

The Future of North America–Asia Energy Trade

Asia's energy demand is projected to increase by well over 65% by 2035, and as the Asian Development Bank and others have predicted, most Asian countries will produce less than half of the energy they will demand by that year. This will intensify the need for diversified energy supply sources for the region, as well as for a greater commitment to more sustainable fuel choices. Meanwhile, abundant energy resources in North America, including shale gas, tight oil, and coal, have led to calls for increasing trans-Pacific energy trade. The development of more integrated and competitive energy markets, however, will require substantial policy adjustments in North America. How this process plays out will have critical implications for not only trans-Pacific energy trade but also environmental security. The Asia-Pacific has shown a strong commitment to pursuing greater environmental security and must lead efforts to assess the potential of increased energy trade for promoting energy security while addressing the threat of climate change.

Please note that this event is on-the-record.

8:30–9:00 a.m. COFFEE AND LIGHT REFRESHMENTS

9:00–9:10 a.m. INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME REMARKS

Richard J. ELLINGS
President
The National Bureau of Asian Research

U.S. Senator Slade GORTON
Counselor, Slade Gorton International Policy Center
The National Bureau of Asian Research

9:10–9:30 a.m. SPECIAL REMARKS

Ambassador Gary LOCKE
Former U.S. Ambassador to China, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, and
Governor of the State of Washington

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9:30–11:30 a.m.

What Role Can North America Play in Asian Energy Security?

Moderator: Mikkal HERBERG
Research Director, Energy Security Program
The National Bureau of Asian Research
Senior Lecturer on International and Asian Energy,
Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies
University of California, San Diego

Panelists: Shoichi ITOH
Manager, Senior Analyst
Institute of Energy Economics, Japan

Masayuki TANIMOTO
Director General, Oil and Gas Finance Department
Japan Bank for International Cooperation

Mark THURBER
Associate Director, Program on Energy and Sustainable Development
Stanford University

Se Hyun AHN
Director, Center for Energy Security Strategic Studies (CESSS)
University of Seoul

Sung Kyu LEE
Research Fellow and Head, International Information Analysis Division
Korea Energy Economics Institute

11:30 a.m.

CONCLUSION

Clara GILLISPIE
Director, Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs
The National Bureau of Asian Research

12:00–1:30 p.m.

LUNCHEON RECEPTION

Following the roundtable discussion, participants are invited to join a luncheon reception held in the Brigitte M. Gort-Allen Garden on the rooftop of George F. Russell Jr. Hall.

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SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

SE HYUN AHN is Director of the Center for Energy Security Strategic Studies at the University of Seoul and Professor in the university's Department of International Relations. He is a former member of the policy advisory committee for the Republic of Korea (ROK) Ministry of Unification and continues to frequently advise the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Finance and Strategy. Dr. Ahn is also a board member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, and the National Unification Advisory Council.

Dr. Ahn has spent numerous years researching, teaching, and studying in China, the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, and Eurasia. Prior to joining the University of Seoul, he was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Asia Research Centre at the London School of Economics and Political Science and an Assistant Professor in the Department of Government and International Relations at the United International College in China, a college jointly founded by Beijing Normal University and Hong Kong Baptist University.

RICHARD J. ELLINGS is President of The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) and Affiliate Professor of International Studies at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington. NBR is a nonprofit, nonpartisan institution whose mission is to inform and strengthen policy in the Asia-Pacific. Co-founder of NBR, he has served as the institution's Executive Director and sits on the Board of Directors.

Prior to serving with NBR, Dr. Ellings was Assistant Director and on the faculty of the Jackson School from 1986 to 1989. In this capacity, he was a member of the school's Executive Committee and responsible for a wide range of administrative functions. He taught courses dealing with Asia, American foreign policy, and international relations (including foreign economic policy and international political economy), and was Director of the George E. Taylor Foreign Affairs Institute.

In 1984 and 1985, Dr. Ellings served as Legislative Assistant in the United States Senate, Office of Senator Slade Gorton. He was the senator's senior advisor for, and responsible for legislation on, foreign and defense policy issues.

Dr. Ellings recently spoke at the high-level 2015 Global Business Forum, and publishes articles and chapters regularly. His books include *Embargoes and World Power: Lessons from American Foreign Policy* (1985); *Private Property and National Security* (1991); *Strategic Asia 2003–04: Fragility and Crisis* (2003), *Strategic Asia 2002–03: Asian Aftershocks* (2002), and *Strategic Asia 2001–02: Power and Purpose* (2001); *Korea's Future and the Great Powers* (2001); and *Southeast Asian Security in the New Millennium* (1996). He is the co-founder and co-chairman of the editorial board for *Asia Policy* and founding editor of the *NBR Analysis* publication series. He established the Strategic Asia Program and AccessAsia, the national clearinghouse that tracks specialists and their research on Asia, and has served as consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of State, and other U.S. government offices and agencies.

