



THE  
NORTHEAST ASIA  
COOPERATION DIALOGUE

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## AGENDA | DIRECTORY

June 10–12, 2019 | Hong Kong

**IGCC**

UC INSTITUTE ON  
GLOBAL CONFLICT  
AND COOPERATION

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

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## WELCOME

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We are delighted to welcome you to Hong Kong for the 29th Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD). Deepening uncertainties and tensions in Northeast Asia and the international system more broadly make this meeting an opportune time to exchange ideas candidly among participants from all attending countries.

With a rich selection of topics to be discussed at NEACD we are looking forward to our usual rounds of insightful and meaningful exchanges.

As this is a Track 1.5 event and completely off the record, all the government and defense representatives come in a non-official status, which means they do not represent their governments. We hope that this will allow for free and frank discussions. You will find complete agendas and participant lists within this directory.

We also wish to acknowledge the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which has been a strong supporter of NEACD for many years.

With best wishes,

A stylized, handwritten signature in orange ink, appearing to read 'Tai Ming Cheung'.

**TAI MING CHEUNG**  
DIRECTOR, IGCC

A stylized, handwritten signature in orange ink, appearing to read 'Susan Shirk'.

**SUSAN SHIRK**  
DIRECTOR EMERITUS, IGCC

# 29<sup>th</sup> NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## PRINCIPLES OF COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA 1997

**The states of Northeast Asia share the common objectives of peace, prosperity, and security in the region. To achieve these ends, they advance the following principles for cooperation in Northeast Asia.**

1. The states of Northeast Asia respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and equality; accept that other countries have different political, economic, social, and cultural systems and the right to determine their own laws and regulations as well as other domestic affairs. They also recognize that they are obliged to abide by and implement international agreements to which they are a party.
2. The states of Northeast Asia will refrain from the threat or use of force against each other; will settle disputes through peaceful means; and pledge to use consultation, negotiation, and other peaceful means to prevent conflict between and among each other.
3. The states of Northeast Asia express their commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.
4. To prevent misunderstanding and develop trust, the states of Northeast Asia will promote dialogue, information exchange, and transparency on security issues of common concern.
5. The states of Northeast Asia respect the principle of freedom of navigation based on international law.
6. The states of Northeast Asia will promote economic cooperation and the development of trade and investment in the region.
7. The states of Northeast Asia will cooperate on transnational issues of common concern, such as organized crime, drug trafficking, terrorism, and illegal immigration.
8. The states of Northeast Asia will cooperate in the provision of humanitarian assistance, such as food aid and disaster relief.

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## MONDAY, JUNE 10

1800 | *Reception and Welcome Dinner* | *Cherry Room, InterContinental Hotel, Kowloon*

## TUESDAY, JUNE 11

0730 | *Breakfast*

0830 | WELCOME  
Susan SHIRK

0845 | **ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: NEGOTIATING DENUCLEARIZATION  
OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA**  
Moderator | Susan SHIRK  
Panelists | Senior representative from each country

1030 | *Group Photo and Tea Break*

1045 | **THE CURRENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR NORTHEAST ASIAN  
CONFIDENCE BUILDING AND SECURITY COOPERATION**  
Moderator | T. J. PEMPEL  
Panelists | SHEEN Seong-ho, Sugio TAKAHASHI, ZHOU Bo

1230 | *Lunch*

1330 | **THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA'S RELATIONS WITH ITS REGIONAL NEIGHBORS  
AND THE UNITED STATES**  
Moderator | Ken JIMBO  
Panelists | Jina KIM, YANG Xiyu, Georgy TOLORAYA

1530 | *Tea Break*

1545 | **HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DEFENSE INFORMATION SHARING WORKSHOP AND  
THE IGCC 2018-2019 NORTHEAST ASIA DEFENSE TRANSPARENCY INDEX**  
Moderator | Tai Ming CHEUNG

1645 | *Meeting Adjourns*

1830 | *Dinner* | *Tsui Hang Village, Kowloon*

*Unless otherwise noted, all meetings take place in the  
Elm, Pine, and Cypress Room, InterContinental Hotel, Kowloon*

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12

0730 | *Breakfast*

0830 | **WHAT IS THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION'S NORTHEAST ASIA  
POLICY? DIPLOMATIC, DEFENSE, AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES**

**Moderator | CHU Shulong**

**Panelists | David HELVEY, Stephan HAGGARD, Susan SHIRK**

1015 | *Tea Break*

1030 | **WHAT IS CHINA'S NORTHEAST ASIA POLICY?  
DIPLOMATIC, DEFENSE, AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES**

