



NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

AGENDA | DIRECTORY

9 – 10 MAY, 2024 | TOKYO, JAPAN



NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

WELCOME

We are pleased to welcome you to Tokyo, Japan for the 32nd Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD). Deepening uncertainties and tensions in Northeast Asia--and in the international system more broadly--make this meeting an opportune time to exchange ideas candidly among participants from the attending countries.

The NEACD adheres to the Chatham House Rules, including with respect to social media. Those rules state “participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker, nor any other participant, may be revealed.” All government and defense representatives come in a non-official status, which means they do not represent their governments. We hope that this will allow for free and frank discussions. You will find complete agendas and participant lists within this directory.

We also wish to acknowledge the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York which has been a strong supporter of NEACD for many years and extend our sincerest gratitude to Government of Japan and The International House of Japan for their invaluable partnership in cohosting this meeting.

With best wishes,



Stephan Haggard

Director Emeritus, Korea-Pacific Program
Research Director, UC Institute on Global
Conflict and Cooperation
Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy
University of California San Diego



Tai Ming Cheung

Director, UC Institute on Global Conflict and
Cooperation
Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy
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NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8

1830 **Welcome Dinner** | International House of Japan

THURSDAY, MAY 9

Location: International House of Japan, Iwasaki Hall

0630 Breakfast available in hotel

0800 **Welcome and Introduction** | Stephan HAGGARD, Ken JIMBO

0815 Roundtable: National Perspectives

Moderator | Stephan HAGGARD

Panelists | AMB. LIU Xiaoming, Camille DAWSON, LEE Jun-il

1015 *Group photo and break*

1045 Host Country Perspective

Moderator | JIMBO Ken

Panelists | MIURA Jun, MA Sang Yoon, DA Wei, Jennifer LIND

1200 *Lunch – Keynote with Senior Deputy Minister FUNAKOSHI Takehiro*

1330 Global Military and Security Challenges and Implications for Northeast Asia

Moderator | TJ PEMPEL

Roundtable Discussion

1515 *Break*

1530 Economics and Security

Moderator | Tai Ming CHEUNG

Panelists | SUZUKI Kazuto, Vasilii KASHIN, LI Chen, Stephan HAGGARD

1700 Meeting Adjourns

1800 Reception and Dinner, *Ikura Guest House*

Special Guest: Vice Minister Fukazawa Yoichi, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

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FRIDAY, MAY 10

0630 Breakfast available at hotel

0830 U.S. – China Relations After APEC

Moderator | HIKOTANI Takako

Panelists | LIU Xiaoming, Susan SHIRK, ZHU Feng, Brian DAVIS,
Gov. Jerry BROWN

1000 *Break*

1030 Security on the Korean Peninsula

Moderator | TAKAHASHI Sugio

Panelists | LIU Xiaoming, LEE Jun-il, Alexander VORONTSOV, Keith
LUSE, Georgy TOLORAYA

1215 Lunch

1315 Indo-PACOM and the Security Dynamics of Northeast Asia

Moderator | Stephan HAGGARD

Panelists | LtGen Stephen SKLENKA, MATSUO Tomohiko, Jina KIM,
DA Wei, Sheena CHESTNUT GREITENS

1445 Wrap up

1500 Meeting adjourns

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JAPAN

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NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

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JAPAN

FUNAKOSHI Takehiro is senior deputy minister of foreign affairs at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has served in various positions in the ministry for over 25 years. Prior to this position, he was the director-general of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, the deputy director-general of the Foreign Policy Bureau, and executive assistant to Prime Minister Abe. Funakoshi received his master in public affairs from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

HIKOTANI Takako is a professor at Gakushuin University International Centre. She is also a senior fellow with the Asia Society Policy Institute in Tokyo and an adjunct senior research scholar at the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia University. She was a visiting professor at the UC San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy in 2022-2023. From 2016-2021, she was the Gerald L. Curtis associate professor of modern Japanese politics and foreign policy at Columbia University. She was an associate professor at the National Defense Academy of Japan and lectured at the Ground Self Defense Force and Air Self Defense Force Staff Colleges and the National Institute for Defense Studies. Her research focuses on Japanese politics and foreign policy and comparative civil-military relations. Her publications (in English) include, "How the Ukraine War is Changing Japan," in *Foreign Affairs* (2021), "The Japanese Diet and defense policy-making," in *International Affairs* (2018); and "Trump's Gift to Japan: Time for Tokyo to Invest in the Liberal Order," in *Foreign Affairs* (2017). Professor Hikotani received her BA from Keio University, MAs from Keio University and Stanford University, and PhD in political science from Columbia University where she was a president's fellow.