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CLARA GILLISPIE is Director of Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs at NBR. In this capacity, Ms. Gillispie leads research, publications, and activities for a range of initiatives, including the Energy Security Program, the Pacific Energy Summit, and the organization’s programming on intellectual property rights and innovation strategies.

Prior to joining NBR in 2011, Ms. Gillispie served as a consultant for Detica Federal Inc. (now a part of BAE Systems), where she conducted program assessments and policy reviews for U.S. government clients. She has also interned with both the U.S. House Committee on Science, Technology, and Space and the American Chamber of Commerce in the People’s Republic of China.

Ms. Gillispie graduated from the London School of Economics and Peking University with a dual MSc in International Affairs. Her academic and research interests focus on energy security questions, as well as technology and security in East Asia, including Sino-U.S. technology transfer policies and the behavior of Chinese netizens. Prior to her graduate studies, Ms. Gillispie received her BS from Georgetown University and attended Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan, for language training.

SENATOR SLADE GORTON represented the State of Washington for eighteen years in the United States Senate. In the Senate, he served in many Republican leadership positions, including as counsel to the majority leader (1996–2000). Senator Gorton was known for his effectiveness on powerful committees, including Appropriations; Energy and Natural Resources; Budget; Commerce, Science, and Transportation; and Intelligence. He chaired the Science, Technology, and Space Appropriations Subcommittee (1981–83), the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee (1995–2001), and the Commerce Subcommittees on Consumer Affairs (1995–99) and Aviation (1999–2000). Prior to his Senate career, he served three terms as Washington State Attorney General and as Majority Leader in the Washington State House of Representatives.

Following his Senate career, Senator Gorton was the first permanent appointment to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (The 9/11 Commission). He also served as a member of The Commission on the Theft of American Intellectual Property (IP Commission), the War Powers Commission, the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, and the Washington State Redistricting Commission.

Senator Gorton has served his state and country in many other ways as well. For baseball fans, he will long be remembered for his leadership in bringing major league baseball back to Seattle and keeping it there by attracting Japanese investment in the Mariners.

In 2010, NBR founded the Slade Gorton International Policy Center as a way of honoring the Senator and his lifetime of contributions to Washington State and the nation.

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MIKKAL E. HERBERG is Research Director of NBR's Energy Security Program. He is also a Senior Lecturer on international and Asian energy in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego.

Previously, Mr. Herberg spent twenty years in the oil industry in Strategic Planning roles for ARCO. From 1997 to 2000, he was Director for Global Energy and Economics, responsible for worldwide energy, economic, and political analysis. He also headed country risk analysis and was responsible for advising the executive management on risk conditions and investment strategies in countries and regions where ARCO had major investments. His previous positions with ARCO included Director of Portfolio Risk Management and Director for Emerging Markets.

Mr. Herberg writes and speaks extensively on Asian energy issues to the energy industry, governments, and major research institutions in Europe and the Asia-Pacific, including the United States, China, and Japan. He is cited frequently in the media, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, the *South China Morning Post*, *Asahi Shimbun*, Reuters, *NIKKEI News*, *Caijing*, and National Public Radio.

SHOICHI ITOH is a Senior Analyst and Manager at the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ). He has extensive expertise in global energy markets and geopolitics and is a frequent speaker on energy security around the world. He held visiting fellowships at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in 2010, the Brookings Institution in 2009, and the Monterey Institute of International Studies in 2006. Mr. Itoh also served at the Consulate-General of Japan in Khabarovsk as the political and economic attaché in 2000–3. He earned master's degrees at the University of London and the University of Tsukuba.

Mr. Itoh has spearheaded a variety of policy projects focused on the U.S.-Japan alliance and has also widely published on the international relations and energy links among Japan, China, Russia, and the United States. His recent research interests include the impact of growing U.S. energy independence on security challenges in the Asia-Pacific region.

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ROY D. KAMPHAUSEN is Senior Vice President for Research and Director of the Washington, D.C., office at NBR. Mr. Kamphausen has provided senior leadership to NBR for years, and previously served as Senior Advisor and Senior Vice President for Political and Security Affairs. Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a U.S. Army officer. As a China Foreign Area Officer, his career included assignments as China policy director in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, China strategist for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and a military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.

