



## 2023 Energy Security Program Agenda

# **The Revenge of Energy Security: Reconciling Asia's Economic Security with Climate Ambitions**

July 19, 2023 | 9:30 a.m.–1:30 p.m. EDT

*Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars  
5<sup>th</sup> Floor Conference Room*

Now in its nineteenth year, NBR's Energy Security Program convenes senior policy, industry, and energy specialists to engage in high-level discussions on Asia's energy policies and their geopolitical impact. This year's program will consider the role for transition plans that include fossil fuels like liquified natural gas (LNG) as a bridge to future energy mixes where renewables are the dominant share, as well as country specific roadmaps that reconcile their near-term energy security pressures with long-term climate commitments.

LNG is in an ambiguous position as a preferred cleaner alternative to coal and oil, with expectations for strong future demand growth, but faces potential headwinds due to extremely high prices in Asian markets. More broadly, there are fears that in retrenching to ensure adequate fossil fuel supplies at great environmental and financial cost, Asian governments will lose focus on reconciling this with ambitious decarbonization goals. The choices the major Asian countries make will have profound implications both for traditional fossil fuel markets like LNG and for the outlook for the global clean energy transition and climate goals. Understanding what to expect in the major energy market countries including China, Japan, India, and Southeast Asian countries is vital to understanding these markets and global climate prospects.

**9:30 a.m.–9:35 a.m. Welcome and Introduction**

Alison Szalwinski  
*The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Michael Kugelman  
*Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

**9:35 a.m.–10:10 a.m. Setting the Stage: Refocusing LNG Supply and Demand**

This opening panel will provide an overview of the current state of LNG supply and demand in the region and delve into potential challenges of achieving energy security whilst relying on imported fuel sources.

Moderator: Mikkal Herberg  
*The National Bureau of Asian Research; University of California San Diego*

Author: Leslie Palti-Guzman  
*Gas Vista LLC*

Discussants: Craig Hall  
*Chevron*

Preston Howey  
*American Petroleum Institute*

**10:10 a.m.–11:25 a.m. Assessing Security in East Asia: China and Japan**

This panel will examine China and Japan's energy security strategy, their reliance on LNG, movement on nuclear, and their relationships with Russia.

Moderator: Tom Cutler  
*Cutler International LLC*

Authors: Erica Downs  
*Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs*

Jennifer Sklarew  
*George Mason University*

Discussants: Hisashi Inoue  
*Japan Bank for International Cooperation*

Ryna Cui  
*University of Maryland Center for Global Sustainability*

**11:25 a.m.–12:40 p.m.      Demand in the Global South: India and Southeast Asia**

This panel will examine India and the region of Southeast Asia, their rapidly increasing demand for fossil fuels, its desired ramp up of renewables, and the tradeoffs of decarbonizing their economy whilst ensuring greater energy security.

Moderator:      Thomas Lutken  
*The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Authors:        Rahul Tongia  
*Centre for Social and Economic Progress*

Meredith Miller  
*DGA-Albright Stonebridge Group*

Discussants:    Neelima Jain  
*Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Prashanth Parameswaran  
*Woodrow Wilson for International Center for Scholars*

**12:40 p.m. –12:45 p.m.      Closing Remarks**

Chihiro Aita  
*The National Bureau of Asian Research*

**12:45 p.m.–1:30 p.m.        Lunch**

## **Participants**

### **Chihiro Aita** – *The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Chihiro Aita is a Project Associate with the Energy and Environmental Affairs team at NBR. She supports various energy and environmental programs, such as the Pacific Energy Summit and the Energy Security Program, in addition to assisting NBR's work on nontraditional security challenges and climate resiliency. Prior to joining the Energy and Environmental Affairs team, Ms. Aita was a Gorton Leaders Fellow at NBR's Slade Gorton Policy Center. She also worked for the Japan research team within the Think Tanks and Civil Society Program (TTCSP) at the University of Pennsylvania and has research and administrative experience from working at the Consulate-General of Japan in Seattle. Ms. Aita has a BA in Political Science and International Studies from Macalester College, with a minor in English.

