

The 5th International Forum on Security and Strategy

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

MARCH 23-25 BEIJING, CHINA

CONTENTS

71 About CISS

| 01 | Theme |
|----|------------------------------|
| 01 | Organizer |
| 01 | General Information |
| 04 | Time and Date (Beijing Time) |
| 05 | Agenda |
| 10 | List of Participants |
| 17 | Participant Biographies |
| | |



1 Theme

A World at Crossroad: Re-engagement or Factionalism

2 Organizer

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

3 General Information

I. Venue

Goldfish Hutong on the 3rd floor, Fairmont Beijing Hotel
8 Yong An Dong Li Jian Guo Men Wai Avenue, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100022,
China



II. Zoom Links

[March 24]

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/82971672817?pwd=VW5iQnlWNzBtTVBFQWxZUzhqcmlFZz09

Meeting ID: 829 7167 2817 Meeting Passscode: 004420

[March 25]

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/81020563572?pwd=d1NNMS95QnRzYUJKZHQvMGdjamdGQT09

Meeting ID: 810 2056 3572 Meeting Passscode: 517580

III. Meeting Guidance

- 1. Before joining the zoom meeting, please make sure to use your name as the displayed name to keep the moderators and the other participants informed.
- 2. English-Chinese simultaneous interpretation will be provided for this meeting. To use this service, please click the globe icon (f) at the bottom right corner in your meeting controls after joining the meeting and select the audio channel of your chosen language.
- 3. Please keep yourself muted when you are not making a remark or comment during the meeting. To make comments in the discussion session, please click Raise Hand ut the bottom of your meeting controls to notify the host, or click Chat to send your comments in the chat window.
- 4. Due to the packed agenda of this forum, please limit your speech to 7 minutes (approx.); for participants in the discussion session, please try to limit your questions or



comments to 2 minutes.

- 5. Please try to join in the Zoom meeting 5 minutes prior to the starting time indicated in the agenda to make sure that any technical issue can be dealt with before the session starts.
- 6. If you experience any problem before or during the meeting, please feel free to contact our staff:

For International participants:

Ms. SHEN Qingqing +86 17778004780 shenqingqing@tsinghua.edu.cn

For Chinese participants:

Ms. WANG Jie +86 17744592272 wangjiezzt@tsinghua.edu.cn

4

Time and Date (Beijing Time)

| 2023.03.23 | 14:00-18:00 18:00-20:00 | Check-in Welcome Dinner (Champagne House on the 2nd floor) |
|------------|--|---|
| 2023.03.24 | 08:00-08:30 08:40-10:40 10:40-11:00 11:00-12:00 12:00-13:30 13:30-14:30 14:30-14:50 14:50-16:50 17:30-19:00 19:30-21:00 | Opening Remarks Session I: US-China Relations: Seeking Mutually-Accepted Principles and "Guardrails" Break Session II: Security Hotspots in Eurasia: Implications and Prospects Lunch (Brick Tower Hutong on the 3rd floor) Discussion for Session II Break Session III: Asia-Pacific: Sustaining the Region's Common Development Dinner (Brick Tower Hutong on the 3rd floor) Session IV: Economy and Technology Ties: Approaches to Lower the Level of Securitization |
| 2023.03.25 | 09:00-11:00 11:00-11:30 11:30-13:00 | Session V: Global Security Initiative: Responses and Recommendations Concluding Remarks Lunch (Brick Tower Hutong on the 3rd floor) |



5 Agenda

2023.03.24 (Friday)

| 08:00-08:30 | Opening Rema | |
|-------------|---|--|
| | DA Wei | |
| | Session I | |
| 08:40-10:40 | US-China Relations: Seeking Mutually-Accepted Principles and "Guardrails" | |
| | China-US relat between the differences? Wh | ics: y-accepted guiding principles can be proposed for cions? What issues may be the focus of discussion two sides, and where are the consensus and nat measure do the two sides need to take to avoid cts and confrontation? |
| | Moderator: DA Wei | |
| | 08:40-09:40 | Leading Remarks (7mins per speaker) JIA Qingguo Paul Gewirtz* YAN Xuetong* Stephen Roach WU Xinbo Susan Shirk* Paul Haenle* Scott Kennedy |
| | 09:40-10:40 | Discussion |
| 10:40-11:00 | Break | |