1115 | **Moderator | SUSAN SHIRK**

**Panelists | ZHU Feng, SHI Yinhong, YAO Yunzhu**

1215 | **NEACD PLANNING**

1230 | *Conclusion of Meeting*

*Lunch | Nobu Restaurant*

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Elm, Pine, and Cypress Room, InterContinental Hotel, Kowloon*

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## JAPAN

**Dr. JIMBO Ken**

Professor  
Policy Management  
Keio University  
Tokyo, Japan

**Amb. WADA Mitsuhiro**

Consul-General/Ambassador  
Consulate-General of Japan  
Hong Kong

**Mr. KODERA Jiro**

Deputy Director for National Security  
Policy Division  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Tokyo, Japan

**LCDR SONODA Akimitsu**

Defense and International Policy  
Planning Division  
Defense Plans and Policy  
Department (J-5)  
Joint Staff  
Ministry of Defense  
Tokyo, Japan

**Dr. TAKAHASHI Sugio**

Senior Researcher  
National Institute of Defense Studies  
Tokyo, Japan

**Ms. YADA Junko**

Director  
Office of International Security  
International Policy Division  
Ministry of Defense  
Tokyo, Japan

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

**Dr. CHU Shulong**

Professor  
School of Public Policy and  
Management  
Tsinghua University  
Beijing, China

**Dr. LI Chen**

Assistant Professor  
School of International Studies  
Renmin University of China  
Beijing, China

**Dr. SHI Yinhong**

Professor  
School of International Studies  
Renmin University of China  
Beijing, China

**Sr. Col. WANG Jianliang**

Xiangshan Forum Secretariat Office  
People's Liberation Army  
Beijing, China

**Mr. YANG Xiyu**

Senior Research Fellow  
China Institute of International  
Studies  
Beijing, China

**Maj. Gen. (Rtd.) YAO Yunzhu**

Director Emeritus  
Center on China-American Defense  
Relations  
Academy of Military Sciences  
People's Liberation Army  
Beijing, China

**Dr. ZHANG Tuosheng**

Director  
Center for Foreign Policy Studies  
China Foundation for International  
and Strategic Studies  
Beijing, China

**Sr. Col. ZHAO Xiaozhuo**

Director  
Xiangshan Forum Secretariat Office  
People's Liberation Army  
Beijing, China

**Sr. Col. ZHOU Bo**

Director  
Center of International Security  
Cooperation  
Foreign Affairs Office  
Ministry of National Defense  
Beijing, China

**Dr. ZHU Feng**

Professor  
Nanjing University  
Nanjing, China

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## REPUBLIC OF KOREA

**Dr. CHO Namhoon**

Senior Research Fellow  
Korea Institute for Defense Analyses  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Mr. CHOI Jeongick**

Ministry of Defense  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**1st Lt. LEE Dokee**

Interpreter  
International Policy Division  
Ministry of Defense  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Lt.Col. LEE Jaehak**

Defense Policy Planning Officer  
Policy Planning Bureau  
Ministry of Defense  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Dr. KIM Eun-bi**

Assistant Professor  
Korea National Defense University  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Dr. KIM Jina**

Research Fellow  
Korea Institute for Defense Analyses  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Mr. PARK Jang-ho**

Deputy Director-General  
North Korean Nuclear Affairs Bureau  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Dr. SHEEN Seong-ho**

Professor  
Graduate School of International  
Studies  
Seoul National University  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

**Mr. YANG Wonseok**

Multilateral Security Official  
Multilateral Security Policy Division  
Ministry of Defense  
Seoul, Republic of Korea

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

**Lt. Gen. (Rtd.) Evgeny BUZHINSKIY**

Chairman of the Executive Board  
PIR Center  
Moscow, Russia

**Dr. Vasilii KASHIN**

Senior Research Fellow  
Center for Comprehensive European  
and International Studies  
National Research University Higher  
School of Economics  
Moscow, Russia

**Mr. Igor SAGITOV**

Deputy Director  
1st Asian Department  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Moscow, Russia

**Dr. Georgy TOLORAYA**

Director  
Asian Strategy Center  
Institute of Economics  
Russian Academy of Sciences  
Moscow, Russia

**Dr. Alexander VORONTSOV**

Head of Department for Korean and  
Mongolian Studies  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
Russian Academy of Sciences  
Professor, Military Sciences Academy  
of the Russian Federation  
Moscow, Russia

## UNITED NATIONS

**Ms. Sonja BACHMANN**

Teamleader, Northeast Asia and Pacific  
United Nations Department of Political Affairs  
New York, New York

# 29th NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**Ms. Rachael BURTON**

Policy Advisor for China  
Indo-Pacific Security Affairs  
OSD Policy  
U.S. Department of Defense  
Washington, D.C.