### **Ryna Cui** – *University of Maryland Center for Global Sustainability*

Ryna Cui is Assistant Research Director, Assistant Research Professor at the Center for Global Sustainability (CGS), University of Maryland School of Public Policy. Dr. Cui is an expert in global coal transition, integrated assessment modeling, and international and national climate and energy policies. She leads the Global Fossil Transition Project at CGS that focuses on rapid, just coal phaseout pathways both globally and in key countries of interest, including China, India, Indonesia, South Africa, and others. As the China Program Co-Director, Dr. Cui also manages the development and implementation of CGS's China program portfolio. She also holds a joint appointment at the Joint Global Change Research Institute, a collaboration between the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory and the University of Maryland. Dr. Cui holds a PhD in Environmental Policy from the University of Maryland, a Master's degree in Public Policy from the College of William and Mary, and a Bachelor's degree in Management Science and Engineering from Renmin University in Beijing.

### **Tom Cutler** – *Cutler International LLC*

Tom Cutler is President of Cutler International, an energy consulting firm specializing in Asia and Europe. Previously, Mr. Cutler was the director of the Office of European and Asia Pacific Affairs at the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE). Over his 36-year career at the DOE, he served two terms as Chairman of NATO's Petroleum Planning Committee; managed DOE energy policy dialogues and programs with a number of countries including Indonesia, India, China, Japan, Korea, Australia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, APEC, ASEAN, Norway, the UK, and the EU; managed DOE's participation in all-source oil tanker tracking programs with the U.S. Navy; and worked in DOE's Office of Intelligence. Mr. Cutler has a B.A. in Government from Lawrence University and an M.A. in International Affairs from George Washington University.

### **Erica Downs** – *Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs*

Erica Downs is a Senior Research Scholar at the Center on Global Energy Policy at Columbia University SIPA, focusing on Chinese energy markets and geopolitics. Dr. Downs has a distinguished career in Eurasian energy policy with a focus on China and has over 15 years of experience working in the public and non-profit sectors. Dr. Downs previously worked as a senior research scientist in the China Studies program of the CNA Corporation, a senior analyst in the Asia practice at Eurasia Group, a fellow in the John L. Thornton China Center at the Brookings Institution, an energy analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency, and a lecturer at the Foreign

Affairs College in Beijing, China. She holds a Ph.D. and an M.A. from Princeton University and a B.S. from the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Dr. Downs is also a non-resident senior research scientist at the CNA Corporation, an honorary research fellow at the Centre for Energy, Petroleum and Mineral Law and Policy at the University of Dundee, a member of the advisory board of the Natural Resources Governance Institute and a member of the editorial board of *Asia Policy*.

**Craig Hall** – *Chevron*

Craig Hall is Chevron's Senior Director of Government Affairs for Asia-Pacific and Eurasia based in Washington, D.C. Prior to joining Chevron in 2021, Mr. Hall was a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. Department of State (1999-2021). He was the U.S. Consul General in Kolkata (2015-2018) and served in U.S. embassies and diplomatic missions in Jakarta, Surabaya, Canberra, Mosul, Seoul, and Doha and in Washington in the bureaus for South and Central Asia and East Asia and Pacific Affairs. Mr. Hall speaks Indonesian and studied Korean.

**Mikkal Herberg** – *The National Bureau of Asian Research; University of California, San Diego*

Mikkal Herberg is a Senior Advisor to NBR and Research Director of NBR's Energy Security Program. Mr. Herberg is also a senior lecturer on international and Asian energy at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego. Previously, Mr. Herberg spent 20 years in the oil industry in Strategic Planning roles for ARCO, where he was director of global energy and economics. Mr. Herberg writes and speaks extensively on Asian energy issues to the energy industry, governments, and major research institutions in the Asia-Pacific, Europe, and the U.S.

