

# The 3<sup>rd</sup> Tokyo Global Dialogue

## Speakers (as of March 2, 2022)

(★:Moderator ◎:Panelist Panelists are in alphabetical order.)

(The program and speakers are subject to change)

### March 2 (Wed)

#### ◆Opening

##### Message

**H.E. KISHIDA Fumio** Prime Minister of Japan (TBC)

Mr. KISHIDA Fumio is the Prime Minister of Japan and the President of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). He is a member of the House of Representatives (elected 10 times). He served as Minister for Foreign Affairs from 2012 to 2017. He assumed office in October 2021.

##### Keynote Speech

**H.E. HAYASHI Yoshimasa** Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan (TBC)

Mr. HAYASHI Yoshimasa is a member of the House of Representatives belonging to the Liberal Democratic Party and currently serves as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan. He graduated from Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo, and earned his Master's Degree from Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government. He served as Minister of Defense; Minister of State for Economic and Fiscal Policy; Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology; Minister in charge of Education Rebuilding. He assumed the current position in November 2021.

#### ◆Roundtable Featuring JIIA Strategic Annual Report 2021

★**Kenichiro Sasae** President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)

Kenichiro Sasae joined the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs after graduating from The University of Tokyo in 1974. His distinguished and illustrious diplomatic career includes prestigious assignments as Executive Assistant to the Prime Minister, Director-General of the Economic Affairs Bureau, Director-General of the Asian & Oceania Affairs Bureau, and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. During his period of service in Tokyo, he represented the Japanese Government in the Six-Party Talks on North Korean issues. He also worked as Political Director for the G-8 Summit. From 2012-2018, he was

Ambassador of Japan to the United States. Subsequently, in June 2018, Ambassador Sasae was appointed President of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) to head Japan's premier foreign affairs think tank.

© **Julie Bishop** Chancellor, Australian National University/ Former Foreign Minister of Australia

The Hon Julie Bishop served as Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs from 2013 until her resignation in 2018. She was the first female to hold the role as well as the first female Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party, serving for 11 years. Julie also served as Minister for Education, Science and Training, Minister for Women's Issues and Minister for Ageing. In 2020 Julie was awarded a Fisher Family Fellowship for the Future of Diplomacy Project at Harvard Kennedy School Belfer Centre for Science and International Affairs. In 2021 Julie was awarded the Kissinger Fellowship at the McCain Institute of International Leadership at Arizona State University. In 2021 Julie was appointed by the UK Government to the G7 Gender Equality Advisory Council (GEAC). She is also a member of the Trilateral Commission Capitalism Task Force and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) AI Policy Forum Steering Committee. Julie is the Chancellor of Australian National University, Chair of Telethon Kids Institute, Chair of Prince's Trust Australia, member of the international advisory boards of Afiniti and the Human Vaccines Project and is the Patron of Shooting Stars (an education programme for young aboriginal girls).

© **Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook** Non-resident Fellow, The Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) / Former Director and CEO, The German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook is a non-resident fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi). Previously, she served as director and CEO of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP). For over a decade prior, Cathryn served as the executive director of the Future of Diplomacy Project at the Harvard Kennedy School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The project, which she co-founded, addresses 21st-century foreign policy challenges through research by international leaders in academia and diplomacy as well as teaching conflict research and prevention. Since 2018, Clüver Ashbrook has also directed a research program on Europe and transatlantic relations. Previously, she served on the management board of the European Policy Centre (EPC) in Brussels and worked as both a consultant and senior journalist at Roland Berger Strategy Consultants in France and China, among other countries. She began her career as a television journalist at CNN International in Atlanta and London. Clüver Ashbrook contributes to international publications, such as the New York Times and Washington Post, as well as leading German media on transatlantic relations – especially trade and security policy – and German foreign and digital policy. She also advises foreign ministries in Europe and South America on their digital strategy.