**Dr. Tai Ming CHEUNG**

Director  
UC Institute on Global Conflict and  
Cooperation  
University of California San Diego  
La Jolla, California

**Capt. John CRANSTON**

Military Attaché  
U.S. Consulate General Hong Kong  
and Macau  
Hong Kong

**Dr. Stephen J. DEL ROSSO**

Program Director, International  
Peace and Security  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
New York, New York

**Dr. Stephan HAGGARD**

Professor  
School of Global Policy and Strategy  
University of California San Diego  
La Jolla, California

**Mr. David HELVEY**

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary  
of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security  
Affairs  
OSD Policy  
U.S. Department of Defense  
Washington, D.C.

**Mr. Richard JAO**

Acting Deputy Political Minister  
Counselor  
U.S. Embassy Beijing  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Beijing, China

**Mr. Keith LUSE**

Executive Director  
National Committee on  
North Korea  
Washington, D.C.

**Dr. T. J. PEMPEL**

Professor  
University of California Berkeley  
Berkeley, California

**Lt. Col. Kristian PFEIFFER**

Military Assistant to Assistant  
Secretary of Defense, Indo-Pacific  
Security Affairs  
OSD Policy  
U.S. Department of Defense  
Washington, D.C.

**Derek PING**

Assistant Military Attaché  
U.S. Consulate General Hong Kong  
and Macau  
Hong Kong

**Dr. Susan SHIRK**

Director Emeritus  
UC Institute on Global Conflict and  
Cooperation  
University of California San Diego  
La Jolla, California

## UC INSTITUTE ON GLOBAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

**Ms. Lynne BUSH**

Managing Editor

**Mr. Patrick HULME**

Rapporteur  
Ph.D. Student  
University of California San Diego

**Mr. Dongkeon OH**

Research Assistant  
Masters Student  
School of Global Policy and Strategy

**Ms. Marie THIVEOS STEWART**

Project Manager

**Ms. Liuya ZHANG**

Research Assistant  
Masters Student  
School of Global Policy and Strategy  
University of California San Diego



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## JAPAN

**Ken JIMBO** is a professor, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University, Tokyo, and an adjunct senior research fellow at the Canon Institute for Global Studies and the Tokyo Foundation. He is currently a visiting professor on the Faculty of Political Science at Thammasat University (April 2019–March 2020). He is also an advisor to the National Security Secretariat Advisory Board; director, Board of Directors, Civic Force; and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. His main research fields are in international security, Japan-US security relations, Japanese foreign and defense policy, multilateral security in the Asia-Pacific, and regionalism in East Asia. He has been a policy advisor at various Japanese governmental commissions and research groups including at the National Security Secretariat, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His recent books and articles include “Sino-Russian Military Cooperation and Japanese Defense Policy,” in *Japan and the Sino-Russian Entente: The Future of Major-Power Relations in Northeast Asia* (Seattle: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017) and “Anchoring Diversified Security Cooperation in the ADMM-Plus: A Japanese Perspective,” *Asia Policy* 22 (July 2016).

**KODERA Jiro** is deputy director for national security policy in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Prior positions in the ministry include deputy director for cyber policy, deputy director for arms control and disarmament, and second secretary. He holds an MA in international policy studies from Stanford University and an MPP in international public policy from the University of Tokyo.

**TAKAHASHI Sugio** is a senior research and chief of the Policy Simulation Division of the National Institute for Defense Studies in Tokyo. He was seconded to the Ministry of Defense as deputy director of the Office of Strategic Planning from 2008 to 2016. In that capacity, he was on the 2010 and 2013 drafting teams of the National Defense Program Guidelines, a capstone document of Japan’s defense strategy. He received an MA and BA from Waseda University and an MA from the George Washington University. Takahashi has published extensively in the area of nuclear strategy and the Japan-US alliance.

Amb. **WADA Mitsuhiro** is the consul-general of Japan in Hong Kong. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1983 and has held many positions within the ministry, including as minister, Embassy of Japan in the People’s Republic of China, assistant director-general of the Asian

and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, deputy director-general of the International Cooperation Bureau and Southeast and Southwest Asian Affairs Department, and consul-general of Japan in Detroit, Michigan. Wada holds an MA in Asian Studies from UC Berkeley and an LLB from the University of Tokyo.

LCDR **SONODA Akimitsu** is in the Defense and International Policy Planning Division, Defense Plans and Policy Department (J-5), Joint Staff, Japanese Ministry of Defense.

**YADA Junko** is director of the Office of International Security, International Policy Division, Japanese Ministry of Defense.

## PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

**CHU Shulong** is a professor of political science and international relations at the School of Public Policy and Management and the director of the Institute of International Strategic and Development Studies at Tsinghua University in Beijing. He is also a professor at China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ Party School and an advisor to China’s Central Television international reporting, and director of the Center for Northeast Asian Studies of Dalian University of Foreign Languages. He was previously director for the North American Studies Division of the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations. He was a senior visiting fellow at the Center for US–China Relations of New York University in January 2013, at the Brookings Institution in 2006–2007, and the East West Center in 2001. Dr. Chu’s major areas of research are international relations, US foreign strategy and China policy, Sino–US relations, and China’s foreign and security strategies. His most recent publications include *Sino-US Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*; *Basic Theories of International Relations*; *China’s Foreign Strategy and Policy*, and *American Government and Politics* (three volumes). Dr. Chu received an MA in law from the Beijing University of International Relations, and a PhD in political science from the George Washington University.

**LI Chen** is an assistant professor of international security and the strategy program director at the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China. Li teaches courses on international history, Asia-Pacific security, and strategic studies. His research interests include strategic and diplomatic history, Chinese military strategy, Asia-Pacific security and China-US security relations, on which he has published scholarly articles in

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leading journals such as *Journal of Strategic Studies* and various policy briefings. He is also a fellow of National Academy of Development and Strategy, Renmin University of China, focusing on policy-relevant studies of traditional security and military strategy. He received his PhD from the University of Cambridge and his MSc from the London School of Economics and Peking University.

**SHI Yinhong** is Distinguished Professor of International Relations, chair of the academic committee of the School for International Studies, and director of the Center on American Studies at Renmin University of China in Beijing. He has served as a counsellor to the State Council of the People's Republic of China since February 2011. His previous positions include professor of international history at Nanjing University and professor of international relations at the International Relations Academy, Nanjing. He also served as president of American Historical Research Association of China from 1996 to 2002. Shi taught graduate courses as visiting professor of public policy three times at University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and was visiting professor of modern China Studies at Aichi University in Nagoya. He mainly engages in history and ideas of international politics, strategic studies, East Asia security, and foreign policies of both China and the United States. He has published nineteen books, more than 620 professional articles and essays, as well as nineteen translated books mainly on strategic history and international politics. Shi received a PhD in international history from Nanjing University in 1988.

Senior Colonel **WANG Jianliang**, Xiangshan Forum Secretariat Office, People's Liberation Army.

**YANG Xiyu** is a senior research fellow at the China Institute of International Studies in Beijing. Before joining CIIS in 2008, he was a Pantech Fellow at Stanford University. Prior to that, he had a distinguished career in the Chinese Foreign Ministry. He previously served as founding director of the Office on Korean Peninsula Affairs in the Foreign Ministry (2004–2005). In this capacity, he was heavily involved in the Six Party Talks, and drafted the "9.19 Joint Statement" that is commonly accepted by all the parties as guidance for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. He was also representative for China at the Working Level Meeting of the Four Party Talks in New York (1996–1998), and assistant to the head of the Chinese delegation at the Four Party Talks in Geneva. Earlier, he served in the Chinese Embassy in the United States (1994–1998), and as counselor in the Chinese Permanent Mission to the United Nations (2002–

2003). He was a recipient of the State Council's Award for Distinguished Contribution to the Social Science Studies, and also enjoys the Special Allowance for Experts, an honor awarded by the Chinese Central Government.

**YAO Yunzhu** is a retired major general of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the director emeritus of the Center on China-American Defense Relations, and member of the Academic Committee of National Think Tank Programs, Academy of Military Science (AMS). She joined the PLA in 1970, served in the PLA as an enlisted, a staff officer, an instructor, a researcher, deputy director and director of a research office, and director of a research center. She holds an MA from the PLA's Foreign Languages Institute, and a PhD in military science from the Academy of Military Science. She was a visiting scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University from 1995 to 1996, an Eisenhower Fellow in 1999, and a visiting fellow at Harvard University from 2009 to 2010. Yao has published books, and translated books, articles, and papers on international military and security issues, US military affairs, nuclear weapon policy and arms control, Asia-Pacific security issues such as cross-Taiwan Strait relations, the DPRK nuclear issue, and maritime security. Her works include chapters in *Post-war American Deterrence: Theories and Policies*, *On Asia-Pacific Security Strategy*, and *20th Century Strategic Legacy and the World through Chinese Scholars*. She was elected a member of the 10th National People's Congress of the PRC in 2002, and a member of the 17th Chinese Communist Party Congress in 2007.

**ZHANG Tuosheng** is the director of the Center for Foreign Policy Studies at the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies in Beijing.