| 11.00 14.20 | Session II | |
|-------------|--|---|
| 11:00-14:30 | Security Hotspots in Eurasia: Implications and Prospects | |
| | possilbe to ach | elated parties do to manage the Ukraine conflict? Is it nieve crisis downgrade, ceasefire or even peace? What draw from this crisis? What impacts has the conflict in I to other security hotspots? What security risks we are |
| | Moderator: CHEN Qi | |
| | 11:00-12:00 | Leading Remarks (7mins per speaker) Stephen Hadley* Moon Chung-in* ZHAO Huasheng* Joseph DeTrani* CUI Hongjian Zanny Minton Beddoes William Klein |
| 12:00-13:30 | Lunch (Brick To | ower Hutong on the 3rd floor) |
| | 13:30-14:30 | Discussion for Session II |
| 14:30-14:50 | Break | |



| | Session III | |
|-------------|---|--|
| 14:50-16:50 | Asia-Pacific: Sustaining the Region's Common Development | |
| | Discussion Topics: Facing the increasingly intense great power competition, how can the Asia-Pacific region avoid the risk of being splited, and the theme of economic development and cooperation being replaced by security and confrontation? What common actions can the regional countries take in the area of social and economic development? | |
| | Moderator: ZHOU Bo | |
| | 14:50-15:55 | Leading Remarks (7mins per speaker) Brantly Womack WU Shicun Lee Sang Hyun YANG Bojiang CHHEM Kieth Rethy* ZHANG Tuosheng ZHAI Kun* Yun Sun Lee Dongmin* |
| | 15:55-16:50 | Discussion |
| 17:30-19:00 | Dinner (Brick T | ower Hutong on the 3rd floor) |

| | Session IV | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 19:30-21:00 | Economy and Technology Ties: Approaches to Lower the Level of Securitization | |
| | ecology of tech How are "stra What are assoc | ics: es are considered outstanding in the ever-evolving nological exchange between countries in the world? tegic technologies" defined in national contexts? ciated costs to human welfare when international curtailed due to considerations of security concerns? sized interdependence" have to be accepted as a fait |
| | Moderator: AN | Gang |
| | 19:30-20:15 | Leading Remarks (7mins per speaker) XUE Lan* Cheng Li Susan Thornton Christopher Thomas John Holden ZOU Ji |
| | 20:15-21:00 | Discussion |



2023.03.25 (Saturday)

| 9:00-11:00 | Session V | |
|-------------|--|--|
| | Global Securit | y Initiative: Responses and Recommendations |
| | government put having better improvement s | assesse the Global Security Initiative Chinese roposed? Dose the GSI help the international society understanding of China's foreign policy? What should the GSI have? How to implement it better? On n China and the related parties try to specify the GSI |
| | Moderator: XIA | AO Qian |
| | 09:00-10:05 10:05-11:00 | Leading Remarks (7mins per speaker) ZHANG Baijia Douglas Paal* HUANG Renwei Steve Howard* Michael Vatikiotis Chung Jaehung* ZHU Feng Jennifer Bouey* FANG Ning Discussion |
| 11:00-11:30 | Concluding Re | marks |
| 11:30-13:00 | Lunch (Brick ⁻ | Tower Hutong on the 3rd floor) |

List of Participants (In Alphabetical Order)

International Participants

| Zanny Minton Beddoes | Editor-in-Chief, The Economist |
|----------------------|---|
| Jennifer Bouey* | Tang Chair for China Policy Studies, RAND Corporation |
| CHHEM Kieth Rethy* | Former Executive Director,Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI) |
| Chung Jaehung* | Research Fellow, The SEJONG Institute |
| Joseph DeTrani* | Former Director, U.S. National Counter Proliferation Center |
| Dino Patti Djalal | Former Indonesia's Ambassador to the United States |
| Douglas Paal* | Nonresident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace |
| Paul Gewirtz* | Potter Stewart Professor of Constitutional Law, Yale Law School; Director, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale University |
| Stephen Hadley* | Former National Security Advisor to the President of the United States |



