



清华大学战略与安全研究中心

CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND STRATEGY
TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

第三届战略与安全国际论坛 THE 3rd INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON SECURITY AND STRATEGY

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

JAN 23-24, 2021 BEIJING TIME, GMT

JAN 22-23, 2021 EST, PST



Contents

01	Date and Time
02	Zoom Details
03	Organizer
03	Programme
09	List of Participants
14	Participant Biographies

1 Date and Time

Main Plenary I

January 23, 2021	8:00am-10:30am Beijing Time 12:00am-2:30am GMT
January 22, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm EST 4:00pm-6:30pm PST

Three Parallel Sub-forums

January 23, 2021	8:00pm-10:30pm Beijing Time 12:00pm-2:30pm GMT 7:00am-9:30am EST 4:00am-6:30am PST
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Main Plenary II

January 24, 2021	8:00am-10:30am Beijing Time 12:00am-2:30am GMT
January 23, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm EST 4:00pm-6:30pm PST



2 Zoom Details

Main Plenary I International Order: Changes and Continuities

<https://zoom.com.cn/j/69348545200>

Meeting ID: 693 4854 5200

Passcode: 012366

Parallel Sub-Forum I The Great Power Relations: Cooperation or Conflict?

<https://zoom.com.cn/j/68469642577>

Meeting ID: 684 6964 2577

Passcode: 393494

Parallel Sub-Forum II Security and Military Trends: Peace or War?

<https://zoom.com.cn/j/68013338998>

Meeting ID: 680 1333 8998

Passcode: 881248

Parallel Sub-Forum III Globalization: Moving Forward or Backward?

<https://zoom.com.cn/j/98762142171>

Meeting ID: 987 6214 2171

Passcode: 117587

Main Plenary II Idea Recap and Proposals

<https://zoom.com.cn/j/69348545200>

Meeting ID: 693 4854 5200

Passcode: 012366

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WANG Jie: +86-177-4459-2272

3 Organizer

Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University (CISS)

4 Programme (Beijing Time)

January 23, 2021	8:00am-10:30am	Beijing Time
	12:00am-2:30am	GMT
January 22, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm	EST
	4:00pm-6:30pm	PST
8:00am-8:10am Beijing Time	Opening Remarks: FU Ying	
	Main Plenary I: International Order: Changes and Continuities What are the challenges and prospects for the existing global order? Can the world's major powers manage their conflicts and differences within the existing international order? Is a common vision of the future global order within the bounds of possibility? What kind of reforms are needed in the international system? How do you envisage the world and China in 2035 and what are your expectations?	
8:10am-9:30am Beijing Time	Moderators: FU Ying and John L. Thornton Framing Remarks (7 min per speaker): Robin Niblett, ZHANG Baijia, Cliff Kupchan, CHEN Xiaogong, Douglas Paal, SHI Yinhong, Steve Howard, YAO Yang, David Gordon, HUANG Renwei, Michael McFaul	



9:30am-10:30am
Beijing Time

Discussion (3 min per speaker)

Discussion Participants:

Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Joseph DeTrani, Rafiq Dossani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Nils Gilman, David Gordon, Stephen Hadley, Steve Howard, Ken Jimbo, Arthur Kroeber, Cliff Kupchan, Dongmin Lee, Alex Lennon, Cheng Li, Bonny Lin, Michael McFaul, Robin Niblett, Douglas Paal, Richard Sakwa, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine, John L. Thornton, Michael Vatikiotis, Richard Weitz, Thomas Wright

AN Gang, CHEN Qi, CHEN Xiaogong, CUI Hongjian, DA Wei, FAN Jishe, FU Ying, GAO Xiang, HU Bo, HUANG Renwei, LI Chen, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, TENG Fei, WANG Dong, WU Dahui, XU Qiyu, XUE Lan, YAO Yang, YAO Yunzhu, Zeng Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHOU Bo, ZOU Ji

January 23, 2021	8:00pm-10:30pm	Beijing Time
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Parallel Sub-forum I The Great Power Relations: Cooperation or Conflict?

Moderators: WANG Jisi and Cheng Li

What are the primary causes for conflict escalation between major powers in recent years? Will major-power relations take a turn for the better, but only to a limited extent, or will conflict exacerbate? How will the domestic politics of the major powers affect their ties? How should each major power avoid intense strategic confrontation?

8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	Major-power Relations: Root Causes of Conflict Escalation and Future Directions	
	8:00pm-8:40pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Richard Weitz, YAN Xuotong, Richard Sakwa, ZHU Feng, Alex Lennon, WANG Dong, Sergey Karaganov
	8:40pm-9:10pm	Discussion
9:10pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	Major-power Relations: Impact of Domestic Politics and Prevention of Strategic Confrontation	
	9:10pm-9:50pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): NI Feng, WU Dahui, Jude Blanchette, AN Gang, Bonny Lin, ZHAO Minghao
	9:50pm-10:30pm	Discussion

Discussion Participants:

Jude Blanchette, Cheng Li, Sergey Karaganov, Cliff Kupchan, Stephen Hadley, Alex Lennon, Bonny Lin, Richard Sakwa, Richard Weitz

AN Gang, CHEN Xiaogong, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, WANG Dong, WANG Jisi, WU Dahui, YAN Xuotong, YAO Yang, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHU Feng



Parallel Sub-forum II Security and Military Trends: Peace or War?