**Preston Howey** – *American Petroleum Institute*

Preston Howey is a Policy Advisor in API's Natural Gas Markets group, which advocates for the continued and expanded use of U.S. natural gas both domestically and abroad. Mr. Howey's efforts focus on establishing the United States as the leading supplier of reliable and affordable LNG for the global gas market. He works with a diverse set of domestic and international stakeholders to communicate the unique value of U.S. LNG to policymakers. Before joining API, Mr. Howey served as the Legislative Director for Representative August Pfluger (TX - 11), where he led the legislative team to execute the Congressman's priorities. He began his career with Chairman Kevin Brady's (TX-08) personal office, where he was responsible for energy, transportation, and appropriations policy issues. A proud native of the Permian Basin, Mr. Howey graduated from Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas.

**Hisashi Inoue** – *Japan Bank for International Cooperation*

Hisashi Inoue is the Senior Representative in Representative Office in Washington D.C. in JBIC. Mr. Inoue covers relationship management with the U.S. federal government, governmental financial institution, multilateral financial institution in Washington D.C. (e.g. World Bank Group and IMF, IDB). Since Mr. Inoue joined JBIC in 2005, he has experienced a wide range of sectors including Railway Infrastructure (both passenger railway and freight railway) and Energy and Natural Resources in Asia, Middle East and Latin America. Mr. Inoue has a B.A. in Law from Waseda University. Also, he has a LLM from Northwestern Pritzker University School of Law.

**Neelima Jain** – *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Neelima Jain is deputy director and senior fellow with the Chair in U.S.-India Policy Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In her role, Ms. Jain works closely with the Indian states to bolster U.S.-India relations on energy reforms. Formerly, she was CEO of EPAL, Energy Efficiency Service Ltd's (EESL) UK-based subsidiary. Ms. Jain brings 17 years of experience working across India and internationally on energy efficiency, sustainable development, energy, and environment and has served on the International Energy Agency's EE Industry Advisory Board. In previous roles, she has developed demand-side management programs for state utilities, led operational planning and strategy for one of the largest clean development management programs, and implemented smart grid initiatives at the likes of National Grid, Scottish and Southern Energy, Tata Power, Gujarat State Petroleum Corporation, and Torrent Power. Ms. Jain holds a M.Sc. in software engineering from Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Pilani.

**Michael Kugelman** – *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

Michael Kugelman is the Asia Program Deputy Director and Senior Associate for South Asia at the Woodrow Wilson Center, where he is responsible for research, programming, and publications on the region. He has published policy briefs, journal articles, and book chapters on issues ranging from Pakistani youth and social media to India's energy security strategy and transboundary water management in South Asia. Mr. Kugelman received his M.A. in law and diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University. He received his B.A. from American University's School of International Service.

**Thomas Lutken** – *The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Thomas Lutken is a project manager with the Energy and Environmental Affairs group at NBR. In this role, Mr. Lutken helps manage NBR's ongoing projects on environmental policy, sustainability, and energy security. Prior to joining NBR, he worked as a researcher in U.S.-India Policy Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and as a Hydrologic Technician for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. He earned a bachelor's degree in environmental science from Brown University in 2014 and a master's degree in environmental economics and policy from Duke University's Nicholas School of the Environment in 2019, where he researched the economic impacts of electricity quality in rural India.

**Meredith Miller** – *DGA-Albright Stonebridge Group*

Meredith Miller is a Principal at Albright Stonebridge Group, part of Dentons Global Advisors. Ms. Miller co-leads the firm's East Asia & Pacific practice, informed by two decades of experience working on U.S.-Southeast Asia relations. She also serves as a Senior Advisor to the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Prior to joining ASG, Ms. Miller was Senior Vice President at NBR, where she led research programs on economic, energy, and trade issues to bring objective, detailed analysis of strategic developments in Asia to policymakers. Before that, she served at the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs as Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Policy, where she developed interagency policy on regional economic issues and U.S. engagement in the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC). Ms. Miller also was a Southeast Asia Analyst in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and an Associate Director at the White House National Security Council. She holds an M.A. in

International Relations from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University and a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of Michigan.