| International Pa | articipants |
|------------------|--|
| Paul Haenle* | Maurice R. Greenberg Director's Chair, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy |
| John Holden | Nonresident Senior Fellow, Asia Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Former President, National Committee on United States- China Relations |
| Steve Howard* | Secretary General, The Global Foundation |
| Scott Kennedy | Senior Adviser/Trustee Chair in Chinese Business and Economic, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) |
| William Klein | Partner with the consultancy FGS Global, Senior Non- resident Associate at the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) |
| Lee Dongmin* | Associate Professor/Department Chair, Department of Political Science, Dankook University |
| Lee Sang Hyun | President, The SEJONG Institute |
| Cheng Li | Director, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution |

| International Pa | rticipants |
|--------------------|---|
| Moon Chung-in* | Chairman, The SEJONG Institute; Special Advisor to the ROK President for Foreign Affairs and National Security |
| Stephen Orlins | President of National Committee on United States-China Relations |
| Stephen Roach | Senior Fellow, Yale University |
| Susan Shirk* | Chair, 21st Century China Center, School of Global Policy and Strategy, UC San Diego |
| Yun Sun | Director, China Program, Stimson Center |
| Susan Thornton | Senior Fellow, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale Law School; Director, Forum on Asia-Pacific Security, National Committee on American Foreign Policy; Former Acting Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, US Department of State |
| Christopher Thomas | Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings, Chairman of Integrated Insights |
| Michael Vatikiotis | Regional Director, Asia, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD) |



International Participants

Brantly Womack

Boeing Visiting Faculty Chair in International Relations of Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University; Senior Faculty Fellow at the Miller Center and Emeritus Professor of Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia

Chinese Participants

| Fellow, CISS; Senior Editor, World Affairs Magazine |
|---|
| Deputy Director, CISS; Professor, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University |
| Director, Institute of European Studies, China Institute of International Studies |
| Director, CISS; Professor, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University |
| Fellow, CISS; Professor/Vice Dean, Institute of International Strategic Studies, Party School of CPC Central Committee (National Academy of Governance) |
| Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) |
| |

| Chinese Par | ticipants |
|--------------|--|
| FU Ying | Former Vice Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Former Ambassador to the UK |
| GU Ning | Associate Professor, School of Politics and Public Administration, Xinjiang University |
| HU Bo | Fellow, CISS; Director, Center for Maritime Strategy Studies, Peking University; Fellow, School of International Studies, Peking University |
| HUANG Renwei | Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Distinguished Professor/ Executive Dean, Fudan Institute of Belt and Road & Global Governance |
| JIA Qingguo | Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University |
| LI Chen | Fellow, CISS; Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China |
| LI Li | Fellow, CISS; Director, Center for Defense Innovation, Northwestern Polytechnical University |
| LI Zhi | Fellow, CISS; Assistant Dean, China Institute for Development Planning, Tsinghua University; Assistant Dean, Institute for Regional Development, Tsinghua University |



| Chinese Participants | |
|----------------------|---|
| LYU Jinghua | Director of the Northeast Asia Progrmme, the Center for Humanitarian Dialogue |
| WU Shicun | Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Founding President, National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) |
| WU Xinbo | Dean, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University; Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan University |
| XIAO Qian | Deputy Director, CISS |
| XUE Lan | Academic Committee Member, CISS, Tsinghua University, Dean, Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University |
| YAN Xuetong* | Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Professor/Dean, Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University |
| YANG Bojiang | Fellow/Director, Institute of Japanese Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) |
| YU Xiang | Fellow, CISS; Senior Research Fellow, China Construction Bank |
| ZHAI Kun* | Fellow, CISS; Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University; Vice Dean, Institute of Area Studies, Peking University |
| ZHANG Lirong | Secretary-General, China Forum, CISS |

| Chinese Participants | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| ZHANG Tuosheng | Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Senior Fellow, China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies | |
| ZHANG Baijia | Former Deputy Director, Party History Research Center, CPC Central Committee | |
| ZHAO Huasheng * | China Forum Experts, CISS; Professor, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University | |
| ZHAO Kejin | Deputy Direcot, CISS; Professor, School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University | |
| ZHAO Minghao* | Fellow, CISS; Professor, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University | |
| ZHOU Bo | Senior Fellow, CISS | |
| ZHU Feng | Fellow, CISS; Executive Director, Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University; | |

Distinguished Professor/Dean, Institute of International Relations,

Fellow, CISS; President, Energy Foundation China

ZOU Ji

Nanjing University



7

Participant Biographies (In Alphabetical Order)

International Participants



Zanny Minton Beddoes

Zanny Minton Beddoes is the Editor-in-Chief of The Economist. She is a renowned global economics expert, soughtafter for her authoritative perspectives on the world economy. She previously worked at the IMF, and as an adviser to the Minister of Finance in Poland.