JIMBO Ken is a professor in the Faculty of Policy Management at Keio University, Tokyo, managing director of International House of Japan, and president of the Asia Pacific Initiative. He is also an advisor to the National Security Secretariat Advisory Board, a member of the board of directors of Civic Force, and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. His research interests include international security, Japan-U.S. security relations, Japanese foreign and defense policy, multilateral security in the Asia-Pacific, and regionalism in East Asia. He has been a policy advisor to various Japanese governmental commissions and research groups including the National Security Secretariat, Ministry of Defense, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His recent books and articles include "Sino-Russian Military Cooperation and Japanese Defense Policy," in *Japan and the Sino-Russian Entente: The Future of Major-Power Relations in Northeast Asia* (2017) and "Anchoring Diversified Security Cooperation in the ADMM-Plus: A Japanese Perspective," in *Asia Policy* (2016).

MATSUO Tomohiko was appointed as director of the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation Division in the Ministry of Defense of Japan's Bureau of Defense Policy in February 2023 after serving for a year as chief of staff and special advisor to the prime minister. His experience includes formulating various policies as senior deputy director of the Defense Policy Division in the Defense Policy Bureau. In the bureau, he also worked as deputy director of the Defense Planning and Programming Division. He graduated from the University of Tokyo with a bachelor of arts and sciences. He joined the Ministry of Defense in 1997. He was awarded a master of international affairs from the Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs in 2003.

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MIURA Jun is the director general for international affairs at the Bureau of Defense Policy in the Ministry of Defense of Japan. Mr. Miura joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in 1992 and was most recently the political minister at the Embassy of Japan in the United Kingdom. He previously served overseas as counsellor at the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations and at the Embassy of Japan in Russia. In Japan, he has served as director of the Policy Planning Division of the Headquarters for the Abduction Issue in the Cabinet Secretariat. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was also the director of the United Nations Policy Division and the Second North America Division. Mr. Miura holds a master of philosophy in European studies and a master of laws from Cambridge University, as well as a bachelor of arts in law from the University of Tokyo.

OUE Sadamasa is a consulting senior fellow and group head of international security order at the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan. General Oue entered the Japan Air Self-Defense Force as a graduate of the National Defense Academy in 1982. Throughout his military career, he had been involved with policy development and program promotion, as well as budget requests regarding ballistic missile defense, F-35 introduction, joint staff reorganization, and more. Upon promotion to lieutenant general he became commandant of the Air Staff College. Afterwards, he served as a commander of the Northern Air Defense Command, responsible for coping with missile launches from North Korea, responding to Russian air activities, and maintaining readiness. He retired in 2017 as a commander of Air Materiel Command, responsible for logistic operations of all Air Self-Defense Force activities. Oue earned his master of public administration from the Harvard Kennedy School in 1997, and master of national security strategy from the U.S. National War College in 2002. In 2019-2021, he served at the Harvard Asia Center as a senior fellow. He currently serves as a company advisor and a special fellow of the Strategic Studies Institute.

OGI Hirohito is a senior research fellow at the Asia Pacific Initiative and Institute of Geoeconomics at the International House of Japan. Ogi served at the Ministry of Defense (MOD) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) for 16 years. From 2021-2022, he led MOD's defense intelligence analysis as principal deputy director for the Strategic Intelligence Analysis Office. From 2019-2021, he served as a deputy director of the Defense Planning and Programming Division at MOD, where he oversaw defense strategy and procurement planning for the Ground Self-Defense Force. From 2016-2021, he was the deputy director for strategy and legal affairs in the Equipment Policy Division at the Acquisition, Technology and Logistics Agency, where he drafted the provision of the Self-Defense Forces Act which enables MOD to grant developing states unused military equipment, and led the implementation of policy for strengthening the defense industrial base. From 2014-2016, he was a Deputy Director at MOFA's International Legal Affairs Division, where he reviewed drafts of the Legislation for Peace and Security in 2015 considering international law on the use of force. He holds a master's degree in international affairs from Columbia University and a bachelor's degree from the University of Tokyo.