Senior Colonel **ZHAO Xiaozhuo** is director of the Xiangshan Forum Secretariat Office and a senior research fellow at the People's Liberation Army Academy of Military Sciences. In recent years he has focused his research on the U.S. military, China-U.S. defense relations, and international security. Zhao has edited or coedited eight academic books, including *National Defense and Military Modernization in Foreign Countries* and a study on the Iraq war, and has made contributions to more than ten academic books, including *On War and Strategy* and *New Development of Military Theories in Major Powers in the 21st Century*. He has published more than 200 academic articles in various newspapers and magazines. Zhao spent a year in Africa from 2001 to 2002 as a military observer in the MONUC (the United Nations Mission in the Democratic

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Republic of Congo). From 2010 to 2011 he undertook a defense and strategic course in the Center for Defense and Strategic Studies, Australian Defense College. He has attended the Shangri-La Dialogue eight times as a member of the PLA delegation. He has given lectures to many institutions in China including the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Tsinghua University, and various military units. Zhao is frequently interviewed by the media in China. He holds a PhD in military strategy.

Senior Colonel **ZHOU Bo** is director of the Center for Security Cooperation in the Office for International Military Cooperation, Ministry of National Defense, where he is responsible for multilateral cooperation. He started his military service in 1979, serving in different posts in the Guangzhou Air Force Regional Command. Starting in 1993, he worked successively as a staff officer, deputy director general of the West Asia and Africa Bureau, and then deputy director general, General Planning Bureau, Foreign Affairs Office, Ministry of National Defense of China. From 2006 to 2009 he was Chinese defense attaché to the Republic of Namibia. Senior Colonel Zhou has been a speaker as a PLA delegate at the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore and at the Munich Security conference. His essays and opinions in English have been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Financial Times*, *Australian*, *South China Morning Post*, *Diplomat*, *Straits Times* and *China Daily*. He is a commentator on global security issues for CGTN and supervisor to foreign post-graduate officers at the PLA National Defense University. Zhou is a graduate of the Air Force Engineering College and a postgraduate of St. Edmund College, Cambridge University (MPhil in international relations). He was a visiting fellow to the Land Warfare Studies Center of the Australian Army in 1999. He has attended various courses at Harvard University, Westminster University, PLA National Defense University, PLA University of Science and Technology for the National Defense, and the PLA Army Command College (Shijiazhuang).

**ZHU Feng** is executive director of the China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea and director of the Institute of International Studies at Nanjing University. He writes extensively on regional security in East Asia, the nuclear issue in North Korea, and China-US military and diplomatic relations. As a leading Chinese security expert, Professor Zhu's recent books include *International Relations Theory and East Asian Security* (2007), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and Future of International Politics* (co-edited with Robert S. Ross, Cornell, 2008), *China-Japan*

*Security Cooperation and Defense Communication: The Past, Present, and Future* (co-edited with Akiyama Asahiro, Tokyo: Aiji Press, 2011), and *America, China, and the Struggle for World Order: Ideas, Traditions, Historical Legacies, and Global Visions* (co-edited with G. John Ikenbery and Wang Jisi, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). He is on the editorial boards of several scholarly journals, consults independently for the Chinese government and the private sector, and comments frequently on television and radio and in print media on Chinese foreign affairs and security policy. Zhu received his PhD from Peking University.

## REPUBLIC OF KOREA

**CHO Namhoon** is a senior research fellow at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA). He mainly studies North Korean issues such as the North Korean military, economy, and WMD strategies. In addition, he has been studying security environments and strategies in Northeast Asia. Cho served as a director of the Center for Security and Strategy at KIDA from 2014 to 2015. Before that, Cho worked as a senior policy advisor to the defense minister from 2010 to 2013. Cho has served as a member of various government committees such as the Defense R&D Subcommittee of the National Science and Technology Commission, Policy Advisory Committee in the Ministry of National Defense, and Advisory Committee in Defense Acquisition Program Administration. Currently, he is a member of the Policy Advisory Committee in the Ministry of Unification. He also serves as a board member for both the Korea Association of Defense Industry Studies and the Korea Defense and Security Forum. In addition, he has served as an adjunct professor at the University of North Korean Studies. Cho holds an MA in economics from Brown University and a PhD in economics from Kookmin University. He is the author of numerous research papers and reports on defense acquisition, the North Korean military, and security issues in Northeast Asia. He has co-authored six books on defense issues.

**CHOI Jeongick** is the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Defense.

**KIM Jina** is a research fellow at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, specializing in US-North Korea relations, nuclear nonproliferation, and Northeast Asian security. She holds a PhD in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and teaches at Yonsei Graduate School of

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International Studies. She is a member of the Advisory Committee for the Ministry of National Unification and a member of the National Policy Review Board for the Prime Minister's Office. She also serves on the Blue House's Public Information Committee. She is the author of *The North Korean Nuclear Weapons Crisis* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014) and coauthor of *North Korea and Asia's Evolving Nuclear Landscape* (NBR, 2017), *Maritime Security and Governance* (Chung Hsing National University, 2014), *The North Korea Crisis and Regional Responses* (East-West Center, 2014), and *The North Korean Military Secret Report* (Planet Media, 2013). Her recent publications in academic journals include "Assessing Export Controls of Strategic Items to North Korea" (2017), "North Korea's Strategic Alliance Towards Becoming a Nuclear Weapons State" (2017), "Nuclear Brinkmanship on the Korean Peninsula and the Effects of Cognitive Variables in Crisis Decision Making" (2016), and others.