Mr. Kamphausen's areas of professional expertise include China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), U.S.-China defense relations, East Asian security issues and innovation and intellectual property protection policy. He has presented lectures on these topics throughout the United States, Asia, and Europe.

Mr. Kamphausen's recent NBR publications include the NBR Special Report "Innovate in India: Global Perspectives on the Continuing Evolution of India's IP Policy" (2015) and the last eight volumes from the annual PLA Conference, published by the U.S. Army War College, including the most recent volume *The Chinese People's Liberation Army in 2025* (co-edited with David Lai) and *Assessing the People's Liberation Army in the Hu Jintao Era* (co-edited with David Lai and Travis Tanner). He also authored the chapter "China's Land Forces: New Priorities and Capabilities" in *Strategic Asia 2012–13: China's Military Challenge* (2012). Mr. Kamphausen was deputy director of the IP Commission in 2012 and an author of the Commission's *Report on the Theft of American Intellectual Property*.

Mr. Kamphausen is an Adjunct Associate Professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and a regular lecturer at leading U.S. military institutions, including the United States Military Academy (West Point), the National Defense University, and the U.S. Army War College. He also serves as a Senior Advisor on East Asia for the University of Connecticut Office of Global Affairs. Mr. Kamphausen testifies regularly before Congress and consults with the U.S. Department of Defense. His analysis appears in major international media, including *Foreign Policy*, *Financial Times*, *New York Times*, National Public Radio, *Newsweek*, and others.

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SUNG KYU LEE is a Research Fellow and Head of the International Information Analysis Division within the Korea Energy Economics Institute (KEEI). He is an expert in the areas of international energy cooperation, particularly in Northeast Asia, Russia, and Central Asian countries.

Dr. Lee joined KEEI in 2004. Previously, he worked at the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy for six years as a researcher. His most recent publications include “Current Situation and Prospect of Energy Resources Development in the Arctic” (2010) and “Challenges and Tasks of Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia” (2014).

AMBASSADOR GARY LOCKE was nominated in 2011 as the tenth Ambassador of the United States of America to the People’s Republic of China. As Governor of Washington State (the first Chinese American to be elected governor in U.S. history and the first Asian American governor on the mainland), the U.S. Secretary of Commerce, and most recently as the United States’ envoy to China, Ambassador Locke has been a leader in the areas of education, employment, trade, health care, human rights, immigration reform, privacy, and the environment.

As Washington’s 21st Governor from 1997 to 2005, the nation’s most trade dependent state, Ambassador Locke expanded the sale of products and services by leading ten productive trade missions to Mexico, Europe, and Asia. He successfully strengthened economic ties between China and Washington, more than doubling the state’s exports to China to over \$5 billion per year.

Serving as the 36th Commerce Secretary from 2009 to 2011, he aggressively led the effort to implement President Obama’s National Export Initiative to double U.S. exports in five years; assumed a troubled 2010 Census process that under his active supervision ended on time and substantially under budget, saving taxpayers \$2 billion; and achieved the most significant reduction in patent application processing time in the agency’s history, from 40 months down to one year. Ambassador Locke also oversaw a significant first step in the president’s export control reform effort that strengthened national security, while making U.S. companies more competitive by easing their licensing burden for high-tech exports to partners and allies.

As the United States’ tenth Ambassador to China from 2011 to 2014, he opened markets for made-in-USA goods and services; reduced wait times for visa interviews of Chinese applicants from one hundred days to three days; and through the Embassy’s air-quality monitoring program, exposed the severity of the air pollution in China, causing the Chinese people to demand action by the government and the government in turn to begin to address the issue.

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MASAYUKI TANIMOTO is Director General of the Oil and Gas Finance Department of the Energy and Natural Resources Finance Group at the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). Mr. Tanimoto joined JBIC (then The Export-Import Bank of Japan) in 1990 and started his career as an economist in the Research Institute, in which he conducted economic research on the former USSR and Eastern European countries.

After studying two years at Columbia University in New York, he worked at the Loan Department in charge of the former USSR and Eastern European countries and closed many loan deals. From 2003 to 2005, he stayed in Paris as a Senior Representative where he was in charge of OCED and EU Commission. After coming back from Paris, he was appointed as a Director of the Natural Resources Finance Department where he was responsible for oil and gas projects in Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Australia, and the Gulf of Mexico.