Jennifer Bouey

Dr. Jennifer Bouey is a senior policy researcher, Tang Chair for China Policy Studies, and an epidemiologist at the RAND Corporation. She also serves as the department chair for Global Health at Georgetown University and a professor of policy analysis at the Pardee RAND Graduate School. She leads wideranged collaborative research initiatives on the U.S.-China relationship, racial equity for Asian Ameicans, global health security, and health equity. Currently she is working on projects to assess the impact of China's overseas development, study public health and soft power, gender equity, and fertility, and coordinate U.S.-China Track II dialogues on climate and trade policies. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Bouey has testified multiple times before U.S. Congressional committees on China's public health, global health, and health care reforms. Bouey's work has been quoted in general interest publications such as The New York Times, The Washington Post, Financial Times, The Economist, and The Hill, as well as scholarly journals such as the American Journal of Public Health, Health Affairs, Emerging Infectious Diseases, and BMJ Open. Her research on infectioius disease prevention among migrant population has been funded by NIH, HRSA/HHS, and multiple foundations. Bouey also has been a consultant to the World Bank Group, UNAIDS, USAID, Hong Kong Government AIDS Fund, and other international NGOs. She earned her Ph.D. and M.P.H. in epidemiology from The George Washington University, and her M.D. from Peking University.





CHHEM Kieth Rethy

Professor CHHEM Kieth Rethy is a medical doctor, science diplomat, educator and historian with extended experience in Digital Science & Technology, Global Health Diplomacy, Nuclear Technology Policy, and Executive Education. He was Professor of Radiology in Canada (McGill), Singapore (NUS), Austria and Japan (Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Fukushima Medical University) for 30 years. He was the Chair of the Radiology and Nuclear Medicine Department of University of Western Ontario. He was the Director of the Division of Human Health at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). He holds a MD, a PhD in Education and a PhD in History. He published more than 100 scientific articles and edited 17 textbooks. He was invitedkeynote speaker in more than 70 countries. Over the last 3 decades, he developed a deep expertise in international development, digital transformation, and nuclear science Communication. From 2014 to 2019, he was the Executive Director of the Cambodian Development Resource Institute (CDRI), a leading think tank in Cambodia, that ranked at the Top 100 of the University of Pennsylvania Global Think Tank ranking. He is also a member of Advisory Board of the International Center for Higher Education Innovation (UNESCO) at the Southern University of Science and Technology in Shenzhen. He is a distinguished visiting professor at the Atomic Bomb Disease Institute, Nagasaki, Hiroshima and Fukushima Medical University. He is a cofounder of China Studies Center at CDRI. He is an international advisor to the China Institute of International Studies in Beijing and a Senior Fellow at the Asia-Pacific Fellows Network of the East West Institute in New York City. In May 2019, Professor CHHEM Kieth Rethy was appointed by royal decree, Minister Delegate, Attached to the Prime Minister.



Chung Jae-Hung

Chung Jae-Hung is Director (Department of Security Strategy Studies & Center for Chinese Studies) of the Sejong institute in Korea. He received B.A. M.A. from Peking University in China (Beijing) and Ph.D. from Chinese Academy of Social Science in China (Beijing). He was an Assistant professor of Kyungnam University (2013-2015), the Institute of Far Eastern Studies (IFES) Analysis (2007-2013) and policy advisor Ministry of National Defence and NIS. He has served as Consulate General of the Republic of Korea Guangzhou in China, Senior Political Researcher (2010-2012). Main research interests include Chinese Security (Defence) and Chinese Non-traditional Security, Sino-North Korea (Sino-South Korea) Security (Defence) relations, Northeast Asian and Korean Peninsula Security (Defence) issue. Recently his research paper and writings include Recent China's Islamic Terrorism: Trend and Policy Considerations (2017), China-Pakistan-Iran Trilateral Security Cooperation(2018), The Third DPRK-PRC Summit: Seoul's Strategic Contemplation and Response(2018), China's Future Military Security Strategy in the Era of U.S.-China Competition (2020), U.S. Withdrawal from Afghanistan and Its Impact on Regional Security Environment(2021), The Taliban's return to power and China's influence(2021), The recent U.S.-China military security competition and the Taiwan Strait crisis (2021), Strategic Competitions among Russia, China and the US: War in Ukraine(2022) and so on.