SUZUKI Kazuto is professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo and director of the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan. He graduated from Ritsumeikan University and received a PhD from the University of Sussex's European Institute in England. He has worked for the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique in Paris, as assistant researcher and associate professor at the University of Tsukuba from 2000-2008, and served as professor of international politics at Hokkaido University until 2020. He served on the panel of experts for the Iranian Sanction Committee under the UN Security Council from 2013-2015. He currently serves as a member of the National Space Policy Committee of the Government of Japan's Cabinet Office, and as president of the Japan Association of International Security and

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Trade. His research focuses on the conjunction between science and technology and international relations, including space policy, nonproliferation, export control, and sanctions. His recent works include *Space and International Politics* (2011), which was awarded the Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities, *Policy Logics and Institutions of European Space Collaboration* (2003), and many others.

TAKAHASHI Sugio is a principal coordinator for defense strategy in the Ministry of Defense and director of the Defense Policy Research Division at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) in Tokyo. He was director of the Policy Simulation Office at NIDS from 2016-2020 and deputy director of the Office of Strategic Planning in the Ministry of Defense from 2008-2016. In that capacity, he helped draft the National Defense Program Guidelines of 2010 and 2013 and the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation. He received an MA and BA from the Waseda University and an MA from George Washington University. Mr. Takahashi has published extensively in the areas of nuclear strategy, the Japan-U.S. alliance, and East Asian regional security including *China's Strategic Arsenal: Worldview, Doctrine, and Systems* (2021), edited by James M. Smith and Paul J. Bolt.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

DA Wei is the director of the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) at Tsinghua University, and professor in the Department of International Relations at the Tsinghua University School of Social Science. Dr. Da's research expertise covers China-U.S. relations and U.S. security and foreign policy. Da Wei has worked in China's academic and policy community for more than two decades. Prior to his current positions, Dr. Da Wei was the assistant president of the University of International Relations (UIR; 2017–2020) and director of the Institute of American Studies at the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR; 2013–2017). He has written hundreds of policy papers for the Chinese government and published dozens of academic papers for journals in China, the United States, and other countries. Da Wei earned his BA and MA from UIR, and his PhD from CICIR. He was a visiting senior fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States from 2006-2007, and a visiting senior associate at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies from 2008-2009.

LI Chen is an associate professor and director of the Center for International Security and Strategy at the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China. Li teaches courses on international history, Asia-Pacific security, and strategic studies. His research interests include strategic and diplomatic history, Chinese military strategy, Asia-Pacific security, and China-U.S. security relations, on which he has published various policy briefings and scholarly articles in leading journals such as *Journal of Strategic Studies*. He is also a fellow of National Academy of Development and Strategy, Renmin University of China, focusing on policy-relevant studies of traditional security and military strategy. He received his PhD from the University of Cambridge and his MSc from the London School of Economics and Peking University.

LIU Xiaoming is special representative of the Chinese Government on Korean Peninsula Affairs. A graduate of Dalian University of Foreign Languages, he received his MA at Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University and joined the Chinese foreign service in 1974. He had been posted in Africa, America, Asia and Europe. He was promoted as Deputy Director-General at the North American and Oceania Affairs Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1995 and served as Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission at the Chinese Embassy in Washington D.C. from 1998 to 2001. From 2001 to 2006, he served as Chinese Ambassador to Egypt, Assistant Governor of Gansu

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Province, Vice Minister at the Office of the Foreign Affairs Leading Group of the CPC Central Committee. He was Chinese Ambassador to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from 2006 to 2010 and to the United Kingdom from 2010 to 2021. Since April 2021, he has served as Special Representative of the Chinese Government on Korean Peninsula Affairs. He is a member of Foreign Policy Advisory Group of China. He received The Fletcher Dean's Medal, First Class Friendship Medal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Fletcher Class of 1947 Memorial Award, the 48 Group Club Lifetime Achievement Award for Contribution to Sino-British Relations and the Freedom of the City by the City of London Corporation. He was awarded the Degree of Doctor of Laws Honoris Causa of Nottingham University and the Honorary Doctorate of the University of Huddersfield. He is the author of *Sharp Dialogue* (Beijing Publishing Group 2022).