Moderators: YAO Yunzhu and Karl W. Eikenberry

What are the new global dynamics in the realm of military and security? Will there be significant changes in the global security and military order? How will new technologies and their military application transform the shape of war and the balance of military power between major powers? What are your perceptions of the debate on the "Cold War" between the U.S. and China? How will the changes in U.S.-China ties influence the burning issues in East Asia (e.g. the South China Sea, the Korean Peninsula, and Taiwan)? What should be the new mechanisms and measures for arms control, crisis management, and war prevention?

8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	International Military and Security Landscape	
	8:00pm-8:45pm	Speakers (7 min per speaker): Andrew Scobell, XU Qiyu, Joseph DeTrani, LI Chen, Michael Swaine, HU Bo
	8:45pm-9:10pm	Discussion
9:10pm-9:20pm Beijing Time	Break	
9:20pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	Military and Security Issues in East Asia	
	9:20pm-10:05pm	Speakers (7 min per speaker): FAN Jishe, Odd Arne Westad, ZHOU Bo, Ken Jimbo, ZHANG Tuosheng, Dongmin Lee
	10:05pm-10:30pm	Discussion

Discussion Participants:

Joseph DeTrani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Ken Jimbo, Dongmin Lee, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine,
Odd Arne Westad

FAN Jishe, HU Bo, LI Chen, XU Qiyu, YAO Yunzhu, ZHANG Tuosheng, ZHOU Bo

Parallel Sub-forum III Globalization: Moving Forward or Backward?

Moderators: XUE Lan and Ngaire Woods

How would you assess the trajectory of globalization since the 1980s? What future prospects for the globalized world do you see? How can negative impacts of globalization be addressed? With major power competition intensifying, which areas can become best practices of cooperation? How should multilateral mechanisms be adjusted to foster productive cooperation and coordination? Are public health and climate change areas to spearhead? Can there be agreement over boundaries between cooperation for economic growth, technological advancement and protection for national security?

8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	Recap and Outlook for Globalization	
	8:00pm-8:40pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Jonathan Woetzel, CHEN Qi, Kate Hampton, ZOU Ji, Thomas Wright, CUI Hongjian, Arthur Kroeber, TENG Fei
	8:40pm-9:10pm	Discussion
9:10pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	Approaches and Tools to Address Global Challenges	
	9:10pm-10:00pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Max Tegmark, ZENG Yi, Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, ZHA Daojiong, Laurence Tubiana, GAO Xiang, Nils Gilman, Michael Vatikiotis, Danit Gal
	10:00pm-10:30pm	Discussion

Discussion Participants:

Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Nils Gilman, Kate Hampton, Arthur Kroeber, Robin Niblett, Max Tegmark, Laurence Tubiana, Michael Vatikiotis, Jonathan Woetzel, Ngaire Woods, Thomas Wright

CHEN Qi, CUI Hongjian, GAO Xiang, HUANG Renwei, TENG Fei, XUE Lan, ZENG Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZOU Ji



January 24, 2021	8:00am-10:30am	Beijing Time
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	Main Plenary II: Idea Recap and Proposals Moderators: DA Wei and Rafiq Dossani	
8:00am-8:45am Beijing Time	Idea Pooling from Each Sub-forum (15 min for each group: presented by one representative and commented by other participants) Parallel Sub-forum I: WANG Jisi Parallel Sub-forum II: Karl W. Eikenberry Parallel Sub-forum III: ZOU Ji	
8:45am-10:15am Beijing Time	Suggestions for Next Step (International order, the great power relations, security and military trends, global governance)	
10:15am-10:30am Beijing Time	Concluding Remarks: FU Ying	
Discussion Participants:		
Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Joseph DeTrani, Rafiq Dossani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Nils Gilman, David Gordon, Stephen Hadley, Arthur Kroeber, Cliff Kupchan, Dongmin Lee, Bonny Lin, Alex Lennon, Michael McFaul, Douglas Paal, Richard Sakwa, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine, John L. Thornton, Michael Vatikiotis, Richard Weitz, Odd Arne Westad, Thomas Wright AN Gang, CHEN Qi, CHEN Xiaogong, CUI Hongjian, DA Wei, FAN Jishe, FU Ying, GAO Xiang, HU Bo, HUANG Renwei, LI Chen, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, TENG Fei, WANG Dong, WANG Jisi, WU Dahui, XU Qiyu, XUE Lan, YAN Xuetong, YAO Yunzhu, ZENG Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHOU Bo, ZHU Feng, ZOU Ji		

5

List of Participants (In Alphabetical Order)

International Participants

Jude Blanchette	Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey	Tang Chair in China Policy Studies, RAND Corporation
Joseph DeTrani	Former Director, U.S. National Counter Proliferation Center; Former U.S. Associate Director of National Intelligence
Rafiq Dossani	Director, RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy
Karl W. Eikenberry	Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan
Danit Gal	Associate Fellow at the Leverhulme Centre for the Future of Intelligence at the University of Cambridge
Nils Gilman	Vice President of Programs, Berggruen Institute
David Gordon	Senior Adviser for Geo-Economics and Strategy, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
Stephen Hadley	Former U.S. National Security Advisor
Kate Hampton	CEO, Children's Investment Fund Foundation (UK)
Steve Howard	Secretary General, the Global Foundation
Ken Jimbo	Professor at the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University
Sergey Karaganov	Dean, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia



Continued

International Participants

Arthur Kroeber	Founding Partner and Head of Research, Gavekal Dragonomics
Cliff Kupchan	Chairman, Eurasia Group
Dongmin Lee	Associate Professor, Department Chair, Department of Political Science, Dankook University
Alex Lennon	Editor-in-Chief, The Washington Quarterly, George Washington University
Cheng Li	Director, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution
Bonny Lin	Political Scientist, RAND Corporation
Michael McFaul	Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Professor of International Studies, Department of Political Science
Robin Niblett	Director of Chatham House
Douglas Paal	Nonresident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Richard Sakwa	Professor of Russian and European Politics, University of Kent, UK
Andrew Scobell	Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation
Michael Swaine	Director of the East Asia Program, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft
Max Tegmark	Professor of the Institute for Artificial Intelligence & Fundamental Interactions and the Center for Brains, Minds and Machine, MIT
John L. Thornton	Executive Chairman, Barrick Gold Corporation; Co-Chair, Asia Society
Laurence Tubiana	CEO, the European Climate Foundation (ECF)

Continued

International Participants

Michael Vatikiotis	Asia Director, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Richard Weitz	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute
Odd Arne Westad	Elihu Professor of History, Yale University
Jonathan Woetzel	Senior Partner of McKinsey and Director of McKinsey Global Institute
Ngaire Woods	Founding Dean of the Blavatnik School of Government and Professor of Global Economic Governance at Oxford University
Thomas Wright	Director of Center on the United States and Europe, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Chinese Participants

AN Gang	Fellow, CISS; Senior Editor, World Affairs Magazine
CHEN Qi	Secretary-General, CISS; Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University
CHEN Xiaogong	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Former Deputy Commander, People's Liberation Army Air Force of China
CUI Hongjian	Director of European Studies, China Institute of International Studies
DA Wei	Fellow, CISS; Professor, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University
FAN Jishe	Fellow, CISS; Professor, Institute of International Strategic Studies, Party School of CPC Central Committee (National Academy of Governance)



Continued

Chinese Participants

FU Ying	Chairperson, CISS
GAO Xiang	Director of International Policy Research, National Center for Climate Change Strategy and International Cooperation (NCSC)
HU Bo	Fellow, CISS; Director of the Center for Maritime Strategy Studies and Research Professor at the Institute of Ocean Research, Peking University
HUANG Renwei	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Executive Dean/Distinguished Professor, Fudan Institute of Belt and Road & Global Governance
LI Chen	Fellow, CISS; Associate Professor and Assistant to the Dean, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China
NI Feng	Professor and Director of Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
SHI Yinhong	Distinguished Professor of International Relations, Chairman of Academic Committee of the School for International Studies, Director of the Center on American Studies, Renmin University of China; Counsellor to the State Council of People's Republic of China
TENG Fei	Associate professor of Institute of Energy, Environment and Economy, Tsinghua University
WANG Dong	Executive deputy director of PKU Institute for China-US People-to-People Exchange; Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University
WANG Jisi	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University
WU Dahui	Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University
XU Qiyu	Senior Fellow, National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University
XUE Lan	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Dean and Professor, Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University

Continued

Chinese Participants

YAN Xuetong	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Dean, Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University
YAO Yang	Dean and Professor, National School of Development(NSD), Peking University
YAO Yunzhu	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Director Emeritus, Center on China-America Defense Relations, Academy of Military Science of the Chinese People's Liberation Army
ZENG Yi	Fellow, CISS; Professor and Deputy Director at Research Center for Brain-inspired Artificial Intelligence, and Co-Director of the China-UK Research Centre for AI Ethics and Governance, Institute of Automation, Chinese Academy of Sciences
ZHA Daojiong	Professor, School of International Studies, National School of Development, Peking University
ZHANG Baijia	Academic Committee Member, CISS; Former Deputy Director, Party History Research Center of the CPC Central Committee
ZHANG Tuosheng	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Chairman, Academic Committee, China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies
ZHAO Minghao	Fellow, CISS; Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University
ZHOU Bo	Senior Fellow, CISS
ZHU Feng	China Forum expert, CISS; Executive Director, Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University
ZOU Ji	Fellow, CISS; CEO & President of Energy Foundation China



6 Participant Biographies (In Alphabetical Order)

International Participants



Jude Blanchette

Jude Blanchette holds the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Previously, he was engagement director at The Conference Board's China Center for Economics and Business in Beijing, where he researched China's political environment with a focus on the workings of the Communist Party of China and its impact on foreign companies and investors. Prior to working at The Conference Board, Blanchette was the assistant director of the 21st Century China Center at the University of California, San Diego.

Blanchette has written for a range of publications, including *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*, and his Chinese translations have appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Financial Times*. His book, *China's New Red Guards: The Return of Radicalism and the Rebirth of Mao Zedong*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2019.