Joseph DeTrani

Ambassador DeTrani is the former Director of the National Counterproliferation Center and the former Special Envoy for negotiations with North Korea and the U.S. representative to the Korea Energy Development Organization. He was an Associate Director of National Intelligence and senior adviser to the Director of National Intelligence. Prior to that, he was a member of the Senior Executive Service at the Central Intelligence Agency and an officer in the U.S. Air Force. Ambassador DeTrani was the president of Intelligence and National Security Alliance and the president of the Daniel Morgan Graduate School of National Security. He's a professor at Missouri State University's Graduate Department of Defense and Strategic Studies, an adviser at Sandia National Laboratories, a fellow at the Institute for Corean-American Studies and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the National Committee on North Korea. He is the recipient of numerous government awards and has published and spoken publicly about North Korea, China, East Asia and nuclear nonproliferation.



Dino Patti Djalal

Dr. Dino Patti Djalal is a retired career diplomat; former Presidential spokesperson, speech writer and special staff; former Indonesia's Ambassador to the United States; youth activist; academic; author of a national best seller; talk show host, and former Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs (2014). Contrary to his own belief, Dino cannot sing and is a terrible cook. He is known in Indonesia as Presidential Spokesperson for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono – a position he held for 6 years from October 2004 to October 2010, which makes him the longest serving Presidential spokesperson in Indonesia's modern history.





Douglas Paal

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.



Paul Gewirtz

Paul Gewirtz is the Potter Stewart Professor of Constitutional Law and also the Director of the Paul Tsai China Center at Yale Law School. He teaches and writes in various legal and policy fields, including constitutional law, the U.S. judicial system, U.S. foreign policy, Chinese law, and U.S.-China relations.

The Paul Tsai China Center, which Professor Gewirtz founded in 1999 as The China Law Center, focusses on Chinese law and U.S.-China relations, and is a leading institution in both fields. While on leave from Yale in 1997 and 1998, Professor Gewirtz served as Special Representative for the Presidential Rule of Law Initiative in President Bill Clinton's administration, where he developed and led the U.S.-China initiative to cooperate in the legal field that President Clinton and China's President Jiang Zemin agreed to at their 1997 and 1998 Summit meetings.

Gewirtz was also the founder and for 10 years the Director of Yale Law School's Global Constitutionalism Seminar, which brings leading Supreme Court judges from around the world to Yale each year. Before joining the Yale faculty, Gewirtz served as a Law Clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall of the United States Supreme Court. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He received his B.A. degree summa cum laude from Columbia University and his law degree from Yale.





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 the former 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.



Paul Haenle

Paul Haenle holds the Maurice R. Greenberg Director's Chair at Carnegie China and is currently based in Singapore as a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. In addition to his role at Carnegie, Haenle is also Asia Pacific Chairman, at the global CEO advisory firm Teneo. Since 2018, Haenle has served on the board of directors of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

Prior to joining Carnegie, Haenle served as the White House China director on the National Security Council under former Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. From June 2007 to January 2009, Haenle also played a key role as the White House representative to the U.S. negotiating team at the six-party-talks nuclear negotiations. Beginning in 2004, Haenle served three years in the West Wing as special assistant to U.S. National Security Advisors Condoleezza Rice and Stephen Hadley.

Trained as a China foreign area officer in the U.S. Army, Haenle has been assigned twice to the U.S. embassy in Beijing, served as a U.S. Army company commander during a two-year tour to the Republic of Korea, and worked in the Pentagon as an adviser on China, Taiwan, and Mongolia Affairs on the staff of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Early assignments in the U.S. Army included postings in Germany, Desert Storm, Korea, and Kuwait. He retired from the U.S. Army as a lieutenant colonel in October 2009.

Haenle received an M.A. in Asian studies from Harvard University, and a B.S. from Clarkson University.





John Holden

Mr. Holden's China career spans more than four decades, twenty-eight years of which he spent on the ground in Beijing, Hong Kong, and Taipei. Prior to joining McLarty in 2019, Holden served as President and CEO of the US-China Strong Foundation after a decade in Beijing as Managing Director and Senior Counselor for Hill+Knowlton Strategies; Founding Chairman of Shaklee (China) Ltd.; Associate Dean at Peking University's Yenching Academy and Professor of Practice at its Guanghua School of Management. While at Peking University, Holden received a national award for service to education as well as the country's Friendship Award.