© **Xu Jian** President, China Foreign Affairs University

Dr. XU Jian is President and Deputy Secretary of CPC Committee of China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) and Chancellor of China Diplomatic Academy(CDA). He used to work at China Center of International Studies (CCIS) as Senior Research Fellow (1993-1999), Senior Research Fellow and Director of the Department of Strategic Studies of China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) (1999-2003), and Vice President of CIIS (2003-2008). Then, he worked as Counselor of Chinese Permanent Mission to the United Nations (2008-2010), Minister Counselor of Chinese Embassy in Russia (2010-2012). After serving abroad, he returned to CIIS and assumed the post of Director of the Academic Council of CIIS (2012-2016) and Vice President of CIIS (2016-2019). He got his B.A. and MA in History at Beijing Normal University, M.A. in International Relations at University of Sussex, and Ph.D. in International Relations at University of Bristol.

© **Bilahari Kausikan** Chairman, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore/  
Former Ambassador-at-Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

Bilahari Kausikan is currently Chairman of the Middle East Institute, an autonomous institute of the National University of Singapore. He has spent his entire career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During his 37 years in the Ministry, he served in a variety of appointments at home and abroad, including as Ambassador to the Russian Federation, Permanent Representative to the UN in New York, and as the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry. Raffles Institution, the University of Singapore and Columbia University in New York all attempted to educate him.

© **Anna Kireeva** Associate Professor, MGIMO University

Dr. Anna Kireeva is Associate Professor at the Department of Asian and African Studies and Research Fellow at Center for Comprehensive Chinese Studies and Regional Projects of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. She holds B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. in international relations and regional studies from MGIMO University. Dr. Anna Kireeva specializes on international relations and security in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific and focuses on the foreign policy strategy and policy of major powers in East Asia: the U.S., China, Japan and Russia as well as India as an emerging power. Her focus recently has been on Russia's Asian pivot and Russia's relations with Japan, China, the Korean Peninsula and East Asia in general.

© **Kenneth R. Weinstein** Walter P. Stern Distinguished Fellow, Former President and CEO, Hudson Institute

Dr. Kenneth R. Weinstein is the Walter P. Stern Distinguished Fellow at Hudson Institute. From 2011 through 2020, Dr. Weinstein served as president and CEO of Hudson. In March 2020, he was nominated by President Trump to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. Dr. Weinstein is an expert on U.S. foreign policy on East Asia and Europe. His writings have been widely published in the United States, Europe, and Asia, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *Le Monde*, and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. Dr. Weinstein serves on the Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations for the U.S. Trade Representative Katherine Tai.

**March 3 (Thu)**

### ◆ Morning: Intensifying US-China Competition

#### -Intensifying US-China Competition (1): Values and Technologies

★ **Toshihiro Nakayama** Professor, Keio University / Senior Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Toshihiro Nakayama is a Professor of American Politics and Foreign Policy at the Faculty of Policy Management at Keio University. He is also a Senior Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). He was a Special Correspondent for the Washington Post at the Far Eastern Bureau (1993-94), Special Assistant at the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations in New York (1996-98), Senior Research Fellow at The Japan Institute of International Affairs (2004-06), Associate Professor at Tsuda College (2006-10), and Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University (2010-14). He was also a CNAPS Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution (2005-06), Sir Howard Kippenberger Chair Visiting Professor at the Center for Strategic Studies, Victoria University in Wellington (2017), Japan Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center (2018-2019), and an Advisor to the Ministry of Defense (2019-2020). He received his M.A.(1993) and Ph.D.(2001) from Aoyama Gakuin University. He has written two books and numerous articles on American politics, foreign policy and international relations. Recipient of Nakasone Yasuhiro Award (Incentive Award) in 2014.

