

The 5th Tokyo Global Dialogue

Speakers (as of Feb 29, 2024)

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

(The program and speakers are subject to change.)

February 28 (Wed)

◆ Roundtable featuring “Strategic Annual Report 2023”

◎ **Justin Bassi** Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)

Justin Bassi is the Executive Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. From June 2019 to March 2022 he was Chief of Staff to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Women, Senator the Hon Marise Payne. Immediately prior to this, Justin was the Cyber Intelligence Mission Manager at the Office of National Intelligence, where he led the integration of cyber security and critical technologies across the National Intelligence Community. From September 2015 to August 2018, Justin was the National Security Adviser to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. He led the team advising the PM and Cabinet Ministers on Australia’s national security, defence and international relations. This included responsibility for all areas of security legislation, policy and operations, including counter terrorism, foreign interference, cyberspace, intelligence and border security. Justin was also previously the National Security Adviser to Attorney-General George Brandis, focusing on Australia’s national security legislation, policy and activities, including counter terrorism and telecommunications security. Prior to that, Justin spent over 10 years in the Australian Public Service, including in the intelligence community for the Office of National Assessments and at the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet where he had responsibility for cyber security policy.

◎ **Carl Bildt** Former Prime Minister of Sweden / Vice Chairman, Kreab Worldwide

Carl Bildt has served as both Prime Minister (1991-1994) and Foreign Minister (2006-2014) of Sweden. Subsequently he served in international functions with the EU and UN, primarily related to the conflicts in the Balkans. He was Co-Chairman of the Dayton peace talks on Bosnia and become the first High Representative in the country. Later, he was the Special Envoy of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to the region. Currently he is Co-Chair of the European Council on Foreign Relations, contributing columnist to Washington Post as well as monthly columnist for Project Syndicate. He recently chaired the Global Commission on Internet Governance. He serves as one of the Senior

Advisors to the Wallenberg Foundations in Sweden and is on the Board of Trustees of the RAND Corporation in the US.

© **John J. Hamre** CSIS President and CEO, and Langone Chair in American Leadership

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. Before serving in the Department of Defense, Dr. Hamre worked for 10 years as a professional staff member of the Senate Armed Services 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. 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.

© **Jia Qingguo <online>** Professor, Peking University

Jia Qingguo is professor of the School of International Studies of Peking University. He is the director of the Institute of Global Cooperation and Understanding and the director of the Center for Global Governance of Peking University. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1988. He is a member of the Standing Committee and Foreign Affairs 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.

© **Bilahari Kausikan** Chairman, The Middle East Institute, National University of 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.

© **Daniela Schwarzer** Member of the Bertelsmann Stiftung Executive Board

Prof. Dr. Daniela Schwarzer has been a member of the Bertelsmann Stiftung Executive Board since May 2023 and is also an honorary professor of political science at Freie Universität Berlin. Previously, Schwarzer served as Executive Director of the Open Society Foundations in Europe and Central Asia and was Director of the German Council on Foreign Relations from 2016 to 2021. She taught at Harvard University as a visiting professor, was director of the Europe Research Group at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, and was a board member of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. In 2020-2022, she served as special advisor to Josep Borrell, High Representative of the European Commission, and in 2023 as co-rapporteur of the Franco-German working group on EU reform. Her latest book, "Crisis Time - Security, Economy, Cohesion," was published by Piper Verlag in September 2023.

★ **Kenichiro Sasae** President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) / Former Ambassador of Japan to the U.S.

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.

◆ Opening

<Remarks>

H.E. KISHIDA Fumio Prime Minister of Japan

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>

Kamikawa Yoko Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

KAMIKAWA Yoko serves as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan since September 2023, and is a member of the House of Representatives belonging to the Liberal Democratic Party. Graduated from the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo, and earned

her Master's Degree from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (Master in Public Policy). Ms. Kamikawa served as Minister of State for Gender Equality and Social Affairs; Minister of Public Records Management and National Archives; Minister of Justice.