From 1998 to 2005, Mr. Holden was President of the National Committee on United States–China Relations, where he created legacy programs such as the Public Intellectuals Program (PIP), the U.S.-China Young Leaders Forum, and the U.S.-China Foreign Policy Colloquium. For the twelve prior years, he was employed by Cargill, where he played key roles in the establishment the firm's first ten businesses in China and served as chairman of its China holding company.

Mr. Holden has been active in the American Chambers of Commerce in both Hong Kong and Beijing, and served as chairman of the Board of Governors of the latter organization in 1997. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, and is Senior Associate (Non-resident) of the Trustee Chair in Chinese Business and Economics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Also known by his Chinese name 何立强,Mr. Holden has a solid foundation in literary and Mandarin Chinese, which he studied at the University of Minnesota (BA magna cum laude) and Stanford University (MA and all PhD coursework).



Steve Howard

Secretary General, the Global Foundation

As founding Secretary General of the non-profit Global Foundation since 1998, Steve Howard has led the necessary global push for the adoption of 'co-operative globalisation', a holistic and long-term strategy to enable a sustainable global common good.

Much of Steve's work with the Global Foundation has involved aligning leaders from the private sector, civil society, academia, faiths and institutions, and sometimes from governments, from across the world, in defining and striving for a shared global vision, backed up by concrete actions.

Many world leaders, including Pope Francis and his most senior officials at the Vatican, have personally participated in and endorsed this and related initiatives. Through this collaborative and low-key approach, Steve and the Global Foundation have helped to shape global affairs with practical outcomes.

Prior to the Global Foundation, he led the successful renaissance strategy for Melbourne, Australia in the early 1990's, including a national strategy to enable private sector investment in public infrastructure, which has since been adopted as investment model, worldwide.





Scott Kennedy

Scott Kennedy is senior adviser and Trustee Chair in Chinese Business and Economics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). A leading authority on Chinese economic policy, Kennedy has been traveling to China for over 30 years. His specific areas of expertise include: industrial policy, technology innovation, business lobbying, U.S.-China commercial relations, and global governance. He is the editor of China's Uneven High-Tech Drive: Implications for the United States (CSIS, February 2020) and (with Jude Blanchette) Chinese State Capitalism: Diagnosis and Prognosis (CSIS, October 2021), and the author of The State and the State of the Art on Philanthropy in China (Voluntas, August 2019), China's Risky Drive into New-Energy Vehicles (CSIS, November 2018), The Fat Tech Dragon: Benchmarking China's Innovation Drive (CSIS, August 2017), and The Business of Lobbying in China (Harvard University Press, 2005). He has edited three books, including Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve (Routledge, 2018). His articles have appeared in a wide array of policy, popular, and academic venues, including The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and China Quarterly. He is currently finishing a report, Beyond Decoupling: Maintaining America's Hi-Tech Advantages over China (CSIS, forthcoming Spring 2022).

From 2000 to 2014, Kennedy was a professor at Indiana University (IU), where he established the Research Center for Chinese Politics & Business and was the founding academic director of IU's China Office. Kennedy received his Ph.D. in political science from George Washington University, his M.A. in China Studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and his B.A. from the University of Virginia.



William Klein

William "Bill" Klein is a partner with the consultancy FGS Global, where he helps the firm's global clientele navigate the growing geopolitical uncertainties of the modern world. Bill is also a senior non-resident associate at the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Before joining FGS Global in early 2022, Bill was a career member of the U.S. Foreign Service and served for over a decade in leadership roles at the heart of the U.S.-China relationship. From 2016 to 2021, he was Acting Deputy Chief of Mission, Chargé d'affaires a.i., and Minister Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. From 2013 to 2016 he was Head of the Political Section of the American Institute in Taiwan, and from 2009 to 2011 he was Deputy Director, and later Acting Director, of the Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs at the U.S. State Department. He also served twice in Ukraine, in India, Israel and Qatar. He holds Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in Economics from the Freie Universität Berlin in Germany, and a Bachelor's Degree in Mass Communications and History from the University of Utah. He speaks Mandarin Chinese, German and Russian.