Blanchette is a public intellectual fellow at the National Committee on United States-China Relations and serves on the board of the American Mandarin Society. He is also a senior advisor at Crumpton Group, a geopolitical risk advisory based in Arlington, Virginia. He holds an M.A. in modern Chinese studies from the University of Oxford and a B.A. in economics from Loyola University in Maryland.



Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey

Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey is a senior policy researcher and the Tang Chair for China Policy Studies at the RAND Corporation. She leads wide-ranged collaborative research initiatives on health, education, and global developments. In the last two years, Dr. Bouey has testified multiple times before Congress, briefed U.S. government officials, and was quoted frequently on China's global health initiatives and US-China public health collaborations by main media channels. Prior to joining RAND, she led an international research workgroup on U.S. and China's health security interests, including pandemic preparedness and global health governance. Dr. Bouey also serve as a professor of policy analysis at RAND Pardee Graduate School and associate professor of global health at the Georgetown University. Her research centered on migrant health and social determinants of health and many projects were funded by NIH, HRSA/HHS, and foundations. Dr. Bouey routinely provide consultations for the World Bank Group, UNAIDS, USAID, Hong Kong Government AIDS Fund, and international NGOs.



Joseph DeTrani

Joseph DeTrani was the U.S. Special Envoy for the Six-Party Talks with North Korea and the U.S. representative to the Korea Energy Development Organization. He was an Associate Director of National Intelligence and Mission Manager for North Korea and the Director of the National Counter Proliferation Center, while also serving as a Special Adviser to the Director of National Intelligence. After government service, he was the President of the Intelligence and National Security Alliance (INSA), a professional think tank and President of the Daniel Morgan Graduate School of National Security.

Currently, he is on the Board of Managers at Sandia National Laboratories and is a Senior Advisor at Oak Ridge National Laboratories and a professor at Missouri State University's Graduate Department of Security and Strategic Studies. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the National Committee on North Korea, a Fellow at the Institute of Korean-American Studies and a Rochester Institute of Technology/National Institute of the Deaf Foundation Board member.

Ambassador DeTrani served over two decades with the Central Intelligence Agency as a member of the Senior Executive Service, with overseas assignments in East Asia and domestically as Director of Technical Services, Director of European Operations, Director of Public Affairs, Director of East Asia Operations and Director of the Crime and Narcotics Center.

Ambassador DeTrani was an officer in the Air Force and graduated with honors from New York University (NYU). He attended NYU School of Law and Graduate School of Business Administration.



Rafiq Dossani

Rafiq Dossani is director of the RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy, a senior economist at the RAND Corporation, and a professor at the Pardee RAND Graduate School. He works on regional development, security, finance, education, and technology issues. Recent projects include the Belt and Road Initiative, modes of engagement with North Korea, Asian regional trade, the digital divide in early childhood education, smart city development in China, India's service sector, academic medical centers in China, and the use of artificial intelligence in elder home-based health care.

Previously, Dossani was director of Stanford University's Center for South Asia, and a senior research scholar at Stanford University's Institute for International Studies. He holds a Ph.D. in finance from Northwestern University, an M.B.A. from the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, and a B.A. in economics from St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

In 2017, Dossani received the Exemplary Performance award from the South Asian Studies Association for lifetime scholastic contributions to South Asian studies.



Karl W. Eikenberry

Karl Eikenberry is a former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan and Lieutenant General, U.S. Army (retired). He is a faculty member of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University, Non-Resident Fellow at the Liechtenstein Institute on Self Determination at Princeton University, and Board Member of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva, Switzerland.

Previously he was the Director of the U.S.-Asia Security Initiative at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University.

Prior to his arrival at Stanford, he served as the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan from 2009 until 2011. Before appointment as Chief of Mission in Kabul, Ambassador Eikenberry had a thirty-five-year career in the United States Army, retiring in April 2009 with the rank of lieutenant general. His military operational posts included commander and staff officer with mechanized, light, airborne, and ranger infantry units in the continental U.S., Hawaii, Korea, Italy, and in Afghanistan as the Commander of the American-led Coalition forces. He held various policy and political-military positions, including Deputy Chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Military Committee in Brussels, Belgium; Director for Strategic Planning and Policy for U.S. Pacific Command at Camp Smith, Hawaii; U.S. Security Coordinator and Chief of the Office of Military Cooperation in Kabul, Afghanistan; and Assistant Army and later Defense Attaché at the United States Embassy in Beijing, China.



Danit Gal

Danit Gal is an Associate Fellow at the Leverhulme Centre for the Future of Intelligence at the University of Cambridge, and Visiting Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University. Previously, she was Project Assistant Professor at the Cyber Civilizations Research Center at Keio University in Tokyo, Japan, Yenching Scholar at Peking University and International Strategic Advisor to the iCenter at Tsinghua University in Beijing, China. Danit is the vice-chair the IEEE P7009 Standard on the Fail-Safe Design of Autonomous and Semi-Autonomous Systems working group and a member of the Executive Committee of The IEEE Global Initiative on Ethics of Autonomous and Intelligent Systems. In addition, she serves as a Founding Editor and Editorial Board Member of Springer's AI and Ethics journal, an Executive Committee Member of the AI4SDGs Cooperation Network at the Beijing Academy of AI, and an Advisory Board Member of UKRI's Trustworthy Autonomous Systems Verifiability Node.