February 29 (Thu)

◆ Part 1: US-China competition and the Indo-Pacific

(1) Politics & security

© **Justin Bassi** Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)

Justin Bassi is the Executive Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. From June 2019 to March 2022 he was Chief of Staff to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Women, Senator the Hon Marise Payne. Immediately prior to this, Justin was the Cyber Intelligence Mission Manager at the Office of National Intelligence, where he led the integration of cyber security and critical technologies across the National Intelligence Community. From September 2015 to August 2018, Justin was the National Security Adviser to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. He led the team advising the PM and Cabinet Ministers on Australia's national security, defence and international relations. This included responsibility for all areas of security legislation, policy and operations, including counter terrorism, foreign interference, cyberspace, intelligence and border security. Justin was also previously the National Security Adviser to Attorney-General George Brandis, focusing on Australia's national security legislation, policy and activities, including counter terrorism and telecommunications security. Prior to that, Justin spent over 10 years in the Australian Public Service, including in the intelligence community for the Office of National Assessments and at the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet where he had responsibility for cyber security policy.

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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.

© **Han Sukhee** President, Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS)

Han Sukhee (韓碩熙) is the President of the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS) and Professor at Yonsei University. Dr. Han previously served as the Dean of Graduate School of International Studies at Yonsei University (2022-2023) and as the Consul General of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai, China (2015-2017). He earned his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and his B.A. and M.A. in Political Science from Yonsei University. His main research area includes Chinese security and foreign relations, China's power politics, U.S.-China relations, South Korea-China relations, and China-North Korea relations.

© **Jia Qingguo <online>** Professor, Peking University

Jia Qingguo is professor of the School of International Studies of Peking University. He is the director of the Institute of Global Cooperation and Understanding and the director of the Center for Global Governance of Peking University. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1988. He is a member of the Standing Committee and Foreign Affairs 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.

★ **Satoru Mori** Professor, Faculty of Law, Keio University

Dr. Satoru Mori graduated from Kyoto University in 1995 with a Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.) and completed his Master of Laws (LL.M.) at the Kyoto University Graduate School of Law in 1997. He served as a foreign affairs officer in Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1996 to 2001, during which time he earned an LL.M. from Columbia University Law School in the US as part of his overseas training. In 2002, he enrolled in the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics at The University of Tokyo, where he obtained his Ph.D. in Law in 2007. After serving as a researcher with the International Center for Comparative Law and Politics at The University of Tokyo's Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, he was appointed as an Associate Professor of Law at Hosei University in 2008 and became a Professor of Law there in 2010. From June 2013 to March 2015, he was a visiting scholar with the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University. Among the books he has co-authored is "US-China Relations and the World

Order After COVID-19" (The University of Tokyo Press). He has held his current position since 2022.

(2) Economic security

© **Matthew Goodman <online>** Director of the Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

Matthew P. Goodman is distinguished fellow for global economic policy and director of the Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He leads a cross-cutting program on global economics at CFR that works to develop new approaches to trade and other international economic policies. Prior to joining CFR in September 2023, Goodman was senior vice president for economics and Simon chair in political economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). From 2010 to 2012, he served as director for international economics on the National Security Council staff, helping the U.S. president prepare for global and regional summits, including for the Group of 20, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and East Asia Summit. Prior to serving in the White House, he was senior advisor to the undersecretary for economic affairs at the U.S. Department of State. Before joining the Barack Obama administration in 2009, Goodman worked for five years at Albright Stonebridge Group, where he was managing director for Asia. From 2002 to 2004, he served at the White House as director for Asian economic affairs on the National Security Council staff. Prior to that, he spent five years at Goldman Sachs, heading the bank's government affairs operations in Tokyo and London. From 1988 to 1997, he worked as an international economist at the U.S. Treasury Department, including five years as financial attaché at the U.S. embassy in Tokyo. Goodman holds a BSc in economics from the London School of Economics and an MA in international relations from the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