Senior Colonel ZHOU Bo (retired) started his military service in 1979. He served in different posts in Guangzhou Air Force Regional Command. From 1993 he worked successively as staff officer, Deputy Director General of West Asia and Africa Bureau and then Deputy Director General of General Planning Bureau of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Ministry of National Defense of China, Chinese Defense Attaché to the Republic of Namibia and Director of the Centre for Security Cooperation in the Office for International Military Cooperation, Ministry of National Defense. He is now a senior fellow of Center for International Security and Strategy Tsinghua University. Zhou Bo has published more than 100 essays and opinions in English such as in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Diplomat*, *Financial Times*, *The Economist* (by invitation), *The Australian*, *Die Zeit*, *South China Morning Post*, *Strait Times*, *China-U.S. Focus* and *China Daily*, etc. He speaks as a PLA delegate at Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore and at Munich Security conference. He is supervisor to foreign post-graduate officers at PLA National Defense University. Zhou Bo is an under-graduate of Air Force Engineering College and a postgraduate of St Edmund College of Cambridge University (MPhil in International Relations).

ZHU Feng is executive director of the China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea and professor of international relations at Nanjing University. He writes extensively on regional security in East Asia, the nuclear issue in North Korea, and China-U.S. military and diplomatic relations. As a leading Chinese security expert, Professor Zhu's recent books include *International Relations Theory and East Asian Security* (2007), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and Future of International Politics* (co-edited with Robert S. Ross, 2008), *China-Japan Security Cooperation and Defense communication: The Past, Present, and Future* (co-edited with Akiyama Asahiro, 2011), and *America, China, and the Struggle for World Order: Ideas, Traditions, Historical Legacies, and Global Visions* (co-edited with G. John Ikenbery and Wang Jisi, 2015). He is on the editorial boards of several scholarly journals, consults independently for the Chinese government and the private sector, and comments frequently on television, radio and in print media on Chinese foreign affairs and security policy. Zhu received his PhD from Peking University.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Commander BAE Hackyoung is director of the Center for Military Strategy Study at the Research Institution for National Security Affairs at Korea National Defense University. Commander Bae is on active duty in the Republic of Korea Navy. His research interests include future warfare, autonomous weapons system, artificial intelligence, big data, maritime strategy, maritime conflict, maritime boundary delimitation negotiation, naval force development, naval planning strategy, bargaining theory, and interstate rivalry theory. He received his PhD in political science from Florida State University.

NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

CHEON Myeongguk is a retired ROK army colonel and currently a defense research fellow at the Korea Institute of Science and Technology. His research interests are mainly in defense technology R&D and North Korean military issues related to WMD threats such as nuclear, chem-bio weapons, and ballistic missiles. Deterrence, protection, countermeasures, consequence management, and arms control of WMD are also in his research scope. Dr. Cheon's military career covers WMD-related policy planning and its implementation in the Ministry of National Defense and technical assistance for the six-party talks in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pursuing the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. He had participated in various ROK-U.S. security consultations such as the Extended Deterrence Policy Committee, Deterrence Strategy Committee, Countering WMD Meeting, and Bio-Defense Task Force dealing with North Korea's WMD threats. He had worked at Korea Institute for Defense Analyses as an active-duty officer research fellow from 2015-2021 and as a visiting research fellow from 2022-2024. His academic backgrounds are mainly in science and engineering; he has a BS in physics, and an MS and PhD in nuclear engineering.

Jina KIM is the dean of the Language and Diplomacy Division at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and has previously served as the chief of the North Korean Military Division at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses. She currently serves on the UN Advisory Board on Disarmament

Matters, providing advice to the UN secretary-general. Additionally, she holds positions on multiple advisory boards associated with the Republic of Korea's Ministry of National Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Air Force, and Peaceful Unification Advisory Council. Previously, she has also contributed to advisory boards for the Blue House National Security Office, the U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Unification, and the Policy Evaluation Committee for the Prime Minister's Office. She has published several books, such as *North Korean Nuclear Weapons Crisis*, and over 50 monographs and articles in academic journals including *The Washington Quarterly*, *Survival*, and the *Journal of International Relations*. She holds a PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

LEE Jun-il is the Acting Special Representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Affairs and the Director-General for North Korean Nuclear Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has been serving in the Ministry since 1997. As a career diplomat, he has served in the U.S., P.R.C., and Iraq. He received his bachelor's in political science from Seoul National University.

MA Sang-Yoon is a professor at the Catholic University of Korea. He was elected president of the Korean Association of International Studies for 2024. From September 2016-August 2019, he was director-general for strategy in the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He completed his studies in international relations as a Swire scholar at St. Antony's College, where he earned a DPhil. His doctoral dissertation examined U.S. policies toward Korea throughout the 1960s, with a focus on the country's democracy. His primary teaching and research interests include East Asian international politics, U.S. foreign policy, Korea-U.S. relations, and Cold War history.