Nils Gilman

Nils Gilman is the Vice President of Programs at the Berggruen Institute, in which capacity he leads the Institute's research program, directs its resident fellowship program, and is also Deputy Editor of Noema Magazine. He has previously worked as Associate Chancellor at the University of California Berkeley, as Research Director and scenario planning consultant at the Monitor Group and Global Business Network, and at various enterprise software companies including Salesforce.com and BEA Systems. Gilman has won the Sidney Award (for long-form journalism) from the New York Times and an Albie Award (for international political economy) from The Washington Post.

He is the author of *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (2004) and *Deviant Globalization: Black Market Economy in the 21st Century* (2011) as well as numerous articles on intellectual history and political economy. He holds a B.A. M.A. and Ph.D. in History from U.C. Berkeley.



David Gordon

David Gordon is Senior Advisor for Geo-economics and strategy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), where he leads the Institute's multi-year project on China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). He is also Senior Advisor at the Eurasia Group, where he was formerly the firm's Chairman.

From 2007 to 2009, David served as the director of policy planning under Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. He played a leading role in developing policy ideas for Rice on issues ranging from Afghanistan and Pakistan to US engagement in East Asia to the multilateral response to the international financial crisis. He also led the department's strategic policy dialogues with more than 20 countries around the globe, including China. Gordon was deputy to Ambassador John Negroponte in the Strategic Dialogue with China in 2007-8.

Prior to his work with the State Department, Gordon was Vice-Chair of the US National Intelligence Council (NIC). He provided analytic leadership for the NIC's ground-breaking reports, *Global Trends 2015* and *Global Trends 2020*. David received his doctorate from the University of Michigan and has taught at the College of William and Mary, Princeton University, Georgetown University, and the University of Nairobi. In the spring of 2021, IISS will publish Gordon's book on the Digital Silk Road, co-edited with Meia Nouwens.



Stephen Hadley

Stephen Hadley is a principal of Rice, Hadley, Gates & Manuel LLC, an international strategic consulting firm founded with Condoleezza Rice, Robert Gates, and Anja Manuel. Mr. Hadley is also Board Chair of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and an Executive Vice Chair of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council. Mr. Hadley served for four years as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from 2005 to 2009. From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Hadley was the Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor, serving under then National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Mr. Hadley had previously served on the National Security Council staff and in the Defense Department including as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy from 1989 to 1993. During his professional career, Mr. Hadley has served on a number of corporate and advisory boards, including: the National Security Advisory Panel to the Director of Central Intelligence, the Department of Defense Policy Board, and the State Department's Foreign Affairs policy Board. He is a member of the Aspen Strategy Group.



Kate Hampton

Kate Hampton became CEO of the Children's Investment Fund Foundation in March 2016, having run CIFF's Climate Change team since 2009.

Current voluntary board and advisory roles include the European Climate Foundation, Observer Research Foundation (India), the China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development (CCICED) and its Special Policy Study on Global Climate Governance and China's Role, the Open Political Economy Network (OPEN), the Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment (University of Oxford), We Protect Global Alliance, Friend of COP26, and Unilever's Sustainable Living Plan Advisory Council.

Kate's career spans roles in government, finance, consulting, a think tank and NGOs, including at Climate Change Capital, where she was Head of Policy. She has also advised policy makers in several roles, including as Senior Policy Advisor for the United Kingdom's G8 and EU presidencies in 2005. In 2008, Kate was named a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader. She holds a BSc from the London School of Economics and a Master in Public Policy from the Harvard Kennedy School.



Steve Howard

As Founding Secretary General of the non-profit Global Foundation, Steve Howard has led the necessary global push for the adoption of 'co-operative globalisation', a positive strategy for inclusive, 'win-win' economic development and a sustainable global economy. Many world leaders, including Pope Francis, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Christine Lagarde, Pascal Lamy and Mark Carney, have personally participated in and endorsed this and related initiatives.

He led the successful renaissance strategy for Melbourne, in Australia in the 1990's, including a national strategy for private sector investment in public infrastructure, now adopted as a business model, worldwide. He continues to advise on complex infrastructure projects and funds in emerging markets.

In 1998, he co-founded and has since led the Global Foundation, for which an early centerpiece was the restoration of relations between Australia and the European Union and France, in particular.

Steve is respected in China for his contribution to China's global engagement over the past 20 years. Highlights have included: his role in bringing China, the US and Australia together on global climate change policy; and more recently, his integral role in the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the first international institution led by China. He visits China regularly for high-level dialogues embracing security, international relations and multilateral economic development.

Steve completed his Degree in Social Science at Deakin University and the Senior Executive Program at London Business School, under a British Government scholarship. He was awarded the Chevalier of the Order of Merit for his contribution to France-Australia relations in 2004.



Ken Jimbo

Ken Jimbo is Professor at the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University. He is concurrently an adjunct Senior Research Fellow at the Canon Institute for Global Studies (CIGS) and the Tokyo Foundation (TKFD). He coordinates Japan-U.S. Military Statesman Forum (MSF) as an Executive Director. He served as a Special Advisor to the Minister of Defense, Japan Ministry of Defense (2020) and a Senior Advisor, The National Security Secretariat (2018-20).