© **Mihoko Matsubara** Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation

Mihoko Matsubara is Chief Cybersecurity Strategist, NTT Corporation, Tokyo, being responsible for cybersecurity thought leadership. She previously worked at the Japanese Ministry of Defense before her MA at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington D.C. on Fulbright. Most recently, Mihoko was the Vice President and Public Sector Chief Security Officer for the Asia-Pacific region at Palo Alto Networks. She is Associate Fellow for Cyber at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London; and Adjunct Fellow at the Pacific Forum, Honolulu. Mihoko published a book on cybersecurity in Japanese from the Shinchosha Publishing Co., Ltd. in 2019. In 2020, her book won an award by the Okawa Foundation for Information and Telecommunications. Her second book, Ukraine's Cyber War, was published from Shinchosha in August 2023. Her chapter, "Japan's 5G Security Strategy and Competition

in Emerging Technologies,” is included CSIS Japan Chair’s book, *Toward a U.S.-Japan Technology Alliance: Competition and Innovation in New Domains* (Rowman & Littlefield, December 2022).

© **Kazumi Nishikawa** Director, Office of Economic Security Policy, Trade and Economic Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) / Director, Policy Planning and Coordination Division, Trade and Economic Cooperation Bureau, METI

Kazumi Nishikawa joined the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (now the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) in 1996. After studying in the U.S. (Northwestern, Georgetown Law School, NY State Bar), working in the Defense Policy Division of the Defense Agency (Japan-U.S. defense cooperation), Multilateral Trade System Department (WTO Doha Round negotiations), and Small and Medium Size Enterprises Finance Division (countermeasures against the Lehman Shock), he served as a Policy Planning and Coordination Division, Minister’s Secretariat, where he implemented general coordination and measures against the Great East Japan Earthquake. After being involved in the launch of the Growth Strategy of Japan as a Director of Economic and Industrial Policy Bureau, he was posted to Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) Singapore as a Special Advisor to the Minister in charge of Asia, where he oversaw economic integration in Asia. After returning to Japan, he was in charge of drafting trade strategies and globalizing industrial policies before being appointed Director of the Healthcare Industries Division in July 2017, concurrently serving as Director of the Office for Promotion of International Expansion from July 2019, Counselor (in charge of Information Industry Strategy and Healthcare Industry Overview), Minister’s Secretariat from December 2019, Director of IT Industry Division, Commerce and Information Policy Bureau from July 2020, and Director of the Policy Planning and Coordination Division, Commerce and Information Policy Bureau from July 2022, and current position from July 2023.

© **Henry Huiyao WANG <online>** Founder & President of Center for China and Globalization (CCG), Former Counselor to China State Council

Dr. Huiyao (Henry) Wang is Founder and President of Center for China and Globalization (CCG), Former Counselor to China State Council appointed by Chinese Premier and Vice Chairman of China Association for International Economic Cooperation under Ministry of Commerce. Vice Chairman of China Public Relations Association; Director of Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs and China National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation under the supervision of Ministry of Foreign Affairs; a Steering Committee Member of Paris Peace Forum (PPF) and Founder of Alliance of Global Talent Organization (AGTO). Dr. Wang pursued his PhD studies at University of Western Ontario and University of Manchester. He was a Senior Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School, a Visiting Fellow of Brookings Institute. As a thought leader on global relations,

international business, global governance, talent migration, global investment and trade, etc., he has published over 100 works and a frequent speaker at internationally renowned forums.

★ **Kazuto Suzuki** Professor, University of Tokyo

Kazuto Suzuki is Professor at the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Tokyo, Japan, and Director of the Institute of Geoeconomics at International House of Japan. He graduated from the Department of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, and received Ph.D. from Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, England. He has worked in the Fondation pour la recherche stratégique in Paris, France as assistant researcher and the Associate Professor at the University of Tsukuba from 2000 to 2008 and served as Professor of International Politics at Hokkaido University until 2020. 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 currently serves many advisory committees of the government of Japan, inter alia, the National Space Policy Committee of the Cabinet Office, the Government of Japan, and the President of Japan Association of International Security and Trade. His research focuses on the conjunction of science/technology and international relations; subjects including space policy, non-proliferation, export control and sanctions. His recent work includes Space and International Politics (2011, in Japanese, awarded Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities), Policy Logics and Institutions of European Space Collaboration (2003) and many others.

◆ **Part 2: Changes in the security environment and Japan's responses**

(1) Japan's National Security Strategy and future challenges

© **Alex Gray** CEO, American Global Strategies LLC / Former Chief of Staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC)

Alexander B. Gray is the Chief Executive Officer of American Global Strategies LLC, an international strategic advisory firm that he co-founded with former National Security Advisor Robert C. O'Brien. In addition to the day-to-day management of the firm, Mr. Gray's wide-ranging practice includes the defense, aerospace, maritime, and technology sectors. Mr. Gray most recently served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC), where he directed the daily operations of the National Security Advisor's immediate office, as well as the budget, personnel, and security functions of the NSC. Previously, he served in the White House as Special Assistant to the President for the Defense Industrial Base at the National

Economic Council (NEC), the principal Executive Office of the President (EOP) official responsible for matters impacting the defense and manufacturing industrial base, and as the first-ever Director for Oceania and Indo-Pacific Security at the NSC. He is a graduate of the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University (B.A. International Affairs) and attended Oklahoma State University. Mr. Gray is a graduate of Casady School in Oklahoma City.

© **Han Sukhee** President, Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS)

Han, Sukhee is the President of the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS) and Professor at Yonsei University. Dr. Han previously served as the Dean of Graduate School of International Studies at Yonsei University (2022-2023) and as the Consul General of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai, China (2015-2017). He earned his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, and his B.A. and M.A. in Political Science from Yonsei University. His main research area includes Chinese security and foreign relations, China's power politics, U.S.-China relations, South Korea-China relations, and China-North Korea relations.

© **Norah M. Huang** Research Fellow, Prospect Foundation

Dr. Huang is director for international relations and research fellow at the Prospect Foundation. Her research focuses on Taiwan-U.S. relations and U.S.-China relations. She writes commentaries on Taiwan's foreign policies and regional security issues. Dr. Huang received her Ph.D. from National Taiwan University. She was a winner of Ministry of Science and Technology Overseas Project Award for Post Graduate Research. She was a visiting scholar at Elliot School in George Washington University in Washington D.C. from 2010 to 2011.

★ **Tetsuo Kotani** Senior Fellow, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (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.

(2) Territory, sovereignty and the rule of law

© **Henry S. Bensurto, Jr.** Ambassador of the Philippines to Türkiye

Henry S. Bensurto, Jr. is a career diplomat, lawyer, and professor. Mr. Bensurto currently serves as Philippine Ambassador-Designate to Türkiye, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Mr. Bensurto was a critical member of the Philippine Legal Team on the South China Sea Arbitration and assisted late Foreign Affairs Secretary Albert Del Rosario and late President Benigno Aquino on the South China Sea and West Philippine Sea issues. Mr. Bensurto authored the Zone of Peace, Freedom, Friendship, and Cooperation in the South China Sea (ZOPFFC) as the Philippine's foreign policy approach in the South China Sea; which later became a core legal framework in the Philippine suit against China. Mr. Bensurto's other works on sea issues include the passage of Philippine Archipelagic Baselines Law, Philippine Submission for Extended Continental Shelf on Benham Rise, and Maritime Delimitation Agreement with Indonesia. Mr. Bensurto finished AB Political Science from the University of the Philippines, Juris Doctor from San Beda College of Law, and has a Distinction in Public International Law from Oxford University. He has a diploma on the law of the SEA at the Rhodes Academy of Oceans Law and Policy, Rhodes, Greece.

© **Alina Miron** Professor of International Law, University of Angers / A founding partner of FAR Avocats

She has also been Counsel and Advocate in a number of cases before the International Court of Justice, the International Tribunal of the Law of the Sea and before arbitral tribunals. Professor Miron's research covers areas like proceedings before international courts and tribunals, the law of international organizations and the application of international law by domestic judges. Most recently, she has been focusing on law of the sea issues. Among her latest publications: she is a co-author (with Alain Pellet and Mathias Forteau) of the 9th edition of Droit international public (LGDJ, 2022) and with Christine Chinkin, of the commentaries of Articles 62 and 63 of the ICJ Statute in the Zimmermann/ Tams Commentary. She is also the leading editor of the Atlas des espaces maritimes de la France (Pedone, 2022) which received several awards.

© **Alfred Soons** Emeritus Professor of Public International Law, Utrecht University

Law studies at Utrecht University, The Netherlands, followed by postgraduate studies in international law at the University of Washington (Seattle, USA) and Cambridge University (UK); PhD-degree from Utrecht University. Civil servant at the Netherlands Ministry of Transport, Water Management and Public Works; from 1987 professor of public international law and director of the Netherlands Institute for the Law of the Sea (NILOS) at Utrecht University. Retired from these positions in 2014. He was, inter alia,

chairman of the Standing Advisory Commission on Public International Law of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, President of the Royal Netherlands Society of International Law and Director of Studies of the International Law Association. As counsel and arbitrator he has been involved in international litigation at the International Court of Justice, the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and arbitral tribunals. He is a member of the *Institut de Droit International*.

★ **Atsuko Kanehara** Research Director for the Canon Institute for Global Studies

Former President of the Japanese Society of International Law. Former Councilor of the Headquarters for Ocean Policy of Japan, Government of Japan. Member of the Governing Board of IMO International Maritime Law Institute. Advocate for the Government of Japan in “Southern Bluefin Tuna” Cases. Counsel for the Government of Japan in “Whaling in the Antarctic” Case. Member of the Committee on Submarine Cables and Pipelines under the International Law Association : Policy Adviser for the Japan Coast Guard. Her publication includes, a paper entitled “Refining Japan’s Integrative Position on the Territorial Sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands,” in *International Law Studies*, Vol. 97, (2021). She delivered a special course of lectures at The Hague Academy of International Law in 2017.

◆ **Part 3: Ukraine and the Middle East: The advent of an era of perennial conflict and the future of international security and cooperation**

(1) Perennial conflict: how do we deal with the “three fronts” of Ukraine, the Middle East and Asia?

© **Bill Emmott <online>** 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. He is now chairman of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, of Trinity College Dublin’s Long Room Hub for Arts & Humanities, and of the Japan Society of the UK. He is now Senior Adviser for Geopolitics at Montrose Associates, a Strategic Intelligence consultancy, and serves on the advisory board for Airfinity, a life-sciences data consultancy. He is also an Ushioda Fellow at Tokyo College, University of Tokyo, and a trustee of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. Mr. Emmott is the author of 14 books on Japan, Asia, the 20th century and Italy. His next book, to be published in 2024 by Taylor & Francis for the IISS and by Fusosha in Japanese, will be entitled “Deterrence, Diplomacy and the Risk of Conflict over Taiwan”.

© **Alex Gray** CEO, American Global Strategies LLC / Former Chief of Staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC)

Alexander B. Gray is the Chief Executive Officer of American Global Strategies LLC, an international strategic advisory firm that he co-founded with former National Security Advisor Robert C. O'Brien. In addition to the day-to-day management of the firm, Mr. Gray's wide-ranging practice includes the defense, aerospace, maritime, and technology sectors. Mr. Gray most recently served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff of the White House National Security Council (NSC), where he directed the daily operations of the National Security Advisor's immediate office, as well as the budget, personnel, and security functions of the NSC. Previously, he served in the White House as Special Assistant to the President for the Defense Industrial Base at the National Economic Council (NEC), the principal Executive Office of the President (EOP) official responsible for matters impacting the defense and manufacturing industrial base, and as the first-ever Director for Oceania and Indo-Pacific Security at the NSC. He is a graduate of the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University (B.A. International Affairs) and attended Oklahoma State University. Mr. Gray is a graduate of Casady School in Oklahoma City.