1st. Lt. **LEE Dokee** is an interpreter for the International Policy Division in the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Defense.

Lt. Col. **LEE Jaehak** is a defense policy planning officer in the Policy Planning Bureau of the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Defense.

**KIM Eun-bi** is an assistant professor at the Korea National Defense University.

**YANG Wonseok** is a multilateral security official in the Multilateral Security Policy Division of the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Defense.

**PARK Jang-ho** is deputy director-general for the North Korean Nuclear Affairs Bureau in the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, he served as special assistant to National Security Advisor to the President and Director of United Nations Affairs. His work focused on political-military affairs and multilateral security, including the reform of UN peace operations architecture. He served in overseas missions in Washington, D.C., Kinshasa, and most recently as counselor at the Permanent Mission to the United Nations during the ROK's term as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. He received the Foreign Minister's Distinguished Service Award in 2007 for his role as a member of the ROK delegation to three rounds of the Six-Party Talks (2005–2007), during which the Sept. 19, 2005, Joint Statement was adopted. A native of Seoul, Park received his bachelor's degree from Cornell University and master's degree from Seoul National University.

**SHEEN Seong-ho** is a professor of international security and director of Institute of International Affairs at Graduate School of International Studies, Seoul National University. His areas of interest include international security, US foreign policy, Northeast Asian politics, and the Korean Peninsula. Sheen was a visiting fellow at the East-West Center DC, a CNAPS fellow at the Brookings Institution, an assistant research professor at Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii, and a research fellow at Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He has taught at the University of Massachusetts Boston. In addition, he has advised various government organizations including the ROK National Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Unification, and the ROK National Assembly. Sheen received his PhD and MA from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and his BA from Seoul National University.

## RUSSIAN FEDERATION

**Evgeny BUZHINSKIY** is chairman of the Executive Board of the PIR Center, a think tank in Moscow, Russia, that specializes in international security, control and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A member of the Armed Services since 1968, Buzhinskiy served in various positions as an officer of the General Staff from 1976 to 1992. From 1992 to 2009 he served in various positions in the Russian Ministry of Defense. In 2002, he was appointed to the position of head of the International Treaty Directorate/deputy head of the Main Department of International Military Cooperation of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense. He has been a lecturer at the International School on Global Security since 2010 and a lecturer for the PIR Center and MGIMO University Joint Module "WMD Nonproliferation and International Security" since 2013. From 2009 to 2017 he was deputy CEO of Vega Radio Engineering Corporation. He has also held positions as vice president of Russian International Affairs Council, member of the Sustainable Partnership with Russia (SuPR) Group and PIR Center International Expert Group, chair of the "Dialogue" Club International, and head of the Center for Applied Political-Military Studies of Moscow State University. He is a graduate of the M. V. Frunze Military Academy and holds a PhD in military sciences.

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**Vasilii KASHIN** is a senior researcher at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, and at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies North-East Asia Center. He holds a PhD from Moscow State University. Previously he worked in the Institute for Far Eastern Studies in the Russian Academy of Sciences, for the Vedomosti business newspaper, as deputy chief of the Beijing office of RIA Novosti, and as a senior research fellow at the Center for Analysis of Strategies and Technologies, a defense industry consultancy.

**Igor SAGITOV** is the deputy director of the 1st Asian Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Georgy TOLORAYA** is a former diplomat (rank of Minister) and a scholar with decades-long experience on Asian and global issues. Since 2008 he has been working for the “Russkiy Mir” (Russian World) Presidential Foundation in Moscow as chair of regional programs, coordinating, *inter alia*, Asian and African programs. He is concurrently director of the Asian Strategy Center at the Institute of Economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences and serves as CEO of the Russian National Committee on BRICS Research. Toloraya also teaches at MGIMO (Moscow University of International Relations). Toloraya graduated from MGIMO in 1978, received his PhD in 1984, degree of doctor of economy in 1994, and full professor degree in 2002. He served two postings in North Korea (1977–1980 and 1984–1987), worked for trade promotion agencies related to Asia, served in the Russian Foreign Ministry, was deputy chief of the Russian Embassy in South Korea (1993–1998), First Asian Department deputy director-general (1998–2003), and consul general of Russia in Sydney (2003–2007). He collaborated with a number of academic institutes (among them IMEMO and Institute of Economics) as a full-time and part-time researcher and in 2007–2008 was a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. He has published many articles and books on East Asia and global governance issues.