© **Aaron L. Friedberg** Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University

Dr. Aaron L. Friedberg is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he has taught since 1987. He has served as a Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs in the office of the Vice President (2003-05) and as a member of the Defense Policy Board (2007-08). In January 2022 he was appointed to the U.S.-

China Economic and Security Review Commission. Dr. Friedberg is the author of several books including *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline (1988)*, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy (2000)*, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia (2011)*, *Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over U.S. Military Strategy in Asia (2014)* and *Getting China Wrong (2022)*. Friedberg received his A.B., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University.

© **John J. Hamre** President and CEO, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
John Hamre was elected president and CEO of CSIS in January 2000. Before joining CSIS, he served as the 26th U.S. deputy secretary of defense. Prior to holding that post, he was the under secretary of defense (comptroller) from 1993 to 1997. As comptroller, Dr. Hamre was the principal assistant to the secretary of defense for the preparation, presentation, and execution of the defense budget and management improvement programs. In 2007, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates appointed Dr. Hamre to serve as chairman of the Defense Policy Board, and he served in that capacity for four secretaries of defense. Before serving in the Department of Defense, Dr. Hamre worked for 10 years as a professional staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. During that time, he was primarily responsible for the oversight and evaluation of procurement, research, and development programs, defense budget issues, and relations with the Senate Appropriations Committee. From 1978 to 1984, Dr. Hamre served in the Congressional Budget Office, where he became its deputy assistant director for national security and international affairs. In that position, he oversaw analysis and other support for committees in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Dr. Hamre received his Ph.D., with distinction, in 1978 from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C., where his studies focused on international politics and economics and U.S. foreign policy. In 1972, he received his B.A., with high distinction, from Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, emphasizing political science and economics. The following year he studied as a Rockefeller fellow at the Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

© **Ryosei Kokubun** Professor Emeritus, Keio University / Former President of National Defense Academy of Japan

Dr. Ryosei Kokubun served as President of National Defense Academy (NDA) of Japan until March 2021 since April 2012. He is also Professor Emeritus at Keio University since 2019. After completing his undergraduate and graduate degrees at Keio University, he began teaching there as an assistant professor in 1981. Kokubun became a professor in 1992, and served as director of Keio's Institute of East Asian Studies from 1999 to 2007 and dean of the university's Faculty of Law and Politics from 2007 to 2011. He has

been a visiting scholar at Harvard University, the University of Michigan, Fudan University, Beijing University and National Taiwan University. Kokubun's research interests encompass Chinese politics and international relations in East Asia. He is a former president of the Japan Association of International Relations and the Japan Association for Asian Studies. Kokubun has published and edited numerous English publications as well as Japanese, including: *Japan-China Relations through the Lens of Chinese Politics* (JPIC, 2021) and *Japan-China Relations in the Modern Era* (Routledge, 2017). He was awarded the Asia-Pacific Prize (Mainichi Shimbun) in 1997, the Suntory Prize (Suntory Foundation) in 2004 and the Kashiyama Prize (Kashiyama Foundation) in 2017.

© **Yuan Peng** Professor, The China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

Dr. Yuan Peng, Research Professor and Doctoral Advisor, is the President of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). He earned his PhD in World History in 1997 from Northeast Normal University. Then he served successively as Deputy Director and Director of CICIR's Institute of American Studies and then Vice President of CICIR. He was a visiting scholar at the Atlantic Council (1999-2000) and Brookings Institution (2003-2004). Having been following American studies for decades, he has a wide-range of interests including Sino-U.S. relations, Asia-Pacific security and China's foreign policy. He is the author or editor of several books such as *American Think-Tanks and Their Attitudes toward China* (Current Affairs Press, 2003), *China and the U.S. Accommodating in the Asia Pacific: China, America and the Third Parties* (Current Affairs Press, 2013), *From Westphalia to a New World Order* (China CITIC Press, 2016). He is Vice Chairman of Chinese Society of International Relations and Vice Chairman of Chinese Society of American Studies.

© **Yan Xuetong** Professor and Dean, The Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University

YAN Xuetong is a distinguished professor of Tsinghua University and a member of Russia Academy of Sciences. He is serving as the Dean of The Institute of International Relations at Tsinghua University and the Secretary General of the World Peace Forum. He obtained Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley in 1992 and was named as one of world's Top 100 public intellectuals by the American journal *Foreign Policy* in 2008. He has been the only political scientist listed in *Most Cited Chinese Researchers* by Elsevier since 2014. Some of his books have been translated into English, Japanese, Korean, Farsi or Albanian.

## - Intensifying US-China Competition (2): Oceans

★**Tetsuo Kotani** Senior Fellow, JIIA / Professor, Meikai University

Tetsuo KOTANI is a professor of global studies at Meikai University and a senior fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). His research focus is Japan's foreign/security policy, the US-Japan alliance, and international relations and maritime security in the Indo-Pacific region. He won the 2003 Japanese Defense Minister Prize. He has published numerous articles both in English and Japanese, and his recent English publications include "Crisis Management in the East China Sea" (SIPRI Policy Brief, 2015) and "China's Military and Paramilitary Activities in the East China Sea: Implications for the U.S.-Japan Alliance" (National Bureau of Asian Research, 2020). He received a master's degree from Doshisha University.

© **Xu Bu** President, The China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

Xu Bu, President of the China Institute of International Studies. He studied at Nanjing University, China Foreign Affairs University, Wuhan University and the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, graduated with a PhD in Law. He has rich experience in diplomatic work, served in Pakistan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, ASEAN and Chile. He had previously served as Deputy Director-General of the Policy Planning Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006-2009), Minister Counselor of the Chinese Embassy in Canada (2009-2011), Deputy Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Korean Peninsula Affairs (2011-2015), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to ASEAN (2015-2018), and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Chile (2018-2020). Xu has rich research experience in international studies. He has published articles in high quality academic journals, including *Foreign Affairs Review*, *The Journal of International Studies*, and *China International Studies*, and several articles on the People's Daily, Guangming Daily and Study Times. He is also the author of *Say No to Wars: Comments on American Identity and International Politics* and *American National Identity and Its Impact*.

© **Bonnie Glazer** Director of the Asia Program, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Bonnie S. Glaser is director of the Asia Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. She was previously senior adviser for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Ms. Glaser is concomitantly a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia, and a senior associate with the Pacific Forum. For more than three decades, Ms. Glaser has worked at the intersection of Asia-Pacific geopolitics and U.S. policy.

© **Matt Pottinger** Distinguished Visiting Fellow, The Hoover Institution / Former US  
Deputy National Security Advisor

Matt Pottinger is a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution. Matt served at the White House for four years in senior roles on the National Security Council staff, including as Deputy National Security Advisor from 2019 to 2021. In that role, Matt coordinated the full spectrum of national security policy. Before that he served as Senior Director for Asia, where he led the administration's work on the Indo-Pacific region, and in particular its shift on China policy. Before his White House service, Matt spent the late 1990s and early 2000s in China as a reporter for Reuters and *The Wall Street Journal*. He then fought in Iraq and Afghanistan as a U.S. Marine during three combat deployments between 2007 and 2010. Following active duty, Matt founded and led an Asia-focused risk consultancy and ran Asia research at an investment fund in New York.

© **Jia Qingguo** Professor, Peking University

Jia Qingguo is professor and former dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1988. He is a member of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He is vice president of the China American Studies Association, vice president of the China Association for International Studies, and vice president of the China Japanese Studies Association. He has published extensively on US-China relations, relations between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan and Chinese foreign policy.

© **Tomohisa Takei** Adjunct Fellow, JIIA / Former Chief of Staff, Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force

Currently, Admiral Tomohisa Takei serves as a special advisor to the CEO of the SAMPA K.K. in Yokohama from March 2020. He retired from active duty in December 2016 after having served for two years as the 32nd Chief of Staff of the JMSDF. Prior to this post, he served as the Commandant, JMSDF Yokosuka District (2012-2014); Vice Chief of Staff, JMSDF (2011-2012); Commandant, JMSDF Ominato District (2010-2011); Director, the MSO Operations and Plans Department (N3/N5) (2008-2010); Chief of Staff, Kure District (2007-2008); Director, the C4I Systems Department (J6), Joint Staff Office (2006-2007), among others. He joined the JMSDF after graduating from the National Defense Academy and holds a master's degree from the University of Tsukuba. He is also a graduate of the U.S. Naval War College, class of 1999. In 2016, Admiral Takei was awarded L'ordre national de la légion d'honneur by the Government of France, and was awarded the Legion of Merit from the U.S. four times, as well as the Legion of Merit from Turkey. Admiral Takei assumed the position of CNO's Distinguished International Fellow in the International Programs Department at the U.S. Naval War College in April 2017. He has been adjunct fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) since October 2020.



## ◆Afternoon: International Responses

### -International Response (1): Oceans

#### ★Tomiko Ichikawa Director General, JIIA

Ms. Tomiko Ichikawa assumed the current position in July 2020. She joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1985. Her assignments in Japan include Directorship at West Europe Division, Economic Integration Division (EU), Non-proliferation, Science and Nuclear Energy Division as well as Economic Policy Division. Overseas postings include Embassy of Japan in the UK and Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna. She also assumed positions in international organizations as Political Affairs Officer at UNPROFOR (UN PKO in the Former Yugoslavia) and Special Assistant to the Director General, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). She obtained Bachelor in Law, University of Tokyo, Japan and MA, International relations and contemporary war, King's College London, UK.

#### ◎ Lai I-Chung President, The Prospect Foundation

Dr. I-Chung LAI is the President of the Prospect Foundation. Dr. Lai served as Director General for Department of International Affairs (2007-2008) and Director General for Department of China Affairs (2006-2008) in the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Prior to that, he was Special Assistant for Policy to Taiwan Representative to Japan (2000-2003), Executive Director for DPP Mission in the United States (1999-2000), and Vice President of the Taiwan Thinktank (2013-2016). He received his Ph.D. degree from Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) and was Visiting Researcher at Cornell University.

#### ◎ Dino Patti Djalal Founder and Chairman, The Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia / Former Ambassador of Indonesia to the US

Dr. Dino Patti Djalal is Founder and Chairman of The Foreign Policy Community of Indonesia. He 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). He is also 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.

© **Phạm Lan Dung** Acting President, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV)

Dr. Pham Lan Dung is the Acting President of the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam and Secretary-General of the Vietnam Society of International Law. She holds a Doctor of Philosophy in International relations at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam and was educated in the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Soviet Union and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University in the United States. Dr. Dung has abundant experience with 26 years working in various positions at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam. Dr. Dung was a Team Leader for many international research projects funded by international organizations such as United Nations agencies. Her research focuses on international law and international relations in maritime, trade, human security, and the role of non-permanent members of the UNSC. She is fluent in both Russian and English.

© **Tsutomu Kikuchi** Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University/ Senior Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi is a professor at the Department of International Politics, Aoyama-Gakuin University, Tokyo, as well as senior adjunct fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). He is specializing in international political economy in the Asia-Pacific. He was a visiting fellow at the Australian National University (ANU: Canberra) and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS: Singapore), a Visiting Professor at the University of British Columbia (UBC, Vancouver), and a consultant of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). He has been engaged in various track 2 activities and international research projects conducted under such regional institutions as PECC (Pacific Economic Cooperation Council) and CSCAP (Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific). He has published many books and articles on international political economy (especially regional institution-building) of the Asia-Pacific. He obtained his doctoral degree from Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan.

© **Joon-woo Park** Former Chairman, The Sejong Institute / Former Senior Secretary to the President for Political Affairs, ROK

Ambassador Park Joon-woo, former Chairman of The Sejong Institute and former Senior Secretary to the President for Political Affairs, was a career diplomat. He served as Korean Ambassador to the European Union and Belgium, and to Singapore respectively. His overseas assignments include Washington, D.C., Tokyo, Beijing and Helsinki. After retirement, he was a visiting fellow of the Walter Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University, USA, teaching a graduate class for a year. He was also a visiting professor at the Institute for State Governance of the Yonsei University, Seoul. In 2013, Ambassador Park was appointed as President Park Geun-hye's Senior Secretary for Political Affairs. Later, he served as Chairman of The Sejong Institute, Korea's leading independent think-tank.

© **Karambir Singh** Chairman, The National Maritime Foundation (NMF) / Former Chief of the Naval Staff, Indian Navy

Admiral Karambir Singh, PVSM, AVSM, IN (Retd), who was the Republic of India's 24th Chief of the Naval Staff from 2019 to 2021, assumed the chairmanship of the National Maritime Foundation in January 2022. An alumnus of the National Defence Academy, Khadakwasla, the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington, and the College of Naval Warfare, Mumbai, the Admiral was commissioned into the Indian Navy in July of 1980. He has served in the Directorate of Naval Air Staff at the Integrated Headquarters of the Ministry of Defence (Navy) and has been Captain (Air) and Officer-in-Charge of the Naval Air Station at Mumbai. Appointed thereafter as the Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, he discharged his responsibilities towards the Indian Navy's current and future operational and combat capacity and capabilities. He then served the Vice Chief of Naval Staff, involved with the development of the "future Navy". He assumed Command of the Indian Navy on 31 May 2019, serving until his retirement from active service on 30 November 2021.

## - International Response (2): Values and Technologies

★**Ken Endo** Professor, Hokkaido University / Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Ken Endo is Professor of International Politics, School of Law & the Graduate School of Public Policy, Hokkaido University. He is also Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA). He obtained a D.Phil in Politics at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, in 1996. His main publications include *The Presidency of the European Commission under Jacques Delors* (Macmillan/St. Martin's, 1999) and a prize-winning book, *The End of Integration* (Iwanami, 2013, in Japanese).

© **Meliha Altunışik** Professor, Middle East Technical University

Meliha Benli Altunışik is a Professor at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. She is a non-resident fellow in the Middle East Institute, Washington, DC. She was a Fulbright Scholar at Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University in 1988-89 and received her Ph.D. in political science from Boston University in 1994. Dr. Altunışik was a resident Fulbright scholar in the Middle East Institute in Washington, D. C. from January to June 2003. Some of her publications include *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change* (with O. Tur) (Routledge); 'The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East,' *Insight Turkey* (2008) 'Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East,' *New Perspectives on Turkey* (2009); 'Making Sense of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East under AKP,' (with L. G. Martin) *Turkish Studies* (2011); 'Iran-Turkey Relations: between Competition and Rivalry,' in Imad Mansour and William Thompson (eds) *Shocks and Rivalries in the*

Middle East and North Africa (2020); 'The New Turn in Turkey's Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Regional and Domestic Insecurities,' in Silvia Colombo and Andrea Dessi (eds) *Fostering a New Architecture in the Middle East* (2020); 'Pandemic Regionalism or Not? The MENA Region in the Shadow of Covid-19,' *International Spectator* (2021).

© **Herizal Hazri** Chief Executive, The Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia

Mr Herizal Hazri is the Chief Executive of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia. As Chief Executive of Malaysia's premier think-tank. Herizal leads the Institute's Track Two diplomacy through the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), among others. Prior to joining ISIS Herizal has worked in numerous Asian countries to promote development, democracy and security, including Indonesia, East Timor (now Timor-Leste), Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Myanmar, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Malaysia. In 2004, Herizal managed the only International Election Observation Mission for the Afghanistan Presidential Election and deployed 45 long-term and short-term observers to Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. From 2009 to 2013, Herizal served as a member of the International Contact Group (ICG) at peace talks between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). Backed by this experience, today Herizal continues to contribute to the development of peace in Mindanao through various economic and socio-political approaches. Herizal has widely published his articles and has contributed to chapters in numerous books. Herizal has also published three books on election observation and electoral politics: *Report of the Indonesian Legislative and Presidential Election 2003-2004*, *Afghanistan Presidential Election 2004*, and *Politics of the Straits: An Observation of the Taiwan Legislative Election*.

© **Anna Kireeva** Associate Professor, MGIMO University

Dr. Anna Kireeva is Associate Professor at the Department of Asian and African Studies and Research Fellow at Center for Comprehensive Chinese Studies and Regional Projects of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. She holds B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. in international relations and regional studies from MGIMO University. Dr. Anna Kireeva specializes on international relations and security in East Asia and the Indo-Pacific and focuses on the foreign policy strategy and policy of major powers in East Asia: the U.S., China, Japan and Russia as well as India as an emerging power. Her focus recently has been on Russia's Asian pivot and Russia's relations with Japan, China, the Korean Peninsula and East Asia in general.

© **Hosuk Lee-Makiyama** Director, European Centre for International Political Economy

Hosuk Lee-Makiyama is director of ECIPE in Brussels and Senior Fellow of London School of Economics. His research on trade and technology has played a prominent role in reforming policies across the world, while his advice has been sought by G7 governments, and various organizations including the European Commission, ASEAN, OECD, World Bank, WTO and the UN. He is also a regular commentator on CNBC, FT, Politico, Nikkei, BBC, and other international broadcasters. During his government career, he represented Sweden in the Council of the EU, the UN and the WTO, and served in other roles in the Government of Sweden. He was born in Tokyo, Japan.

© **Hemant Krishan Singh** Director General, The Delhi Policy Group (DPG) / Former Ambassador of India to Japan

Ambassador Hemant Krishan Singh is a former career diplomat with extensive experience of geo-strategic and geo-economic issues as well as multilateral institutions which underpin international law. During his diplomatic career (1974-2010), he has served as India's Ambassador to several countries including Japan and Indonesia, and as India's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN in Geneva. He has held assignments dealing with the United States, West Europe and the European Union, and India's immediate neighbours in South and South East Asia. From 2011-2016, Ambassador Singh was US Chair and Professor for Strategic Studies at ICRIER, New Delhi. Since June 2016, Ambassador Singh has been the Director General of the Delhi Policy Group, which is among India's oldest independent think tanks focused on strategic and international issues of critical national interest. He has been associated with policy dialogues on the Indo-Pacific involving think tanks of the US and Asia. An alumnus of St. Stephen's College, Ambassador Singh holds a M.A. degree from the University of Delhi.

© **Kazuto Suzuki** Professor, University of Tokyo / Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Kazuto Suzuki is Professor of International Politics at Graduate School of Public Policy, the University of Tokyo. He graduated Department of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, and received Ph.D. from Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, England. He served as an expert in the Panel of Experts for Iranian Sanction Committee under the United Nations Security Council from 2013 to July 2015. He has been the President of Japan Association of International Security and Trade.

## - International Response (3): Multilateral Response

★**Kiyotaka Akasaka** Former Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information, United Nations

Mr. Akasaka joined the Japanese Foreign Ministry in 1971 after graduating from Kyoto University. He also graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in the UK. In 1997, he served as one of his country's senior negotiators in the Kyoto Conference on Climate Change. He worked in the secretariat of the GATT (now WTO) and the WHO, respectively. Mr. Akasaka became Ambassador to the UN in 2000. He served as a bureau member for the preparation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg in 2002. He held the position of Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) from 2003 until 2007 in charge of development, environment and sustainable development. Mr. Akasaka held the position of United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information for five years from 2007 till 2012. From 2012 till 2020, he served as President of the Foreign Press Center Japan.