© **Koichi Nakagawa** Adjunct Fellow, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)

Born in Kyoto Prefecture in 1969, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1994 after graduating from Keio University. From 1995 to 1998, he underwent Arabic language training in Egypt and, from 1998 to 2001, he worked at the Embassy of Japan in Israel and the Representative Office of Japan to the Palestinian Authority in Gaza, serving as an interpreter for PLO Chairman Arafat. From 2001 to 2008, he served as an Arabic interpreter for His Imperial Majesty and for the prime minister, during which time (2004 to 2008) he also held the position of Chief of the Iraq Section, Second Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was then assigned to the Embassy of Japan in the United States (to monitor the Obama administration's Middle East policy) from 2008 to 2011, and subsequently transferred to the Embassy of Japan in Egypt from 2012 to 2015 (to monitor the situation in the Middle East following the "Arab Spring"). After serving as a sector-specific negotiator on global issues, he retired from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 2020 and assumed his current position in August 2020. He is the author of *The Foreign Language Study Methods of an Interpreter for the Prime Minister* (January 2020, Kodansha), *Putin's War* (June 2023, Gentosha), and *Gaza* (December 2023, Gentosha).

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★ **Takako Hikotani** Professor, Gakushuin University

Takako Hikotani is a Professor at Gakushuin University International Centre and a Senior Fellow with the Asia Society Policy Institute in Tokyo. From 2016 to 2021, she was the Gerald L. Curtis Associate Professor of Modern Japanese Politics and Foreign Policy at Columbia University. She previously taught at the National Defense Academy of Japan as Associate Professor. Her research focuses on civil-military relations, Japanese domestic politics, and Japanese foreign policy. Her publications in English include "How the Ukraine War is Changing Japan," *Foreign Affairs*, April 28, 2022; "The Japanese Diet and Defense Policy-making," *International Affairs*, 94:1, July 2018; and "Trump's Gift to Japan: Time for Tokyo to Invest in the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2017. Professor Hikotani received her BA from Keio University, MAs from Keio University and Stanford University, and PhD in Political Science from Columbia University, where she was a President's Fellow.

(2) The future of international security and cooperation

© **Justin Bassi** Executive Director, Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)

Justin Bassi is the Executive Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. From June 2019 to March 2022 he was Chief of Staff to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Women, Senator the Hon Marise Payne. Immediately prior to this, Justin was the Cyber Intelligence Mission Manager at the Office of National Intelligence, where he led the integration of cyber security and critical technologies across the National Intelligence Community. From September 2015 to August 2018, Justin was the National Security Adviser to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. He led the team advising the PM and Cabinet Ministers on Australia's national security, defence and international relations. This included responsibility for all areas of security legislation, policy and operations, including counter terrorism, foreign interference, cyberspace, intelligence and border security. Justin was also previously the National Security Adviser to Attorney-General George Brandis, focusing on Australia's national security legislation, policy and activities, including counter terrorism and telecommunications security. Prior to that, Justin spent over 10 years in the Australian Public Service, including in the intelligence community

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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. Before serving in the Department of Defense, Dr. Hamre worked for 10 years as a professional staff member of the Senate Armed Services 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. 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.

© **Kenichiro Sasae** President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) / Former Ambassador of Japan to the U.S.

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.

© **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.

★ **Michelle Lee** Tokyo Bureau Chief, The Washington Post

Michelle Ye Hee Lee is Tokyo bureau chief for The Washington Post, covering Japan and the Korean peninsula. Her coverage includes foreign policy, domestic politics, climate, social issues, and major breaking news events. Michelle joined The Post in 2014 as a national political reporter, covering money in politics, congressional and presidential campaigns, and political fact-checks. Prior to The Post, she was a political investigations reporter covering Maricopa County and the state legislature at the Arizona Republic in Phoenix, Arizona. Michelle studied international relations and English at Emory University. She served two terms as the national president of the Asian American Journalists Association from 2019 through 2022, representing more than 2,000 Asian American and Pacific Islander journalists in the U.S. and Asia, and advocating for fair and accurate coverage of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.