**Alexander VORONTSOV** is head of the Korea and Mongolia Department at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and an associate professor at the Moscow State University of International Relations. He also holds a post as a Russian Military Science Academy professor. He has regularly taken part in Track 1.5 and Track 2 conferences dealing with the security situation on the Korean Peninsula and East Asia. He has been a visiting professor at the Hangeuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul; Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto, Japan; Akita International University, Japan; a member of

faculty of Yonsei University International Summer School in Seoul; and a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies in Washington, D. C. Vorontsov served as second secretary in the Russian Federation’s Embassy in Pyongyang from 2000 to 2002. Vorontsov holds a PhD in history from the Institute of Oriental Studies at the USSR Academy. He was a member of the Russia-DPRK, Russia-ROK Intergovernmental Commission dealing with trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Vorontsov has studied at Lomonosov Moscow State University and Pyongyang Kim Il Sung University.

## UNITED NATIONS

**Sonja BACHMANN** works as Teamleader on Northeast Asia and the Pacific in the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, Asia and the Pacific Division with a focus on peace and security issues on the Korean Peninsula and engagement with Pacific countries and the Pacific Islands Forum. Bachmann has previously worked for the UN Mission in Afghanistan, the UN envoy in the Cyprus negotiations, the Nepal peace process, and as a senior peace and development advisor in the UN Office in Fiji. Prior to joining the United Nations, Bachmann worked in the World Bank on community-driven development. She also spent a year in Peru advising the Peruvian government on investment promotion and sustainable tourism. Bachmann holds a master of law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and MA and PhD in political science from the University of Vienna. She is a national of Austria and speaks, English, German, Italian, Spanish and French.

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**Rachael BURTON** is a policy advisor for China in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Indo-Pacific Security Affairs. Previously, she was deputy director at the Project 2049 Institute where she managed the institute’s research and program development. Prior to joining the institute, Burton spent two years as a Teach for China fellow, teaching secondary school English at a remote rural village in China’s Yunnan Province. She worked briefly at the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy and the National Bureau of Asian Research, where she supported events and outreach development, and conducted

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research on energy security and U.S. engagement with ASEAN. She has conducted research and analysis on the U.S.-China relations, U.S.-Taiwan relations, and U.S. policy toward Burma (Myanmar). She reads and speaks Chinese. Burton received her BA in international affairs with a minor in Chinese at the George Washington University, where she studied non-traditional security in East and Southeast Asia.

**Tai Ming CHEUNG** is the director of IGCC and the leader of IGCC's project "The Evolving Relationship Between Technology and National Security in China: Innovation, Defense Transformation, and China's Place in the Global Technology Order." He is a long-time analyst of Chinese and East Asian defense and national security affairs. Cheung was based in Asia from the mid-1980s to 2002 covering political, economic, and strategic developments in greater China. He was also a journalist and political and business risk consultant in northeast Asia. Cheung received his PhD from the War Studies Department at King's College, London University. Recent publications include *The Gathering Pacific Storm: Emerging US-China Strategic Competition in Defense Technological and Industrial Development* (ed., with Thomas Mahnken, Cambria, 2018), *China and Cybersecurity* (ed., with Jon Lindsay and Derek Reveron, Oxford, 2015), and *Fortifying China: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy* (Cornell, 2009). Cheung is a professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California San Diego, where he teaches courses on Asian security and Chinese security and technology.

Captain **John CRANSTON** is the military attaché and chief of the Office of Liaison Administration at the U.S. Consulate General Hong Kong and Macau in Hong Kong. From 2015 to 2017, he was director for international engagement (Asia-Pacific) on the Chief of Naval Operations staff at the Pentagon. He holds an MA military strategic studies from the Air War College and an MBA from Middlesex University.

**Stephen J. DEL ROSSO** directs the International Peace and Security Program at Carnegie Corporation of New York. Previously, he was director of programs at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and managed the Pew Charitable Trusts' Global Security Program. He served ten years in the foreign service, including in the executive secretariat of Secretary of State George Shultz. He also was a Presidential Management Fellow at NASA, news producer at Voice of America, and staff assistant to a British parliamentarian. He holds a PhD in political science

from the University of Pennsylvania, an MA in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School, a diploma from SAIS Bologna, and a BA from Tufts.

**Stephan HAGGARD** is the Krause Distinguished Professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California San Diego. He has written widely on the political economy and international relations of East Asia. His work on North Korea with Marcus Noland includes *Famine in North Korea* (2007), *Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea* (2011), and *Hard Target: Sanctions, Engagement, and the Case of North Korea* (forthcoming 2017). Haggard runs the Witness to Transformation blog with Marcus Noland and currently has a regular column with *JoongAng Ilbo*.