PARK Young-June is a professor at the College of National Security and director-general of the Research Institute for National Security Affairs, Korea National Defense University. He obtained a BA in political science from Yonsei University, an MA in international relations from Seoul National University, and a PhD in international relations from the University of Tokyo. He conducted research as a visiting scholar at Harvard University's U.S.-Japan program from 2010-2011 and 2015-2016. He published and co-authored several books and dozens of articles focusing on Japanese security policy and East Asian security affairs, including *The Third Japan* (2008), *International Politics of Security* (2010), *The Status and Tasks of International Security in the 21st Century* (2011), *The Birth of*

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Navy and Making of Modern Japan (2014), *South Korea's National Security Strategy: Evolution and Challenges* (2017), and *Imperial Japan's Wars, 1868-1945* (2020). He has served as a policy adviser for the South Korea's National Security Council, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Navy, and as a president of academic societies such as the Korea Political and Diplomatic History Association and Korean Association for Peace Studies. He regularly writes columns for Korean newspapers, such as *JoongAng Daily*, *Herald Economics*, and *Segei Ilbo*.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Vasilii KASHIN is a senior researcher at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, and at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies North-East Asia Center. He holds a PhD from Moscow State University. Previously, he worked in the Institute for Far Eastern Studies in the Russian Academy of Sciences, for the *Vedomosti* business newspaper, as deputy chief of the Beijing office of RIA Novosti, and as a senior research fellow at the Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies, a defense industry consultancy.

Georgy TOLORAYA is a former diplomat (rank of Minister) and scholar with decades-long experience on Asian and global issues. Since 2019, he works as a member of the panel of experts of the UN Security Council on DPRK sanctions. He is honorary director of the Asian Strategy Center at the Institute of Economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences and vice-chairman of the board of the Russian National Committee on BRICS Research. He has taught at the Moscow University of International Relations, where he graduated in 1978, received his PhD in 1984, his doctorate in economy in 1994, and full professor degree in 2002. He served two postings in North Korea (1977–1980 and 1984–1987), worked for trade promotion agencies related to Asia, served in the Russian Foreign Ministry, was deputy chief of the Russian Embassy in South Korea (1993–1998), first Asian Department deputy director-general (1998–2003), consul-general of Russia in Sydney (2003–2007), and chair of regional programs of the "Russkiy Mir" Foundation (2008–2019). In 2007–2008 was a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. He has published many articles and books on East Asia and global governance issues.

Alexander VORONTSOV PhD (history) is head of the Department for Korean and Mongolian Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russia Academy of Sciences. He is also a Russian Military Science Academy professor. He regularly takes part in "track 1.5" and "track 2" conferences dealing with security on the Korean Peninsula and East Asia. He was visiting professor at Hanguk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul from 1998-2000; at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan in 2009, 2012, and 2020; at Akita International University, Japan in 2015, member of faculty of Yonsei University International Summer School in Seoul in 2010; and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C. in 2005-2006. He graduated from Asia Pacific-Center for Security Studies executive courses in Honolulu in 2005. Vorontsov served as second secretary in the Russian Embassy in Pyongyang from 2000-2002. Vorontsov holds a PhD in history from the Institute of Oriental Studies at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. He was the member of the Russian part of the Russia-DPRK, Russia-ROK Intergovernmental Commission dealing with trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation and associate professor at the MGIMO University from 2012-2022. Vorontsov studied at Lomonosov Moscow State University and Pyongyang Kim Il Sung University.

Alexandra YANKOVA is a junior research fellow at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies in the Department for the Study of International Military Political and Economic Issues and the Higher School of Economics University in Moscow, Russia. Her research

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interests include Russian-Chinese relations, China's cybersecurity policies, and global cybersecurity governance.

UNITED NATIONS

Sonja BACHMANN works as team leader on Northeast Asia and the Pacific in the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, Asia and the Pacific Division with a focus on peace and security issues on the Korean Peninsula as well as engagement with the Pacific Islands Forum member countries. Ms. Bachmann had assignments with the UN Mission in Afghanistan, the UN Envoy in the Cyprus Negotiations, the Nepal peace process and as a Senior Peace and Development Advisor in the UN Office in Fiji. Prior to joining the United Nations, Ms. Bachmann worked in the World Bank on community-driven development. She also spent a year in Peru advising the Peruvian Government on investment promotion and sustainable tourism. Ms. Bachmann holds a master of law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and an MA and a PhD in political science from the University in Vienna, Austria. She is a national of Austria.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Jerry BROWN was born in San Francisco on April 7, 1938. He was elected trustee for the LA Community College District in 1969, California secretary of state in 1970, and governor of California in 1974 and 1978. After his governorship, Brown lectured and traveled widely, practiced law, served as chairman of the state Democratic Party, and ran for president. In 1998, Brown was elected mayor of Oakland and California attorney general in 2006. He was elected governor again in 2010 and 2014. Brown currently serves as chair of the California-China Climate Institute at UC Berkeley, executive chair of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, on the board of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and Council on Criminal Justice, and advisory chair for the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.

