at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. His work on deterrence, military adaptation, and war termination has appeared in Security Studies, the Journal of Strategic Studies, PS: Politics and Political Science, Parameters, Defense One, Foreign Policy, War on the Rocks and the RUSI Journal. Dr. Hunzeker is also the author of Dying to Learn: Wartime Lessons from the Western Front, with Cornell University Press. Dr. Hunzeker served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 2000–06 and holds an AB from the University of California, Berkeley, as well as a PhD, MPA, and AM from Princeton University.

Panelists:

Mike Studeman is the former Commander of the Office of Naval Intelligence and a retired Rear Admiral. He is an expert on national security and Asian affairs, with extensive global experience in intelligence, foreign policy, and defense matters. Mike served for three years as the Director of Intelligence for the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command, where his intelligence responsibilities covered a rising China, volatile North Korea, and assertive Russia. In support of allies and partners, he conducted intelligence diplomacy around the world, and was a major contributor to strengthening relations with India and supporting Taiwan's democracy.

Alison O'Neil is a China researcher at the Institute for the Study of War. She graduated last year from Georgetown University's Security Studies Program (SSP), with a concentration in Intelligence and a certificate in Asian Studies (Chinese language). During her time at SSP, she also contributed to the China Power Project at CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies). Her research interests include cross-Strait security and Chinese foreign policy.



Jamie Ocon is a Young Leader at Pacific Forum, an early-career scholars and foreign policy professionals program focused on Indo-Pacific affairs, and is currently enrolled at Georgetown University's Security Studies Program (SSP). Formerly, he served as the Lead Defense Anchor and Reporter for Taiwan Plus, where he worked for four years. He has also done research at the Taiwan Center for Security Studies in Taipei. His areas of study include South China Sea Disputes, cross-Strait Relations, and Indo-Pacific Strategy.

Kaichieh (KJ) Hsu is a Taipei District Court judge, specializing in national security cases, including espionage and infiltration trials. His work focuses on legal warfare, rules of engagement in hybrid conflicts, and institutional reform to strengthen Taiwan's legal resilience against foreign interference. Formerly, he was a Visiting Fellow at the Global Taiwan Institute and New York University. He holds a bachelor degree in law and dual master's degrees in Laws and Business Administration from National Taiwan University.

Perspectives from Senior Policymakers

Moderator:

John Dotson is the director at GTI. He has served previously as a US Navy officer, as a staff member of the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, and as an editor of the Jamestown Foundation's publication China Brief. John has performed extensive writing and research on a range of political and national security issues related to US policy in East Asia, to include Chinese propaganda and united front work, elite politics within the Chinese Communist Party, military-civil fusion efforts within the People's Liberation Army, and Taiwan defense policy. He is a proficient Mandarin linguist, who has performed extensive original research in indigenous Chinese language sources. John holds an M.A. in National Security Studies (with "highest distinction") from the US Naval War College, and a Master of International Public Policy from Johns Hopkins-SAIS.

Speakers:

Lieutenant General Wallace "Chip" Gregson joined The Roosevelt Group as a senior advisor after over 30 years of service in the US Marine Corps. Prior to retirement, Chip served as the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Asian and Pacific Security Affairs. He also served as Commanding General of 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 III Marine Expeditionary Force in Japan, where he was awarded by Japan, South Korea, and the Republic of China. Just prior to his service in Japan he was Director of Asia-Pacific Policy in the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 1998 to 2000. Chip serves as the China and the Pacific Director at the Center for the National Interest. He also serves as a board member of the Japan America Society of Washington DC. Finally, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Dr. Ely Ratner served as the assistant secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs. Prior to confirmation, he served as the Director of the DoD China Task Force and as a Senior Advisor to China to the Secretary of Defense. Before arriving at the Department of Defense, Dr. Ratner was the Executive Vice President and Director of Studies at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Dr. Ratner served from 2015 to 2017 as the Deputy National Security advisor to Vice President Joe Biden, and from 2011 to 2012 in the office of Chinese and Mongolian affairs at the State Department. Outside of government, Dr. Ratner has worked as a Senior Fellow for China Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, a Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at CNAS, and as an Associate Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation.