

The 4th Tokyo Global Dialogue

Speakers (as of Feb 15, 2023)

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

(The program and speakers are subject to change.)

February 20 (Mon)

◆Opening

Remarks

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

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.

Speech

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

HAYASHI Yoshimasa serves as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan since November 2021, and is a member of the House of Representatives belonging to the Liberal Democratic Party. Graduated from Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo, and earned his Master's Degree from Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government. Mr. Hayashi 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.

◆Roundtable Featuring "Strategic Annual Report 2022"

◎ **Lisa Curtis** Senior Fellow and Director, Indo-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Lisa Curtis is Director of the Indo-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). With over 20 years of service in the U.S. government, her work has centered on U.S. policy toward the Indo-Pacific and South Asia, with a particular focus on U.S.- India strategic relations; the Quad (U.S., Australia, India, and Japan); and China's role in the region. Curtis served as Deputy Assistant to the President and NSC Senior Director for South and Central Asia from 2017-2021. From 2006–2017, Curtis was Senior Fellow on South Asia at The Heritage Foundation. She also previously worked for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the State Department, CIA, and at the U.S.

Embassies in Islamabad and New Delhi. Curtis received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service in December 2020 in recognition of her work at the NSC.

© **Bill Emmott** Chairman of the Trustees, The Institute for International Strategic Studies (IISS)

Bill Emmott is a writer and consultant best known for his 13 years as editor in chief of The Economist in 1993-2006, a publication he first joined in 1980 and served in Brussels, Tokyo and London. He is now chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, of the board of Trinity College Dublin's Long Room Hub for Arts & Humanities, of the Japan Society of the UK, and of the International Trade Institute. Mr. Emmott is the author of 14 books on Japan, Asia, the 20th century and Italy. In 2017 he published "The Fate of the West". His latest book, "Japan's Far More Female Future", was published in Japanese by Nikkei in June 2019 and in English by OUP in 2020. He was presenter and co-author of a documentary about Italy, "Girlfriend in a Coma" (2013) and executive producer of "The Great European Disaster Movie" (2015), both shown on the BBC.

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

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.

© **Ryosei Kokubun** Professor Emeritus, Keio University

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 Kashiwama Prize (Kashiwama Foundation) in 2017.

© **Shi Zhiqin** Professor, Tsinghua University; Executive Dean, Institute of the Belt and Road Initiative

Shi Zhiqin is executive dean of Institute of the Belt and Road Initiative, secretary general of Tsinghua Symposium, deputy director of the Think Tank Research Center of the SPPM, professor and doctoral supervisor of School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University. He served as secretary of party committee of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences and director of the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University. His part-time positions include Editor-in-Chief of Silk Road Encyclopedia, Vice-President of "the Belt and Road" Branch of the China Association of Higher Education. He is also the executive member of the Chinese Society for the History of International Communist Movement, and a member of Chinese Association for European Studies. His research fields include the Belt and Road Initiative, international relations, comparison of party and government, European party politics and China-EU relations. He has published hundreds of academic articles and critical articles, and his representative works include *The Transformation of the Italian Communist Party* and *The Political Change in Italy, Globalization and The Transformation of the European Social Democratic Party*.

★ **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 to head Japan's premier foreign affairs think tank.

February 21 (Tue)

◆ **Part 1: US-China Competition and the Indo-Pacific region**

- **US-China Competition and the Indo-Pacific region**

(1) Politics and Security

◎ **Shiming Fan** Professor; Executive Vice Dean of Yenching Academy, Peking University

FAN Shiming is now Professor of International Relations at Peking University. He also serves as the Executive Vice Dean of PKU's Yenching Academy. Prof. FAN offers courses such as International History, Sino-American Relations and The Politics of International Communication. His research interest covers image, perception, public opinion and communication in international relations. Prof. FAN got all his degrees (BA 1990, MA 1993, and Ph.D. 1999) on International Politics from Peking University. He was a Visiting Fellow at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard University (1998) and GSAPS of Waseda University (2013), a Visiting Professor at Niigata University in Japan (2002-2003) and University of Oslo in Norway (2016).

◎ **Bilahari Kausikan** Chairman, The Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore, Former Ambassador-at-Large

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.

◎ **Tsutomu Kikuchi** Professor Emeritus, Aoyama-Gakuin University / Senior Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Professor Tsutomu Kikuchi is senior adjunct fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) and a professor emeritus and former vice-president at Aoyama-Gakuin University, Tokyo. 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.

© **Choongmyon Lee** President, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)

Amb. LEE Choongmyon is currently President of the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security(IFANS) at Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA). As a senior diplomat, he served as Ambassador for International Security Affairs and Special Advisor to the Foreign Minister(Nov. 2020~Aug. 2022). He has diverse experiences as a diplomat both in Korea-US and Korea-China relations: he served as Director for the North American Division(Aug. 2009~Jul. 2011) and Deputy Director-General for North American Affairs Bureau(Feb. 2017~Nov. 2017) of the Foreign Ministry on the one hand, and as Minister/Deputy Chief of Mission(Nov. 2018~Nov. 2020) as well as Counsellor/Minister-Counsellor(Jul. 2011~Feb. 2015) of the Korean Embassy in the People's Republic of China on the other hand. He is also one of the experts in the inter-Korean issues as he served as Director-General for Korean Peninsula Peace Regime (Nov. 2017~Nov. 2018) of the Ministry. He majored in Law, German Literature and Chinese Language. He is a NY State lawyer and has a LLM degree in Georgetown Law School of the US.

© **Susan A. Thornton** Director, Forum on Asia-Pacific Security, National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP)

Susan A. Thornton is a former career U.S. diplomat who served as Acting Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 2017-18. She is currently a Visiting Lecturer at Yale Law School and a Senior Fellow at the Law School's Paul Tsai China Center. Thornton is also Director of the Forum on Asia Pacific Security at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and a non-resident fellow at the Brookings Institution.

★**Fumiaki Kubo** President, National Defense Academy of Japan / Senior Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Fumiaki Kubo is President of the National Defense Academy of Japan as well as a Senior Adjunct Fellow at the Japan Institute for International Affairs. He was the A. Barton Hepburn Professor of American Government and History at the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo from 2003 to 2021. He is also affiliated with the 21st Century Public Policy Institute as the Director of the US Studies

Project. He studied at Cornell University in 1984-1986, at the Johns Hopkins University in 1991-1993, and at Georgetown University and the University of Maryland in 1998-99. He was also an Invited Professor at SciencesPo in Paris in the spring of 2009, and a Japan Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 2014. Kubo received his B.A. in 1979 and Ph.D. in 1989 from the University of Tokyo. He is the author of many books which include: *The Japan-US Alliance of Hope: Asia-Pacific Maritime Security*, *The History of US-Japan Relations*, *A History of American Politics, Ideology and Foreign Policy After Iraq in the United States*, *A Study on the Infrastructure of American Politics*. In 1989, he received the Sakurada-Kai Gold Award for the Study of Politics and the Keio Gijuku Award. Kubo was the President of the Japanese Association for American Studies from 2016 to 2018.

- US-China Competition and the Indo-Pacific region

(2) Economy

© **Shiro Armstrong** Associate Professor, Australian National University

Shiro Armstrong is an Associate Professor of economics at the Crawford School of Public Policy in the College of Asia and the Pacific at The Australian National University. He is Director of the Australia-Japan Research Centre, Editor of the East Asia Forum, and Director of the East Asian Bureau of Economic Research. He is also a Visiting Professor at Keio University, Research Associate at the Center on Japanese Economy and Business at the Columbia Business School, Visiting Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan and Research Associate at the New Zealand APEC Study Centre. He is the Australian representative on the Research Institute Network of the Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, ERIA.

© **Emily Benson** Senior Fellow, Scholl Chair in International Business, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Emily Benson is a senior fellow on the trade team at CSIS, where she focuses on trade and technology issues primarily in the transatlantic context. Prior to joining CSIS, she managed transatlantic legislative relations at the Bertelsmann Foundation, focusing on trade and technology policy. She also held positions combating money laundering in art markets and worked at an international law firm on issues relating to sanctions and export controls. Her work has been featured in publications such as *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Japan Times*, *The Diplomat*, *Politico*, and a wide array of international TV and radio outlets. Benson received her BA in international affairs and political science from the University of Colorado and her MA in political science from the University of Geneva in Switzerland. Fluent in French, Emily has lived abroad in France, Indonesia, and Switzerland.

© **Hideaki Shiroyama** Professor, University of Tokyo

Hideaki SHIROYAMA is a professor of public administration at the Graduate School of Public Policy and the Graduate School for Law and Politics, and the director of the Institute for Future Initiatives at the University of Tokyo. He studies about global governance/ international administration, science/ technology and public policy and policy process. He was the Dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy from 2014 to 2016 and the Director of Policy Alternatives Research Institute from 2010 to 2014. He serves as a member of various government advisory councils on higher education, nuclear safety, consumer safety, space policy, AI/ IT and global health. His major publications include “Technology Governance” in Sustainability Science: A Multidisciplinary Approach, United Nations University Press, 2011, “Governance for sustainability: knowledge integration and multi-actor dimensions in risk management”, Sustainability Science, vol.7 (2012), International Administration (Yuhikaku 2013) and Science, Technology and Politics (Minerva Publisher 2018), Global Health Governance (Toshindo 2020).

© **Vo Tri Thanh** Senior Expert, Central Institute of Economic Management (CIEM)

Dr. Vo Tri Thanh is former Vice-president of the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM). He is currently Chairman of Vietnam National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation (VNCPEC) and a member of the National Financial and Monetary Policy Advisory Council. He is also Director of Institute for Brand and Competitiveness Strategy (BCSI). He holds a Master degree in Economics and a PhD degree in Economics both from the Australian National University. Dr. Vo Tri Thanh mainly undertakes research and provides consultation on issues related to trade liberalization, international economic integration and macroeconomic policies. His other areas of interests include institutional reforms, financial system and economic development.

© **Zhang Yunling** Academy Member of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) /
Chair Professor; President of Institute for International Studies, Shandong University

Zhang Yunling, Academy Member of Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS); Chair Professor, President of Institute for International Studies, Shandong University. He was Member of National Committee of Chinese Political Consultant Conference, and member of the Foreign Relations Committee (2002-2018.3) He was Director of International Studies, CASS (2007-2018); Director of Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies (1993-2007), Director of Japanese Studies (1995-2001), CASS; President of China Association for Asia-Pacific Studies (1994-2017). He was Member of East Asia Vision Group (2000-2001, EAVG II, 2012-2013), Member of Official Expert Group on China-ASEAN Cooperation (2001), Member of ASEM Task Force (2003-2004), Chairman of Joint Expert Group for Feasibility Study on EAFTA (2005-2006); Member of Joint Expert

Group of CEPEA (2006-2009); Executive Chairman of China-Republic of Korea Joint Expert Committee (2010-2013); Member of China-Japan 21st Century Friendship Commission (2003-2008). He is now the vice president of China-ROK Friendship Association. Latest Publication (books) : China and Asia Regionalism (English, 2010), China and World: New change, understanding and Identification (Chinese, 2011), Seeking a benign relationship between China and the world (Chinese, 2013), Between the Ideal and Reality-Thinking of East Asian cooperation (Chinese 2015,English, 2019, Korean 2021), Understanding World Grand Trends (Chinese, 2021)

★**Yukiko Fukagawa** Professor, Waseda University

Fukagawa's major interest lies in economic development in East Asia, especially Korea. She worked for Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) and Long-Term Credit Bank Research Institute (LTCBR) before joining the faculty member of Aoyama Gakuin University and the University of Tokyo. She was a visiting fellow at Cambridge University in 2014, and Yonsei University in 2015. She engaged in many consultation and advisory activities for the government. Recent publication includes "Beyond "Abenomics": Japan's integration catch-up and prospects for Japan-UK cooperation", Chatham House, 2019.

- US-China Competition and the Indo-Pacific region (Special Session): Maritime Security around Japan

© **Lisa Curtis** Senior Fellow and Director, Indo-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)

Lisa Curtis is Director of the Indo-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). With over 20 years of service in the U.S. government, her work has centered on U.S. policy toward the Indo-Pacific and South Asia, with a particular focus on U.S.- India strategic relations; the Quad (U.S., Australia, India, and Japan); and China's role in the region. Curtis served as Deputy Assistant to the President and NSC Senior Director for South and Central Asia from 2017-2021. From 2006–2017, Curtis was Senior Fellow on South Asia at The Heritage Foundation. She also previously worked for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the State Department, CIA, and at the U.S. Embassies in Islamabad and New Delhi. Curtis received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service in December 2020 in recognition of her work at the NSC.

© **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.

© **Tomohisa Takei** Special advisor to the CEO, SAMPA K.K. / 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 JIIA since October 2020.

★ **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.

◆Part 2: Impact of the War in Ukraine

-Impact of the War in Ukraine (1) Politics and Security

© **Bill Emmott** Chairman of the Trustees, The Institute for International Strategic Studies (IISS)

Bill Emmott is a writer and consultant best known for his 13 years as editor in chief of *The Economist* in 1993-2006, a publication he first joined in 1980 and served in Brussels, Tokyo and London. He is now chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, of the board of Trinity College Dublin's Long Room Hub for Arts & Humanities, of the Japan Society of the UK, and of the International Trade Institute. Mr. Emmott is the author of 14 books on Japan, Asia, the 20th century and Italy. In 2017 he published "The Fate of the West". His latest book, "Japan's Far More Female Future", was published in Japanese by Nikkei in June 2019 and in English by OUP in 2020. He was presenter and co-author of a documentary about Italy, "Girlfriend in a Coma" (2013) and executive producer of "The Great European Disaster Movie" (2015), both shown on the BBC.

© **Shinji Hyodo** Director, Policy Studies Department, The National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS)

Prof. Shinji HYODO is a Director, Policy Studies Department, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS). His specialty is Russian Area Studies and International Security. He learned Russian language and Russian area studies in Sophia University (Tokyo, 1992) and Far Eastern State University of Russia (Vladivostok, 1991). He got M.A. degree in international relations from Sophia University (Tokyo, 1994) .

He has worked as a special researcher, Embassy of Japan in Moscow from 1996 to 1998 and also worked as a cabinet secretariat in National Security Council from 2001 to 2003. He was a visiting fellow of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security studied in London in 2007 and an advisor of National Security Secretariat from 2016 to 2018. He is an editor in Chief of *East Asian Strategic Review*, NIDS and a board member of the Japanese Association for Russian and East European Studies. He teaches Russian studies at Aoyamagakuin University and International Christian University. He has published many articles on Russian area studies.

© **Sergiy Korsunsky** Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan

Dr. Sergiy Korsunsky was born on August 10, 1962 in Kyiv, Ukraine. He graduated from Kyiv National University in 1984. On April 14, 2020 Sergiy Korsunsky was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Japan by Presidential Decree № 142 / 2020. Ambassador Korsunsky's previous positions include: Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine (2017 – 2020), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Turkey (2008-2016), Director-General of

the Economic Department, Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006-2008); Minister-Counselor and Acting Ambassador at the Embassy of Ukraine in the USA (2000-2005); Deputy Director, Department for Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1999-2000); Counselor for Economy, Embassy of Ukraine in the State of Israel (1995-1998). Director of the Department for State R&D Programs, State Committee on Science and Technology (1991-1994) Ambassador Korsunsky has extensive professional experience with strategic planning and development, including energy, trade and investment policy, energy security, regional security, science and technology. He is a well-known expert on the geopolitical issues. Author of more than 320 academic papers and other publications including 7 books, among them "Nonlinear waves in dispersive and dissipative systems with coupled fields" (Addison, Wesley. Longman, 1997), "Technology Transfer in the United States" (Kyiv, 2005), "Energy Diplomacy" (Kyiv, 2008), "Foreign Policy in Times of Transformations" (Kharkiv, 2020). He holds a diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He also holds a Doctor of Science Degree in Applied Mathematics since 1991. He is honored with several awards by the President and Government of Ukraine.

© **Andrey Kortunov** Director General, the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)

Andrey Kortunov graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) in 1979 and completed his postgraduate studies at the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1982. He holds a PhD in History. Dr Kortunov completed internships at the Soviet embassies in London and Washington, and at the Permanent Delegation of the USSR to the UN. In 1982–1995, Dr Kortunov held various positions in the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies, including Deputy Director. He taught at universities around the world, including the University of California, Berkeley. In addition, he led several public organizations involved in higher education, social sciences and social development. Since 2011, Andrey Kortunov has been the Director General of RIAC. He is a member of expert and supervisory committees and boards of trustees of several Russian and international organizations. His academic interests include contemporary international relations and Russian foreign policy.

© **Ian Lesser** Vice President and Executive Director, Brussels, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Ian Lesser is vice president of GMF and a member of its executive team. He also serves as executive director of the Brussels office and leads the organization's work on transatlantic relations involving the Mediterranean and Turkey. His expertise includes US foreign policy and European and Middle Eastern security affairs. Prior to joining GMF, Lesser was a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, vice president and director of studies at the Pacific Council on International Policy, and, for more than a decade, a senior analyst and research manager specializing

in strategic studies at the RAND Corporation. From 1994-1995, he was a member of the US Secretary of State's policy planning staff, responsible for Turkey, Southern Europe, North Africa, and the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process.

© **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. He has held important assignments dealing with the United States, West Europe and the European Union, the United Nations, and India's 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 several policy dialogues on Indo-Pacific issues involving think tanks of the US, Japan, Australia and Asia. In November 2022, the Government of Japan conferred the "Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun" on Ambassador Singh for his contributions to bilateral relations and promoting friendship between India and Japan.

★ **Ken Endo** Professor, University of Tokyo / Adjunct Fellow, JIIA

Ken Endo is Chair & Professor of International Politics, Faculty of Law, The University of Tokyo, since April 2022. Formerly he was Professor of International Politics, School of Law & former Dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy, Hokkaido University, Sapporo for decades. He is also Adjunct Fellow, Japan Institute for International Affairs, Tokyo, Japan. After obtaining MA (cum laude) in European Studies at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium, he obtained a D.Phil in Politics at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, in 1996. The subsequent appointments include: Visiting Professor, University of Tokyo (2003-16), Visiting Professor, National Chengchi University (2008, 18), Fernand Braudel Senior Fellow, European University Institute (2009-10), Visiting Professor & Japan Chair, Sciences po, Paris (2005 & 2010), Visiting Professor, University of International Business and Economics, Beijing (2015), Visiting Fellow, Ifri, Paris (2017), Taiwan MOFA fellow (2018).

- Impact of the War in Ukraine (2) Economy

© **Yose Rizal Damuri** Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Yose Rizal Damuri is the Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies. His research activities focus on international trade, regional integration and globalization of value chain. He received his PhD in International Economics from the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. He is active in many networks of research institutes in East Asia, such as in Asia Pacific Research Network on Trade (ARTNet) and ERIA Research Institute Network (ERIA-RIN) and Think 20, the think tank network of G20 countries. Currently he serves as the Co-Chair of Indonesia National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation (INCPEC). Yose is also active in various policy forum in Indonesia, including as the Research Coordinator of Indonesia Service Dialogue, a forum dedicated for the development of services sector in Indonesia.

© **Tim Gould** Chief Energy Economist, International Energy Agency (IEA)

Tim Gould was appointed the Agency's Chief Energy Economist in 2021. As Chief Energy Economist, he provides strategic advice on energy economics across a wide range of IEA activities and analysis. Mr Gould is also Head of the Division for Energy Supply and Investment Outlooks, in which capacity he co-leads the World Energy Outlook, the IEA's flagship publication, and oversees the Agency's work on investment and finance, including the World Energy Investment report. Mr Gould joined the IEA in 2008, initially as a specialist on Russian and Caspian energy, and in recent years has designed and directed the World Energy Outlook together with the IEA's Chief Energy Modeller while contributing to the Outlook as a principal author. Prior to joining the IEA, Mr Gould worked on European and Eurasian energy issues in Brussels and has ten years of experience in Eastern Europe, primarily in Ukraine. He graduated from Oxford University and has a post-graduate diploma from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University.

© **Stephen Quest** Director-General, Joint Research Center(JRC), European Commission

Stephen Quest is the Director-General of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) as of 1 May 2020. Prior to this, he was the Director-General of the Directorate-General for Taxation and Customs Union (TAXUD) and the Director-General for Informatics (DIGIT), driving the digital transformation of the Commission. His career spans more than 30 years in the European civil service, and has included work on the EU budget, social and environmental policy and four years as Assistant to the Secretary-General. As Director-General, Stephen is particularly focused on modernising organisational culture and promoting innovation within the Commission, both as regards the use of technology and empowering and involving staff in decision-making. He is particularly passionate about communication and the interface between policy and technology.

© **Ruan Wei** Research Counselor, Norinchukin Research Institute Co., Ltd.

Ruan Wei is Research Counselor at Norinchukin Research Institute Co., Ltd. She received her MA in Economics from Sophia University in Japan. Her previous positions include Visiting Researcher at the Louisiana State University Agricultural Centre (Sep. 2005-May 2006). Her research focuses on 'global food supply and demand, soybean trade, food self-sufficiency in developing countries in Asia and Africa, the digital agriculture movement, and China's food self-sufficiency measures and their impact on global food trade.' Her recent publications include: *The Global Food Crisis*, Nikkei BP Nikkei Publishing 9 Sep. 2022.

© **Maha Yahya** Director, Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center

MAHA YAHYA is director of the Carnegie Middle East Center, where her work focuses broadly on political violence, identity politics, inequality, citizenship, and the refugee crisis. She has two PhDs in the social sciences and humanities from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and the Architectural Association (AA) in London. She has consulted with international organizations including the United Nations organizations and the World Bank as well the private sector on a broad range of issues in among other countries Lebanon, Pakistan, Oman, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. She serves on a number of advisory boards including the UNESCO international commission on the Futures of Education; a global member of the Trilateral Commission; co-chair of the International Advisory Board for the Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship at the American University of Beirut; and member of the Board of Directors of the Ana Aqra Association. Yahya is the author of numerous publications, including most recently *Unheard Voices: What Syrian refugees need to return home* (April 2018); editor of *Contentious Politics in the Syrian Conflict: Opposition, Representation, and Resistance*, co-editor of *Visualizing Secularism and Religion, Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, India* and was the director and principal author of *The National Human Development Report 2008–2009: Toward a Citizen's State in Lebanon*.

★ **Kiyotaka Akasaka** President, The Nippon Communications Foundation / Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Communication and Public Information

Mr. Kiyotaka Akasaka is President of the Nippon Communications Foundation (Nippon.com). He held the position of United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information for five years from 2007 to 2012. He was in charge of the UN Department of Public Information. Before joining the UN, Mr. Akasaka held the position of Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in charge of development, environment, and sustainable development. Mr. Akasaka was also Japan's Ambassador to the UN in 2000 and 2001. After retiring from the UN in 2012, he held the position of the President of the Foreign Press Center of Japan, a non-profit foundation for assistance to foreign

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◆Part 3: The Future of the US-led International Order

-The Future of the US-led International Order

© **Michael Green** Professor and CEO, US Studies Centre, The University of Sydney

Dr. Michael J. Green is Professor and CEO at the US Studies Centre at the University of Sydney. He is also the Kissinger Chair (non-resident) at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC where he previously led programs as the Senior Vice President for Asia while concurrently directing Asia Studies as Professor and Chair in Modern and Contemporary Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy at Georgetown University. Dr. Green served as Director and then Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Asia on the National Security Council staff from 2001 through 2005. His publications include *By More than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783* (2018) and *Line of Advantage: Japan's Grand Strategy in the Era of Abe Shinzo* (2022). He hosts the podcast *The Asia Chessboard*, serves on the Boards of The Asia Foundation and Radio Free Asia, and is Senior Advisor for The Asia Group consultancy.

© **Qingguo Jia** 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.

© **Sunjoy Joshi** Chairman, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

Mr. Sunjoy Joshi heads the Observer Research Foundation (ORF) in New Delhi as its Chairman and Chief Executive. He has over the last 10 years spearheaded the rise of the ORF as India's premier think tank and window into the world of Global Affairs. He joined the Madhya Pradesh Cadre of the Indian Administrative Services in 1983. Took premature retirement in 2009 in order to pursue his academic interests. He has been Visiting Associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London and Distinguished Visitor to the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development,

University of Stanford, USA. He speaks, publishes and comments on the world of technology, energy, and development, framing them in the context of global shifts and the challenges to growth and employment faced by emerging economies. Has a regular Youtube commentary on Global and Current Affairs called India's World which is also available as a podcast.

© **Rory Medcalf** Head of College, National Security College, Australian National University

Professor Rory Medcalf AM is Head of the National Security College at the Australian National University. His career spans diplomacy, academia, intelligence analysis, journalism and think tanks, including with the Lowy Institute. Professor Medcalf was a senior strategic analyst with the Office of National Assessments, Australia's peak intelligence agency, and a diplomat with service in India, Japan and Papua New Guinea. He has played a lead role in Australia's informal diplomacy with India and a range of other countries. Professor Medcalf is recognised globally as a thought leader on the Indo-Pacific strategic concept, as articulated in his book *Contest for the Indo-Pacific* (published internationally as *Indo-Pacific Empire*). In June 2022 he was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia for significant service to international relations and tertiary education.

© **Thierry de Montbrial** Executive Chairman, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

Thierry de Montbrial is Executive Chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri), which he founded in 1979. He is Professor Emeritus at the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers. In 2008, he launched the World Policy Conference. He has been a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques of the Institut de France since 1992, and is a member of a number of foreign Academies. Thierry de Montbrial chaired the Department of Economics at the Ecole Polytechnique from 1974 to 1992. He was the first Chairman of the Foundation for Strategic Research (1993-2001). Entrusted with the creation of the Policy Planning Staff (Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision) at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he was its first director (1973-1979). He has authored more of twenty books, several of them translated in various languages, including *Action and Reaction in the World System. The Dynamics of Economic and Political Power* (UBC Press, Vancouver, Toronto, 2013) and *Living in Troubled Times.: A New Political Era* (World Scientific, 2018). He is a Grand Officier of the Légion d'honneur, Grand Officier of the Ordre National du Mérite. He has been awarded the Order of the Rising Sun – Gold and Silver Star, Japan (2009) and other state honors by the French and several foreign governments. Thierry de Montbrial is a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Mines, and received a Ph.D. in Mathematical Economics from the University of California at Berkeley.

© **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 to head Japan's premier foreign affairs think tank.

★**Tomiko Ichikawa** Director General, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (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.