Lee Dongmin

Dr. LEE Dongmin is an Associate Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Dankook University in Korea. Dr. Lee also currently serving as a visiting fellow at Sejong Institute. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Colorado at Boulder, USA. Prior to returning to Korea, he served as an Assistant Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. Dr. Lee's research interests include international security with an empirical focus on China, and Northeast Asia. He has contributed to the academic journals such as Armed Forces & Society, Defence Studies, Korean Journal of Defense Analysis. Dr. Lee served as a visiting fellow at various institutes including Beijing University (IISS), Renmin University (SIS), National Chengchi University (IIR), and the East-West Center (EWC) in the United States.



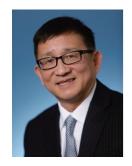
Lee Sang Hyun

Sang Hyun Lee is President of the Sejong Institute in Korea. He also serves as President of the Korea Nuclear Policy Society (KNPS). He received his B.A. and M.A. from Seoul National University and Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999.

He was a research fellow at the Korean Institute for International Studies (1987-88), the Korea Institute for Defense Analysis (1988-90), and policy advisor for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Unification, and Ministry of National Defense. He has served as Director-General for Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) from May 2011 to April 2013. He is a member of Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, and Korea-US Nuclear Policy Leadership Initiative (NPLI). He has been a visiting scholar at Institute for Development and Security (ISDP) in Stockholm, Sweden, and Stimson Center in Washington DC.

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Stephen Orlins

Stephen A. Orlins has been President of the National Committee since 2005. Previously, he was Managing Director of Carlyle Asia and Chair of cable and internet provider Taiwan Broadband Communications; a senior advisor to leveraged buyout firm AEA Investors; Managing Director of Lehman Brothers; and President of Lehman Brothers Asia. From 1976 to 1979, he was a member of the U.S. State Department's legal team that helped establish diplomatic relations with China. Mr. Orlins graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College and earned a law degree from Harvard Law School. He speaks Mandarin and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Stephen Roach

Stephen Roach served as a Senior Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute of Global Affairs for 13 years beginning in 2010 and as a Senior Lecturer at Yale's School of Management. In fall 2022, Roach joined Yale Law School's Paul Tsai Center China Center as a Senior Fellow.

Before coming to Yale, he was Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia and the firm's Chief Economist for the bulk of his 30-year career at Morgan Stanley, heading up a highly regarded team of economists around the world. Roach's current teaching and research program focuses on the impacts of Asia on the broader global economy. At Yale, he has introduced new courses for undergraduates and graduate students on the "The Next China" and "The Lessons of Japan." His writing and research also addresses globalization, trade policy, the post-crisis policy architecture, and the capital markets implications of global imbalances. Roach has long been one of Wall Street's most influential economists. His work has appeared in academic journals, books, congressional testimony and has been disseminated widely in the domestic and international media. Roach's opinions on the global economy have been known to shape the policy debate from Beijing to Washington. His latest book, Unbalanced: The Codependency of America and China (Yale University Press, Jan. 2014) examines the risks and opportunities of what is likely to be the world's most important economic relationship of the 21st century. His 2009 book, The Next Asia: Opportunities and Challenges for a New Globalization (Wiley), analyzes Asia's economic imbalances and the dangers of the region's excess dependence on overextended Western consumers. Prior to joining Morgan Stanley in 1982, Roach served



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Susan Shirk

Susan Shirk is one of the most influential experts working on U.S.-China relations and Chinese politics in the U.S. She is a research professor and the founding chair of the 21st Century China Center, a unique academic research center and university-based policy think tank at the School of Global Policy and Strategy.

Shirk held the Ho Miu Lam Chair in China and Pacific Relations for many years and is director emeritus of the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC). She is the author of many books, including most notably The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China and China: Fragile Superpower, the latter of which helped frame the policy debate on China in the U.S. and other countries. She is currently working on a new book tentatively entitled, Overreach: How China's Domestic Politics Derailed its Peaceful Rise.

Besides her academic work, Shirk is also known for her extensive policy experience, especially in U.S.-China relations. From 1997-2000, Shirk served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Mongolia. She is the founder of, and remains active in, the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), a Track II forum for discussions of security issues among defense and foreign ministry officials and academics from the United States, Japan, China, Russia and the Koreas.