**Leslie Palti-Guzman** – *Gas Vista LLC*

Leslie Palti-Guzman is Co-Founder and CEO of Gas Vista LLC and a Nonresident Senior Associate for the Energy Security and Climate Change Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Prior to this, Ms. Palti-Guzman was a Senior Adviser at Rapidan Energy Group and a Nonresident Fellow at Columbia University's SIPA Center on Global Energy Policy. She has a dual Master's degree from The Fletcher School at Tufts University and Sciences Po.

**Prashanth Parameswaran** – *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

Prashanth Parameswaran is a fellow with the Wilson Center's Asia Program, where he produces analysis on Southeast Asian political and security issues, Asian defense affairs, and U.S. foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific. Dr. Parameswaran is also the CEO and Founder of ASEAN Wonk Global, a research hub that produces the weekly ASEAN Wonk BulletBrief newsletter, and Senior Columnist at The Diplomat, one of Asia's leading current affairs publications. A political scientist by training, he is a recognized expert on Asian affairs and U.S. foreign policy in the region, with a focus on Southeast Asia and politics and security issues. He has conducted grant-based field research across the region, consulted for companies and governments, and taught courses affiliated with the U.S. Department of Defense and the U.S. Department of State. Dr. Parameswaran holds a Ph.D. and a Master of Arts from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University focused on international security, international business and U.S. foreign policy, and received a bachelor's degree from the University of Virginia where he studied foreign affairs and peace and conflict studies and graduated Phi Beta Kappa.

**Jennifer Sklarew** – *George Mason University*

Jennifer Sklarew is an Assistant Professor for the Environmental Science and Policy Department at George Mason University and brings 30 years of energy and environmental policymaking and analysis to her research and teaching. Dr. Sklarew's prior professional experience spans the public and private sectors. Prior to entering academia, she served in the U.S. Department of Commerce's Office of Japan, where she led her office's work on Japanese electricity and gas deregulation, as well as the Asia-Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate. Dr. Sklarew also served as a Mike Mansfield Fellow in various Japanese government agencies. Prior to entering the government, she worked as a D.C.-based energy policy consultant to Japanese utility companies, and as a policy analyst for the Japan Nuclear Cycle Development Institute. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations and former rapporteur for the Council's Energy Security Group, Dr. Sklarew received her Ph.D. in public policy from George Mason University, her MA from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and her BA from the University of Pennsylvania. Her most recent book is *Building Resilient Energy Systems: Lessons from Japan* published by Routledge.

**Alison Szalwinski** – *The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Alison Szalwinski is Vice President of Research at NBR. In this role, Ms. Szalwinski provides executive leadership to NBR's policy research agenda and oversees research teams in Seattle and Washington, D.C. She is the author of numerous articles and reports and co-editor of the *Strategic Asia* series along with Ashley J. Tellis and Michael Wills. Prior to joining NBR, Ms. Szalwinski

spent time at the U.S. Department of State and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Her research interests include U.S. alliance relationships, U.S.-China relations, and the implications of great-power competition for U.S. alliances in the region. She holds a BA in Foreign Affairs and History from the University of Virginia and an MA in Asian Studies from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service.

**Rahul Tongia** – *Centre for Social and Economic Progress*

Rahul Tongia is a Senior Fellow with the Centre for Social and Economic Progress (CSEP) in New Delhi, where his work focuses on technology and policy, especially for sustainable development. Dr. Tongia leads the Energy, Natural Resources, and Sustainability group at CSEP, and is also active in broader issues of technology. His work spans the entire gamut of energy and electricity, with focuses on supply options including renewable energy (covering finance, grid integration, etc.); smart grids, which use innovative information and communications technology to improve management of the electric utility grid; issues of access and quality; and broader issues of reforms and regulations, including electricity pricing. Dr. Tongia is also a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and an Adjunct Professor at Carnegie Mellon University and was the founding Technical Member for the Government of India's Smart Grid Task Force. He is also a Fellow of the Indian National Academy of Engineering.