© **Armida Salsiah Alisjahbana** Executive Secretary, The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)

Ms. Armida Salsiah Alisjahbana was appointed Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) on 13 September 2018. Prior to joining ESCAP, Ms. Alisjahbana was Professor of Economics at Universitas Padjadjaran in Bandung, Indonesia, a position she assumed in 2005. She joined Universitas Padjadjaran as a lecturer in 1988. Since 2016, she has served as Director for the Center for Sustainable Development Goals Studies at Universitas Padjadjaran and Vice Chair of the Indonesian Academy of Sciences. From 2009 to 2014, she was Minister of National Development Planning and the Head of the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS), Indonesia. She served as Co-chair of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation from 2012 to 2014. From 2009 to 2014, she was Alternate Governor of the World Bank and Alternate Governor of the Asian Development Bank representing the government of Indonesia. In 2016, she was a member of the High Level Independent Team of Advisors to support the ECOSOC Dialogue on the longer term positioning of the United Nations Development System in the context of the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development.

© **John Ashton** Independent speaker and writer / Co-founder, E3G / Former Special Representative for Climate Change at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)

John Ashton is an independent speaker and writer. His activities range over politics, economics, diplomacy, and culture but his particular focus is climate change. From 2006-12 John was the UK's top climate diplomat, as Special Representative for Climate Change for successive Foreign Secretaries under the Blair, Brown and Cameron Governments. In this role he helped to pioneer a foreign policy-led approach to climate change that came to be widely admired. He cofounded and was, from 2004-6, the first Chief Executive of E3G. From 1978-2002, after a brief period as a research astronomer, he was a career diplomat. He served in Beijing in the early 1980s and in Hong Kong in the runup to the handover of sovereignty. He speaks Chinese, and China remains a theme in his work. He has also been a frequent visitor to Japan, where he has close family connections. In recent years, in addition to a period as a full time carer for his late mother, he has been prominent in the campaigns against fracking for shale gas and the opening of new coal mines in the UK.

© **Rebeca Grynspan** Secretary-General, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Rebeca Grynspan is a Costa Rican economist, and a renowned advocate of human development. She was Vice-President of Costa Rica (1994–1998), as well as Minister of Housing, Minister Coordinator of Economic and Social Affairs, and Deputy Finance Minister. At the United Nations Development Programme, she was Under-Secretary-General and Associate Administrator from 2010 to 2014, and Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean. Prior to that, from 2001 to 2006, Director of the Subregional Headquarters in Mexico of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. More recently, she was the first woman Secretary-General of the Ibero-American Conference (2014–2021). In September 2021 Rebeca Grynspan was named Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, becoming the first woman to lead the organization.

© **Nobuo Tanaka** Former Executive Director, the International Energy Agency (IEA) / Chair, the Steering Committee of Innovation for Cool Earth Forum (ICEF) / CEO, Tanaka Global, Inc.

Degree in Economics, University of Tokyo; MBA, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, US. 1973, with Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), Tokyo; 1989, Deputy Director then 1992, Director, Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry, OECD; 1995, rejoined METI including: Director-General, Multilateral Trade System Department, Trade Policy Bureau, led many trade negotiations with World Trade Organization, worked on formulating international strategy and coordinating domestic environment policy and energy policy in Kyoto COP 3 negotiation; 1998-2000, Minister

for Industry, Trade and Energy, Embassy of Japan, Washington DC; Director, Science, Technology and Industry, OECD; 2007-11, Executive Director, International Energy Agency (IEA); Special Advisor, the Japan Institute of Energy Economics (IEEJ), Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy (GraSPP), the University of Tokyo; 2015 – 2016, President of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation (SPF), and Chairman of the Board from 2016 to 2020; Currently, President of Tanaka Global Co., Ltd. and Chair, the Steering Committee of Innovation for Cool Earth Forum (ICEF).