Shirk co-chairs a task force of China experts that issued its third report "China's New Direction: Challenges and Opportunities for U.S. Policy" in Sept. 2021. She is also co-chair of the UC San Diego Forum on U.S.-China Relations, an ongoing high-level forum focused entirely on the U.S.-China relationship.





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From 2011 to early 2014, she was a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution, jointly appointed by the Foreign Policy Program and the Global Development Program, where she focused on Chinese national security decision-making processes and China-Africa relations. From 2008 to 2011, Yun was the China Analyst for the International Crisis Group based in Beijing, specializing on China's foreign policy towards conflict countries and the developing world. Prior to ICG, she worked on U.S.-Asia relations in Washington, DC for five years. Yun earned her master's degree in international policy and practice from George Washington University, as well as an MA in Asia Pacific studies and a BA in international relations from Foreign Affairs College in Beijing.



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Thomas' current research focuses on the semiconductor industry, digital transformation through the use of artificial intelligence, and the geopolitical impact of the growing technology industry in East Asia. His upcoming work looks at policy options related to potential bifurcation of the technology industry into U.S. and Chinese spheres, national economic policy and the impact on the semiconductor industry, and the role of multinational corporations in shaping global technology policy.

Thomas previously spent nine years as partner at McKinsey & Company (2011-20), where he led the firm's Asia Semiconductor Practice and served as co-managing partner for its Global Digital Strategy and Global Internet of Things (IoT) service lines. From 1999 to 2009, Thomas was with Intel Corporation, holding roles including general manager of Intel China and chief of staff to the global head of sales and marketing. He began his career as a private equity investor at The Blackstone Group in New York City.

Thomas is also the founder of the CEO Circle, a regular gathering of more than 200 Chinese C-suite leaders; and an invited member of the U.S.-China Track II Dialogues on the Digital Economy. A globally recognized expert on the semiconductor industry, global companies' strategy for competing in East Asia, as well as the cooperation and competition between the U.S. and Chinese technology ecosystems, he has published widely on those topics, including at McKinsey, Stanford, Caixin, and the

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Thomas received a Master of Business Administration from Stanford Business School, where he was an Arjay Miller Scholar; a Master of Arts in political science from Stanford University; and a Bachelor of Science in economics, summa cum laude, from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.





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Michael Vatikiotis is a writer and private diplomat. Based in Singapore for the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, he works on promoting dialogue and conflict resolution in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. He worked as Asia Director for CHD from 2006-2021 and is a now full-time Senior Adviser. In Asia, he has more than 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. He has written three books on the politics of Southeast Asia, including "Blood and Silk: Power and Conflict in Modern Southeast Asia". With family origins in the Middle East, he has lived in Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand as well as Hong Kong. His latest book "Lives Between the Lines: A Journey in Search of the Lost Levant" explores the origins of his family in the Middle East. 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.



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FANG Ning

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Professor Fang has always been committed to the pursuit of learning with his feet on the ground—in 2017,he visited the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal on foot, and in 2021, he embarked on a field study of the Aihui-Tengchong Line.



FU Ying

Fu Ying started her career with China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in 1978 and had long experience in Asian and European affairs. She was appointed Ambassador to the Philippines in 1998, and Director General of Asian Department of MFA in 2000. She then was appointed Ambassador to Australia (2004-2007), and Ambassador to the United Kingdom (2007-2009). She served as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs for European Affairs and then for Asian Affairs (2009-2013).

Fu Ying was elected deputy to China's 12th (2013) and then 13th (2018) National People's Congress (NPC). She was the Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee and spokesperson of the 12th NPC (2013-2018) and a Vice-Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee of China's 13th NPC (2018-2023).

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He took up various assignments in the Chinese Embassy in Denmark and in the United Kingdom as well as in the Chinese Mission to the European Union, respectively as Counsellor, Minister Counsellor and Minister.





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Established on November 7, 2018, the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) of Tsinghua University is an university-level research institution in the field of international security and strategy. With Madame FU Ying, former Vice Foreign Minister of China, being its Founding Chair, CISS aims to remain current with the changes in global dynamics, offering policy suggestions for decision-makers through researches on topics of foreign affairs, international relations, and security and strategic studies. It strives to promote, elucidate, and spread China's perspectives and policy views by carrying out various forms of knowledge exchanges and cooperation internationally, aiming to enhance the international community's understanding of China and improve Tsinghua's global influence in the fields of international relations and strategic studies.

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