Tai Ming CHEUNG is director of the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and a professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at UC San Diego. His research focuses on China's efforts to become a world-class science and technology power and the relationship between geoeconomics, innovation, and national security. Dr. Cheung is a long-time analyst of Chinese and East Asian security affairs, especially defense-related economic, industrial, science, and technological issues. He is the author of *Innovate to Dominate: The Rise of the Chinese Techno-Security State* and *Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy*, co-editor of *The Gathering Pacific Storm: Emerging U.S.-China Strategic Competition in Defense Technological and Industrial Development*, and editor of *Forging China's Military Might: A New Framework for Assessing Innovation*. He was based in Hong Kong, China, and Japan from the mid-1980s to 2002 covering political, economic, and strategic developments in Greater China and East Asia, first as a journalist for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* from 1988–1993 and subsequently as a political and business risk consultant for a number of companies, including PricewaterhouseCoopers. Dr. Cheung has a PhD in war studies from King's College, London.

Brian DAVIS is the director, defense and security with BluePath Labs. He also serves as a senior fellow with the Center for Naval Analyses and as a senior advisor with the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Prior to joining BluePath Labs, Brian served in the U.S. Army for 35 years. For much of his army career Brian's assignments were focused on China and Indo-Pacific security affairs, including as senior country director for China in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and

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three tours as a military attaché in Beijing, including as defense attaché. Brian's final military assignment was as the director of U.S. Indo-Pacific Command's China Strategic Focus Group in Hawaii. Brian holds a master's in international affairs from Columbia University, a master's in strategic studies from the U.S. Army War College, and a bachelor's in economics from Auburn University.

Camille DAWSON is a career member of the Senior Foreign Service with 24 years of experience designing and implementing diplomatic and public engagement strategies for the U.S. Department of State. She assumed the role of Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs in September 2021 with responsibility for public diplomacy as well as regional and security policy. Before, she served as Public Diplomacy Fellow and Faculty Advisor at the George Washington University. From 2019 to 2021, she was Director of the Office of Public Diplomacy for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In previous assignments she served as Counselor for Public Affairs at U.S. Embassy Singapore where she also was Acting Deputy Chief of Mission for one year (2016-2019); Africa Regional Media Hub Director in Johannesburg, South Africa (2013-2016); Outreach Unit Chief in Shanghai, China (2009-2013); Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer in Beijing, China (2005-2009); Deputy Spokesperson in Beijing, China (2003-2005); and Consular and Political Officer in Manila, Philippines (2000-2002). Camille serves as a Board Member of Executive Women at State. Camille received her bachelor's with honors from the University of Texas and a Master of International Affairs with a focus on International Security Policy from Columbia University. She speaks Mandarin and has studied Japanese, Tagalog, French, and Spanish. She is a mother of two, an advocate for diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility and an avid reader, traveler, and sports enthusiast.

Stephen J. DEL ROSSO oversees grantmaking across the international peace and security program at the Carnegie Corporation of New York. He served as director of programs for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (now Global Affairs) and managed the Pew Charitable Trusts' global security grantmaking program for almost six years. Del Rosso served nearly 10 years in the U.S. Foreign Service, with assignments in Central America and the Caribbean in the mid-1980s. In Washington, he worked in the Department of State's operations center and as staff officer to Secretary of State George P. Shultz. He was program coordinator of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, arms control legislative management officer, and director of the office of legislative operations, a presidential management intern (now fellow) in the international affairs division of NASA, a news producer at Voice of America, and principal staff assistant to Sir Julian Critchley, a British member of Parliament. Del Rosso holds a PhD in political science from the University of Pennsylvania, a master's from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, a diploma in international studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies Bologna Center, and a BA in English from Tufts University.