His main research fields are in International Security, Japan-US Security Relations, Japanese Foreign and Defense Policy, Multilateral Security in Asia-Pacific, and Regionalism in East Asia. He has been a policy advisor at various Japanese governmental commissions and research groups including at the National Security Secretariat, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His policy writings have appeared in NBR, The RAND Corporation, Stimson Center, Pacific Forum CSIS, Japan Times, Nikkei, Yomiuri, Asahi and Sankei Shimbun.



Sergey Karaganov

Sergey Karaganov is Dr. Hab (History), Scientific Head and Dean of the Faculty (School) of International Economics and Foreign Affairs of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy. He has authored and edited more than 25 books and around 500 articles. Some of his positions include: Member of the Academic Council of the MFA of Russia, Member of the Academic and Advisory Council, Russian Security Council, Member of the Council for the Development of Civil Society and Human Rights under the President of Russia. In 1990s he was the member of the Presidential Council of Russia. In 2014-2015 Sergey Karaganov was a member of the High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project under the OSCE.



Arthur Kroeber

Arthur Kroeber co-founded the China-focused research service Dragonomics in Beijing in 2002 and was the editor of its flagship journal China Economic Quarterly through 2017. Since Dragonomics' 2011 merger with Gavekal he has been head of research for the combined operation. Before founding Dragonomics, he spent 15 years as journalist specializing in Asian economic affairs, and reported from China, India, Pakistan and other Asian countries. He is also an Adjunct Professor of Economics at the NYU Stern School of Business, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the National Committee on US-China Relations, and a senior non-resident fellow of the Brookings-Tsinghua Center in Beijing. His book "China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know" was published by Oxford University Press in 2016, with a second edition in 2020, and is widely used in university classrooms.



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Cliff Kupchan is Eurasia Group's chairman, as well as director of research and leader of the firm's global macro coverage. Cliff has held high-level positions in the US government and regularly meets top foreign leaders. He provides cutting-edge insights on political risk. Cliff has been a leading expert on international relations for more than two decades—in academia, as a US official, and in the private sector—and he speaks frequently to public and private sector audiences. Cliff often appears on major TV networks and is frequently quoted in the world's leading newspapers. He has published extensively in academic journals and frequently authors op-eds. Cliff currently focuses on US foreign and trade policy, dynamics within the US government, and global hotspots. He is also an expert on US and international sanctions. Throughout his career, he has specialized in the Middle East and Eurasia, and remains very involved in the regions. Before joining Eurasia Group, Cliff held a senior position at the US State Department during the Clinton administration. He previously worked for the House International Relations Committee of the US Congress. More recently, Cliff was vice president at The Center for the National Interest.



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Bonny Lin

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Michael McFaul

Michael McFaul is the Director and Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; the Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Professor of International Studies in Political Science; and the Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, all at Stanford University. He was also the Distinguished Mingde Faculty Fellow at the Stanford Center at Peking University from June to August of 2015. He joined the Stanford faculty in 1995. Ambassador McFaul is also an analyst for NBC News and a contributing columnist to The Washington Post.

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Robin Niblett

Robin Niblett CMG became the Director and Chief Executive of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) in January 2007. From 2001 to 2006, Dr Niblett was the Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer of Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). During his last two years at CSIS, he also served as Director of the CSIS Europe Programme and its Initiative for a Renewed Transatlantic Partnership.

Dr Niblett is an expert on UK foreign policy, European political and economic security and transatlantic relations.

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Douglas H. Paal is a distinguished fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He previously served as vice chairman of JPMorgan Chase International (2006–2008) and was an unofficial U.S. representative to Taiwan as director of the American Institute in Taiwan (2002–2006). He was on the National Security Council staffs of Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush between 1986 and 1993 as director of Asian Affairs and then as senior director and special assistant to the president.

Paal held positions in the policy planning staff at the State Department, as a senior analyst for the CIA, and at U.S. embassies in Singapore and Beijing. He has spoken and published frequently on Asian affairs and national security issues.



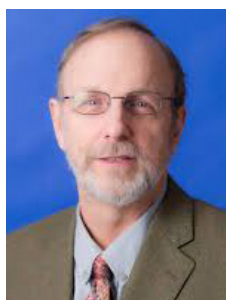
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Richard Sakwa is Professor of Russian and European Politics at the University of Kent at Canterbury, a Senior Research Fellow at the National Research University-Higher School of Economics in Moscow and an Honorary Professor in the Faculty of Political Science at Moscow State University. After graduating in History from the London School of Economics, he took a PhD from the Centre for Russian and East European Studies (CREES) at the University of Birmingham. He held lectureships at the Universities of Essex and California, Santa Cruz, before joining the University of Kent in 1987. He has published widely on Soviet, Russian and post-communist affairs. Recent books include *Putin Redux: Power and Contradiction in Contemporary Russia* (London and New York, Routledge, 2014), *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* (London, I. B. Tauris, 2016), *Russia against the Rest: The Post-Cold War Crisis of World Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) and *Russia's Futures* (Cambridge, Polity, 2019). His latest book is *The Putin Paradox*, published by I. B. Tauris (Bloomsbury) in 2020. His book *Deception: Russiagate and the New Cold War* is due out with Lexington Books by the end of 2021. He is currently working on *The Lost Peace: The Second Cold War and the Making of a New Global Conflict* for Yale University Press.