**David F. HELVEY** began serving as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs (since renamed Indo-Pacific Security Affairs) in 2017. He is responsible for developing and overseeing the execution of the United States' defense and security policy in the Indo-Pacific region. Prior assignments in the Office of the Secretary of Defense include Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, senior advisor performing the duties of the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia. Earlier assignments include country director for China; director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia; senior advisor for China policy and integration; and principal director for East Asia. Helvey has also been a visiting distinguished research fellow in the Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Helvey has been awarded a Presidential Rank Award (Meritorious Executive), the Department of Defense Distinguished Civilian Service Medal, the Secretary of Defense Medal for Meritorious Civilian Service, the Office of the Secretary of Defense Exceptional Civilian Service Medal, the Paul H. Nitze Award for Excellence in International Security Affairs, the Director of National Intelligence Award for Collaboration Leadership, and the DIA Director's Award for Meritorious Civilian Service. Helvey graduated from American University with an MA in U.S. foreign policy and from West Virginia University with a BA in political science.

**Richard JAO** is the acting deputy political minister counselor at the U.S. Embassy Beijing, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing, China.

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**Keith LUSE** is the executive director of the National Committee on North Korea (NCNK). Luse has traveled on five occasions to North Korea and has participated in numerous Track 1.5 and Track 2 sessions about North Korea or with North Korean officials in Kuala Lumpur, Seoul, and the United States. At the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee he served as the Republican East Asia policy advisor from 2003 until 2013 when Senator Lugar served as chairman and later ranking member. Prior to his work at the Committee, Luse was staff director for Lugar at the Senate Agriculture Committee from 1999 through 2002. In addition to assisting Senator Lugar at the Foreign Relations Committee on legislative initiatives, Luse directed or participated in several oversight projects and investigations. They included the integrity of the US-funded humanitarian assistance distribution process inside North Korea; the murder of Americans in Papua, Indonesia; corruption and transparency challenges at the Asia Development Bank and the World Bank, and an evaluation of the effectiveness of US foreign assistance to countries in East Asia with an emphasis on Cambodia and Indonesia. In 2015, Luse was presented the Vietnam "Medal of Friendship" by President Truong Tan Sang for active contributions to the process of Normalization and Development of the US-Vietnam relationship. Upon departing the Senate in 2013, Luse received the Philippine Legion of Honor Award from President Aquino for assisting Senator Lugar's efforts to foster relations between the United States and the Philippines and Southeast Asia. He is also a co-recipient of the 2010 Kato Ryoza Award for Service to the US-Japan Alliance. Luse's BA in political science is from Indiana University. His graduate certificate in public management and additional graduate studies were obtained at Indiana University and Purdue University, Indianapolis.

**T. J. PEMPEL** (PhD, Columbia) is Jack M. Forcey Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science at the University of California Berkeley, which he joined in July 2001. Pempel's research and teaching focus on comparative politics, political economy, contemporary Japan, and Asian regional ties. In 2015, he co-edited a book entitled *Two Crises; Different Outcomes* (Cornell University Press). His current research involves Asian adjustments to the rise in global finance and the decline in security bipolarity as well as Asian regional tensions.

Lt. Col. **Kristian D. PFEIFFER** currently serves as the military assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs. In this role, he provides military advice to the assistant secretary and serves as the executive coordinator for policy actions and tasks related to the Asia-Pacific region. In his previous assignment, Pfeiffer was the light attack helicopter requirements manager for the Marine Corps' deputy commandant for combat development and integration. His portfolio included service-level integration of future vertical lift capabilities as well as international engagement on maritime aviation issues through membership in various NATO and international working groups. An attack helicopter pilot by trade, Pfeiffer has completed multiple overseas deployments to the Middle East, South Asia, and the Western Pacific while holding aviation designations and leadership billets through O-5 command. Pfeiffer's other recent assignments include volunteering for the AFPAC Hands Program where he received language and culture training on Dari Persian and central/south Asia. He subsequently led a security force assistance team paired with the Afghan National Army Military Police Guard Command in Parwan Province. Pfeiffer is a designated South Asia regional affairs officer and a graduate of the International Counterterrorism Fellowship Program at National Defense University where he studied national strategy and policy for combating terrorism in a cross-cultural learning environment.

**Derek PING** is the assistant military attaché at the U.S. Consulate General Hong Kong and Macau in Hong Kong.

**Susan L. SHIRK** is the chair of the 21st Century China Center and a research professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at the University of California San Diego. From 1997 to 2000, Shirk served as deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs, with responsibility for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. Shirk founded in 1993 and continues to lead the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), an unofficial "track 1.5" forum for discussions of security issues among defense and foreign ministry officials and academics from the United States, Japan, China, Russia, and the Koreans. She received her BA in political science from Mount Holyoke College, her MA in Asian studies from the University of California Berkeley, and her PhD in



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