Stephan HAGGARD is the Lawrence and Sallye Krause distinguished professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy (GPS) at the UC San Diego. He received his PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley in 1983. He taught in the Department of Government at Harvard University from 1983 to 1991 before joining the faculty of GPS where he also serves as director of the Korea-Pacific Program at GPS. His early work centered on the political economy of the newly industrializing countries (*Pathways from the Periphery: The Political Economy of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries* [1990], *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis* [2000], and *Developmental States* [2018]). With Marcus Noland, he has written three books on North Korea: *Famine in North Korea* (2007), *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea* (2011) and *Hard Target: Sanctions, Inducements and the Case of North Korea* (2017). Since

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2005, he has been the editor of the *Journal of East Asian Studies* and currently contributes to *The Peninsula Blog* at the Korea Economic Institute. Among his current projects is a consideration of political polarization in South Korea.

Sheena CHESTNUT GREITENS is associate professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas (UT), where she directs UT's Asia Policy Program. She is a Jeane Kirkpatrick visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and an associate in research at the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University. Dr. Greitens's first book, *Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence* (2016), received multiple academic awards. Her second book, on authoritarianism and diaspora politics in North Korea, is forthcoming. Her third book manuscript is on internal security and Chinese grand strategy. Dr. Greitens' work has appeared in academic journals and edited volumes in English, Chinese, and Korean. She has testified before Congress on security and democracy in the Indo-Pacific. From 2015–20, she was an assistant professor of political science at the University of Missouri and co-director of its Institute for Korean Studies. She has been a Brookings Institution nonresident senior fellow, and an adjunct fellow with the Korea Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In 2017–18, Dr. Greitens served as the first lady of Missouri, where she co-led the state's trade missions to China and South Korea.

Jennifer LIND is an associate professor in the Department of Government at Dartmouth. Professor Lind's research focuses on the international relations of Asia and U.S. foreign policy toward the region. She recently authored a forthcoming book about authoritarian adaptation and China's rise to great power. She is also the author of *Sorry States: Apologies in International Politics* (2008). Lind has published numerous scholarly articles and has written for wider audiences in outlets such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Financial Times*, and the *New York Times*. Lind is affiliated with the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard, as well as Chatham House, London. In recent years, she has been a visiting scholar at Waseda University, Japan, and at the School for Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Lind has worked as a consultant for RAND and for the Office of the Secretary in the U.S. Department of Defense.

Keith LUSE is the executive director of the National Committee on North Korea, which promotes principled engagement between the United States and North Korea. Luse has travelled multiple times to North Korea and has participated in numerous Track 1.5 and Track 2 sessions about North Korea or with North Korean officials. At the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he was the Republican East Asia policy advisor from 2003-2013. Prior, Luse was staff director for Senator Richard Lugar at the Senate Agriculture Committee from 1999-2002. While in the private sector, Luse conducted research in Southeast Asia over an eight-year period for U.S. businesses. In 2015, Luse was presented the "Medal of Friendship" by Vietnamese President Truong Tan Sang for contributions to the U.S.–Vietnam relationship. Upon departing the Senate in 2013, Luse received the Philippine Legion of Honor Award from President Benigno Aquino for assisting Senator Lugar's efforts to foster U.S.–Philippines relations. He is a co-recipient of the 2010 Kato Ryozo Award for Service to the U.S.–Japan Alliance. Luse's BA in political science is from Indiana University. His graduate certificate in public management and additional graduate studies were obtained at Indiana University and Purdue University.

Jung H. PAK is a deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Dr. Pak is responsible for overseeing relations with Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands. She also serves as the U.S. senior official for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Prior to arriving at the State Department, she was a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, focusing on

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Korean Peninsula issues, East Asia regional dynamics, and transnational threats related to proliferation, cybersecurity, and climate change. While at Brookings, she authored *Becoming Kim Jong Un*, which has been translated into multiple languages and draws from her deep knowledge and experience as an intelligence officer. Pak has held senior positions at the Central Intelligence Agency, receiving several awards for contributions to the President's Daily Brief, superior analytic accomplishments, and service to advance workforce development. As the deputy national intelligence officer for Korea at the National Intelligence Council, she led the intelligence community's production of strategic analysis. Before her career in national security, Dr. Pak taught U.S. history in New York City. She received her PhD from Columbia University and studied in South Korea as a Fulbright scholar.