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Andrew Scobell is Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation. His publications include: *Command and Control in U.S. Naval Competition with China* (RAND, 2020), *China's Grand Strategy* (RAND, 2020) *Chairman Xi Remakes the PLA* (National Defense University Press, 2019), *At the Dawn of Belt and Road* (RAND, 2018), *PLA Influence on China's National Security Policymaking* (Stanford University Press, 2015), *China's Search for Security* (Columbia University Press, 2012), and *China's Use of Military Force* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). Scobell earned a doctorate in political science from Columbia University.



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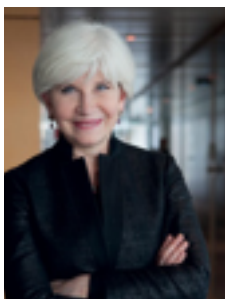
John L. Thornton

John L. Thornton is Executive Chairman of Barrick Gold Corporation. He is Chair Emeritus of the Brookings Institution, Co-Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Asia Society, and a Professor and Director of the Global Leadership Program at the Tsinghua University School of Economics and Management in Beijing. Mr. Thornton retired in 2003 as President and a member of the board of the Goldman Sachs Group.

Mr. Thornton is a director of the Ford Motor Company and of SparkCognition, the leading industrial AI company in the world. He is also Non-Executive Chairman of PineBridge Investments and Chairman of Silk Road Finance Corporation. He is the Vice Chairman of the Board of Morehouse College and a trustee, advisory board member or member of the China Investment Corporation (CIC), King Abdullah University of Science and Technology, McKinsey Advisory Council and Schwarzman Scholars.

In 2007, Institutional Investor Magazine named Mr. Thornton as one of 40 individuals who had the greatest influence in shaping global financial markets over the previous forty years. He was a recipient in 2008 of the Friendship Award of the People's Republic of China, the highest honor accorded to a non-Chinese citizen. The Chinese government also named him as one of fifteen 'foreign experts' who had made the most significant contribution to China's development over the previous three decades.

Mr. Thornton received an A.B. in history from Harvard College, a B.A./M.A. in jurisprudence from Oxford University and an M.P.P.M. from the Yale School of Management. Mr. Thornton was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2007 and an Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford University in 2009.



Laurence Tubiana

Laurence Tubiana is CEO of the European Climate Foundation (ECF). In addition to her role at ECF, she is the Chair of the Board of Governors at the French Development Agency (AFD), and a Professor at Sciences Po, Paris. Before joining ECF, Laurence was France's Climate Change Ambassador and Special Representative for COP21, and as such a key architect of the landmark Paris Agreement. Following COP21, she was appointed High Level Champion for climate action.

Laurence brings decades of expertise. From 1997—2002, she served as Senior Adviser on the Environment to the French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin. From 2009—2010, she created and led the newly established Directorate for Global Public Goods at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She founded in 2002 and directed until 2014 the Institute of Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI). She has held academic positions including Sciences Po and as Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University. She has been a member of numerous boards and scientific committees, including the Chinese Committee on the Environment and International Development (CCICED).



Michael Vatikiotis

Michael Vatikiotis is the Asia Regional Director for the Geneva based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. Based in Singapore, he works on promoting dialogue and conflict resolution in Asia and has over a decade of experience working to mitigate conflicts in Indonesia, Thailand and Myanmar as well as the Philippines. Formerly a BBC Correspondent and editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review, Vatikiotis has been a writer, broadcaster and journalist in Asia for thirty-five years. With family origins in the Middle East, he has lived in Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand as well as Hong Kong. His latest book is "Blood and Silk: Power and Conflict in Modern Southeast Asia." He is a regular broadcaster and contributor to the opinion page of several newspapers. Vatikiotis is a graduate of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, earned his doctorate, which was on Thailand, from Oxford University, and was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Maryland. He is a member of the Asia Society's International Council. He speaks the Thai and Indonesian languages fluently. He is currently writing a study of cosmopolitanism in the Middle East seen through the lens of his family.



Richard Weitz

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At Yale, Professor Westad teaches courses on global and international history, on global power shifts, and on China's role in world affairs.

Professor Westad won the Bancroft Prize for *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. The book, which has been translated into fifteen languages, also won a number of other awards. Westad is also the general editor of the three-volume *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, as well as author of the *Penguin History of the World* (now in its 6th edition). *Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750*, was released in the US and UK in 2012 and made two Top 100 lists for that year. The book won the prestigious Bernard Schwartz Book Award from the Asia Society, awarded annually for outstanding contributions to the understanding of contemporary Asia or U.S.-Asia relations. His most recent book, *The Cold War: A World History*, was published in 2017 by Basic Books in the United States and Penguin in the UK.