Mr. Tanimoto was in the Policy and Strategy Office for Financial Operation, which is the central architect of JBIC's financial operation, for eight years in total and assumed several posts such as Director of Planning Division, Director of Coordination Division and Deputy Director General. In October 2013, he served at the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), as a visiting fellow. After spending one year and half at CSIS, he returned to JBIC as Director General of the Oil and Gas Finance Department.

MARK C. THURBER is Associate Director of the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD) at Stanford University. His research focuses on how country-level policies influence global energy markets. He also studies the delivery of energy services to low-income populations around the world and conducts game-based simulations of electricity and carbon markets with graduate students and policymakers for research and educational purposes.

Dr. Thurber edited and contributed to the recently-released book *The Global Coal Market: Supplying the Major Fuel for Emerging Economies*. The book investigates the value chain for coal in the most important producing, consuming, and exporting countries—notably China, India, Indonesia, Australia, and South Africa—with the goal of understanding how country-level factors affect the global market for coal as well as the prospects for limiting global greenhouse gas emissions. He also co-edited the 2012 book *Oil and Governance: State-owned Enterprises and the World Energy Supply* and co-authored chapters on the Norwegian and Nigerian national oil companies and on how considerations of risk have shaped the structure of the hydrocarbon industry.

Dr. Thurber teaches in the Graduate School of Business at Stanford. He holds a PhD from Stanford University in Mechanical Engineering (Thermosciences) and a BSE from Princeton University in Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering with a certificate from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Before joining PESD, Dr. Thurber worked in the high-tech industry, focusing on manufacturing operations in Mexico (where he lived for several years), China, and Malaysia.

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ATTENDEES (as of September 28, 2015)

Creigh H. Agnew

President, Slade Gorton International Policy Center, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

Se Hyun Ahn

Director, Center for Energy Security Strategic Studies (CESSS), University of Seoul (Republic of Korea)

Jason Begger

Executive Director, Wyoming Infrastructure Authority (United States)

Peter Bennett

Vice President, Business Development, Millennium Bulk Terminals (United States)

Andy Chin

Director General, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Seattle (Taiwan)

Rick Curtsinger

Director, Public Affairs, Cloud Peak Energy Resources LLC (United States)

Richard J. Ellings

President, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

John Gentzel

Managing Director, DCI Group (United States)

Clara Gillispie

Director, Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

U.S. Senator Slade Gorton

Counselor, Slade Gorton International Policy Center, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

Mikkal E. Herberg

Research Director, Energy Security Program, The National Bureau of Asian Research; Senior Lecturer, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego (United States)

Jacques K. Imperial

Senior Outreach Manager, Office of U.S. Congressman Dave Reichert (United States)

Shoichi Itoh

*Manager, Senior Analyst
Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (Japan)*

Roy Kamphausen

Senior Vice President for Research and Director of the Washington, D.C., Office, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

Shinichiro Kawazoe

Vice President and General Manager, Mitsubishi Corporation (Japan)

Younkyoo Kim

Professor, Center for Energy Governance and Security, Hanyang University (Republic of Korea)

Sung Kyu Lee

Research Fellow, Head, International Information Analysis Division, Korea Energy Economics Institute (Republic of Korea)

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Ambassador Gary Locke

Former U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of China; Former U.S. Secretary of Commerce; Former Governor of the State of Washington (United States)

Edward Lu

Consul, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Seattle (Taiwan)

Kelly Ogilvie

Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Governor Jay Inslee, Washington State (United States)

Heejun Park

Chief Executive Office, Energy Innovation Partners (Republic of Korea)

Mariana Parks

Chief Executive Officer, True Northwest Communications, LLC (United States)

Mike Poulson

Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers (United States)

Joe Ritzman

Vice President, Business Development, SSA International, SSA Marine (United States)

Eric Schinfeld

President, Washington Council on International Trade (United States)

Laura Schwartz

Project Manager, Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

Masayuki Tanimoto

Director General, Oil and Gas Finance Department, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (Japan)

Liz Thomas

Practice Area Leader, Energy, Infrastructure and Resources, K&L Gates (United States)

Louise Tieman

President and CEO, World Trade Center, Tacoma (United States)

Mark Thurber

Associate Director for Research, Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, Stanford University (United States)

Michael Wills

Senior Vice President, Research and Operations, The National Bureau of Asian Research (United States)

Chen-chi Wu

Director, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Seattle (Taiwan)

Brian Yates

Vice President, Impact Assessment and Community Engagement, SNC-Lavalin (Canada)