T.J. PEMPEL is the Jack M. Forcey professor of political science (emeritus) at the University of California, Berkeley. From 2001-2005, he was director of Berkeley's Institute of East Asian Studies. Before, he held tenured positions at Cornell University and the University of Colorado, as well as endowed chairs at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Washington. He directed Cornell University's East Asia Program from 1989-1995. His research focuses on comparative politics, Japanese political economy, and Asian regional relations. Pempel served as a presidentially appointed member of the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission from 2009-2020. In 2016, he received the Foreign Ministry Commendation from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2021, he was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun with Gold Rays and Neck Ribbon from the Japanese government. He serves on the editorial boards of a dozen professional journals. He is the author or editor of 24 books, including, *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*, *Remapping East Asia*, and *A Region of Regimes: Prosperity and Plunder in the Asia-Pacific*.

Eric QUAM has served in the U.S. government for over 15 years working in policy and intelligence roles focused on China. Erik served with the State Department for 12 years prior to joining USINDOPACOM last March. From 2020-2022, he served on the secretary's policy planning staff covering China and Taiwan issues. From 2010-2020 Erik served in the Bureau of International Security and Nonproliferation Regional Affairs Office, including as senior advisor for China and team chief for East Asia, managing engagement with China on nonproliferation and arms control and leading efforts to address challenges posed by Chinese approaches to emerging technologies. Erik was given the Secretary of State's Award for Excellence in International Security Affairs in 2020 for his work developing policy responses to risks posed by China's military-civil fusion strategy. Before joining the State Department, Erik served as a China analyst at the Defense Intelligence Agency from 2007-2010. Erik earned bachelor's degrees from the University of Minnesota and a master's in from the Monterey (Middlebury) Institute of International Studies in 2007. He holds graduate certificates from National Taiwan University, the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, and the Middlebury Institute Center for Nonproliferation Studies.

Brigadier General George B. ROWELL IV is deputy commander of United States Forces Japan. He graduated with honors from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1992. In 1995 he reported to Marine Fighter Attack Training Squadron (VMFAT) 101 at Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) El Toro, subsequently serving with Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 225 (VMFA(AW)-225). Rowell then transferred to MCAS Yuma, Arizona in 2000 as an instructor pilot at Marine Aviation Weapons and Tactics Squadron One (MAWTS-1), where he deployed to Al Jaber Air Base, Kuwait to augment VMFA(AW)-533 during Operation Iraqi Freedom. In 2005, Rowell reported to Marine Aircraft Group (MAG) 31 at MCAS Beaufort, South Carolina where he served in a variety of billets culminating in

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command of VMFA(AW)-533, "The Hawks." Rowell served two years in the Capabilities and Acquisition Division of the Joint Staff J-8 as the strategic and tactical systems branch chief. He assumed command of Marine Operational Test and Evaluation Squadron 1 in 2016. In 2018, he was reassigned to Marine headquarters as the officer in charge of tactical aviation. From 2020-2022, he served as the Marine Corps' director of communication. In 2022, Rowell assumed the role of assistant wing commander, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing.

Susan SHIRK is chair emeritus of the 21st Century China Center and research professor at the UC San Diego School of Global Policy and Strategy. Shirk's book, *China: Fragile Superpower*, helped frame the policy debate on China in the United States and other countries. Other books include *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, *Competitive Comrades*, and *Changing Media, Changing China*. Her articles have appeared in leading academic publications in political science, international relations, and China studies. She previously served as deputy assistant secretary of state (1997–2000) responsible for U.S. policy toward China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. She is director emeritus of the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and founded the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, an unofficial forum for discussion of security issues. She also is co-chair of the UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations and the Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward China. Her latest book, *Overreach: How China Derailed its Peaceful Rise*, was published by Oxford University Press in October 2022. Shirk is a graduate of Mount Holyoke College and received her PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

LtGen Stephen D. SKLENKA became deputy commander of USINDOPACOM in 2021. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in 1988 after graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy. His service in the operating forces includes: commanding officer, Marine Amphibious Unit Service Support Group (MSSG) 11 and Combat Logistics Battalion-11, 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit (special operation capable); AC/S G-3, 1st Force Service Support Group (Fwd; 2010); chief of staff, 1st Marine Logistics Group (Fwd) and commanding officer, Combat Logistics Regiment-15 and the Logistics Combat Element of the ISAF MAGTF (2010-2013); commanding general, 1st Marine Logistics Group (2017-2019). His service outside the operating force includes: materiel division head and deputy J4, U.S. Special Operations Command (2007–2010); principal director for South and Southeast Asia in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (2015–2017); J5, director for strategic planning and policy, United States Indo-Pacific Command (2019–2021). He was a CMC fellow with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. He received a master's degree in national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College, and a master's degree with a concentration in unconventional warfare from American Military University.