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Jonathan Woetzel is a senior partner with McKinsey & Company based in Shanghai. In his 30 years with the Firm, Jonathan has advised clients in a range of industries – including energy, materials, technology and industrial – helping transform local companies into global leaders, and developing policy recommendations for government. Dr. Woetzel has led McKinsey's Asia Energy and Materials practice, the McKinsey Global Institute, McKinsey's macroeconomic research institute, in Asia, and its Corporate Finance practice in China. He led the establishment of McKinsey's China practice in the 1990s including managing its Shanghai location. He is the Co-Chair of the Urban China Initiative, a research collaboration with Tsinghua University. Dr. Woetzel has written five books on China including *Capitalist China: Strategies for a Revolutionized Economy* (Wiley & Sons, 2004), co-authored with Jimmy Hexter *Operation China: From Strategy to Execution* (Harvard Business Press, 2008) and co-authored with Jeffrey Towson *The 1 Hour China* and with James Manyika and Richard Dobbs *No Ordinary Disruption* (Public Affairs, 2015). He currently has 3 Amazon international business bestsellers. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Southern California, where his work focused on China's political economy. He is an honorary lecturer at Jiao Tong University Antai Business School, Peking University Guanghua Business School and China Europe International Business School. Dr. Woetzel, a U.S. citizen, is proficient in Mandarin, Spanish, and German. He lives in Shanghai.



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Ngaire Woods serves as a member of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank's International Advisory Panel, and on the Boards of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation and the Stephen A. Schwarzman Education Foundation. She is an Independent Non-Executive Director at Rio Tinto (effective September 2020). She sits on the advisory boards of the Centre for Global Development, the African Leadership Institute, the School of Management and Public Policy at Tsinghua University, and the Nelson Mandela School of Public Policy at Cape Town University. She is Chair of the Harvard University Visiting Committee on International Engagement and sits on the Harvard Kennedy School Visiting Committee. She is a member of the UK Government National Leadership Centre's Expert Advisory Panel, and of the Department for International Trade's Trade and Economy Panel. She is an honorary governor of the Ditchley Foundation.



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Da Wei earned his BA and MA from UIR, and his Ph.D. from CICIR. He was a visiting senior fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States from 2006 to 2007, and a visiting senior associate at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University from 2008 to 2009.



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HU Bo

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LI Chen

Li Chen is an associate professor and director of Center for International Security and Strategy at School of International Studies, Renmin University of China and also a Fellow at CISS, Tsinghua University. His research interests include strategic and diplomatic history, contemporary security and military strategy, and China-U.S. security relations, on which he has published scholarly articles in leading journals such as *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, *China Military Science*, and various policy briefings. He frequently participates in various Track-2 dialogues on Asia-Pacific security. He is also a non-resident fellow of Center for International Security and Strategy at Tsinghua University. Li received his Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge in 2013, and MSc from the LSE and Peking University in 2008.



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SHI Yinhong

Shi Yinhong is distinguished Professor of International Relations, Chairman of Academic Committee of the School for International Studies, and Director of the Center on American Studies at Renmin University of China in Beijing. He has served as a Counsellor to the State Council of People's Republic of China since February 2011. His previous positions include Professor of International History at Nanjing University and Professor of International Relations at International Relations Academy, Nanjing. He also served as President of American Historical Research Association of China from 1996 to 2002. He taught graduate courses as Visiting Professor of Public Policy three times at University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and Visiting Professor of Modern China Studies at Aichi University in Nagoya. He received a Ph.D. in international history from Nanjing University in 1988. He mainly engages in history and ideas of international politics, strategic studies, East Asia security and foreign policies of both China and the United States. He has published eighteen books, more than 630 professional articles and essays, as well as nineteen translated books mainly on strategic history and international politics.



TENG Fei

Fei Teng is now an associate professor and deputy director of Institute of Energy, Environment and Economy in Tsinghua University. His research interests include energy and climate policy analysis using modeling tools, and international climate regime. He received his bachelor degrees in Mechanical Engineering and Applied Mathematics from Tsinghua University in 1998, and his MSc and Ph.D. in Management Science in School of Public Policy and Management at Tsinghua University in 2003. He finished his postdoc research in ENSIC/CNRS, Nancy in the year 2004.

His research supported China's preparation and submission on 2050 low emission development strategy, emission peaking NDC before the Paris Agreement and submission of NAMAs before Copenhagen. He serves as a lead author of IPCC 5th and 6th assessment report in WG III. He is the lead author of Second, Third and Fourth China's National Assessment Report on Climate Change, member of drafting team for several vital national documents, including National Plan on Climate Change and White Paper on Climate Change.

He served as advisory experts for China's negotiation team under UNFCCC from 2007 and 2017. He was the chief negotiator for transparency in Chinese delegation from the year 2009 to 2016. He is also a member of the BASIC expert group in BASIC ministerial meeting since 2011 and advisory experts for LMDC countries and second-track dialogue between China-India, China-EU, China-UK, and China-US. He served as the Chair of Consultative Group of Experts (CGE) under UNFCCC in 2013 to help developing countries to increase their reporting capacity on climate change.



WANG Dong

Wang Dong is Full Professor with tenure at School of International Studies, Peking University. Prof. Wang also serves as Deputy Director of the Office for Humanities and Social Sciences and Executive Director of the Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding, all at Peking University. He also serves as Standing Council Member of the Chinese Association of American Studies, Member of the Steering Committee of the East Asia Security Forum, Chinese Overseas Educated Scholars Association, International Advisory Committee Member of the Shanghai Academy of Area Studies and Global Governance, and Advisory Committee Member for the Carter Center-Global Times US-China Young Scholars Forum.

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WANG Jisi

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