



**Asia expertise,  
global engagement**

**Annual  
Report  
2022**

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We help decision-makers better understand Asia  
and craft concrete, actionable policy.

## **THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ASIAN RESEARCH (NBR)**

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# Who We Are at a glance

**As an independent research institution, the National Bureau of Asian Research brings world-class scholarship to bear on the evolving strategic environment in Asia through original, policy-relevant research. We invest in our future by training the next generation of Asia specialists.**

Established in 1989, NBR is an organization with origins in the vision of Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson, who identified the urgent need for an institution that would tap the best Asia expertise to inform and strengthen policy decisions on issues affecting U.S. interests in the region.

We conduct advanced independent research on strategic, political, economic, globalization, and energy issues affecting U.S. relations with Asia. We contract with and employ the premier specialists throughout the world in a network of experts.

We disseminate our research through briefings, publications, conferences, congressional testimony, and email forums, and by collaborating with leading institutions worldwide. We also provide exceptional fellowship and internship opportunities to graduate, undergraduate, and community college students for the purposes of attracting and training the next generation of Asia specialists and leaders.



**With offices based in Seattle and Washington, D.C., we draw on a worldwide network of experts to conduct our research.**

Building on Senator Jackson’s legacy, we engage Congress and cultivate relationships on both sides of the aisle. Through sustained interaction in high-trust, nonpartisan settings, NBR is a go-to resource for policymakers seeking reliable and useful Asia expertise.

Our experts and research have shaped congressional legislation and administration policies, brought issues to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda, and attracted worldwide media attention.

We mobilize expertise on Asia for a more effective foreign policy.

# **We are the Nation's Asia Policy Think Tank**





# President's Letter



World events of the past year—including reverberations of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and China’s provocations in the Taiwan Strait—have underscored the importance of robust policy to bolster democracies and inform operational decisions, as well as to reinforce the crucial role of strong U.S. relations with partners and allies.

NBR’s innovative research makes a difference in so many areas that are of pressing concern for policymakers in Congress and the Administration—the regional and global implications of China’s military modernization, the theft of intellectual property, China’s vision for a new global order and strategy for Africa, opportunities and concerns posed by the rise of digital trade, and the challenges of achieving both energy security and environmental sustainability, among others.

In January of 2022, as the world emerged from the grip of the Covid-19 pandemic, we published the twentieth volume in our flagship *Strategic Asia* series, which assesses the impact of U.S.-China competition, pushback against globalization, and the Covid-19 pandemic on the Indo-Pacific region.

Along with the return to in-person events in 2022, NBR shifted from virtual to in-person engagement in our continued commitment to taking our research to decision-makers to inform policy. Program events in Asia included the Pacific Islands Strategic Dialogue in Tamuning, Guam, in May and the annual Pacific Energy Summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in December, as well as other energy-related engagements with partners in Dhaka, Bangladesh, and Hanoi, Vietnam. Our impact broadened beyond Asia to include audiences in Europe and Africa, as well. In addition to virtual events with partners in Seoul and Tokyo, NBR held in-person events and briefed government ministries in London, Paris, and Brussels to share research findings on China’s global digital ambitions, which were published in English, Korean, Japanese, and French. An NBR delegation of experts briefed policymakers in Paris, Brussels, and Abidjan in the Côte d’Ivoire on the findings of our multiyear project on China’s strategy for Africa.

In November, NBR held its inaugural Pacific Rim Congressional Study Group Dinner for senior congressional staff, an initiative to deepen engagement with Pacific Northwest thought leaders on emerging issues in U.S.-Asia relations. We have hosted notable government leaders and scholars, including former deputy national security advisor for international economics Caroline Atkinson, professor Robert Sutter of George Washington University, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asia Pamela Pham of the International Trade Administration, and analyst Jeffrey Hornung of RAND. With new support from the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, NBR will now host these study group engagements bimonthly through 2023. Our research teams also

regularly briefed members and staff on Capitol Hill, cultivating relationships with many members of the House and Senate on both sides of the aisle and providing hearing testimony and informal policy support to staff.

NBR's Board of Directors includes retired senior military leaders, corporate CEOs and leaders, policymakers, and diplomats. In 2022, we were honored to welcome Cynthia Watson, professor and dean emerita of the U.S. National War College, to the Board of Directors. At the beginning of 2023, we were delighted to welcome Ambassador Ahn Ho-young, retired Republic of Korea diplomat and former ambassador to the United States.

In 2022, we also reinvigorated our Board of Advisors, now chaired by Heino Klinck and Linda Distlerath and consisting of a committed and energetic group of scholars, business leaders, and former policymakers who regularly contribute to NBR's research agenda and help to raise our profile.

A highlight in our Chairman's Council engagement was that former Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe was our guest in March, just three short months before he was so tragically assassinated. Over the course of the year, we also welcomed Eric Heginbotham of MIT, Ambassador Sang-Woo Lim of the Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador Daniel Kritenbrink, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, to our Chairman's Council roundtables. At our September board meeting in Honolulu, we were honored to have Admiral John C. Aquilino, commander of the United States Indo-Pacific Command, join us for a dinner discussion.

An important part of our mission is to train the next generation of Asia specialists through programs such as the Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship, Chinese Language Fellowship, and Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship. I am excited to share that in 2022 we set the stage to expand our fellowship offerings to include a new Japan Studies Research Fellowship in 2023.

With power, risk, and opportunity concentrating in the Indo-Pacific, the stakes have never been higher and deliberations never so consequential to the crafting of concrete and actionable policy. 2022 was the year in which NBR's Asia expertise and engagement went fully global in response to that need.

I invite you to read the following report for more details on how NBR's research on security, trade, digital, energy, and environmental issues is drawing international attention and prompting a renewed sense of the need for cooperation among U.S. allies and partners.



Roy D. Kamphausen  
President, The National Bureau of Asian Research

# Engagement Abroad at a Glance

## China's digital ambitions

An NBR team briefed the French Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, and the Economy and Finance on the report “China’s Digital Ambitions.” In London, the team briefed the members of the House of Commons and House of Lords, the UK Cabinet Office, Foreign Office, and Ministry of Defence. NBR held virtual events in Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan and virtually briefed the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## China's strategy for Africa

As principal investigator of the multiyear project Into Africa: China’s Emerging Strategy, Nadège Rolland held private briefings for official representatives of various U.S. and European organizations and governments, leading to fruitful discussions about China’s growing presence in the global South and its strategic significance for various U.S. and European stakeholders. She led a delegation of experts to brief policymakers in Paris, Brussels, and Abidjan in the Côte d’Ivoire on the project findings and testified for the French National Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission about China and the United States in the Indo-Pacific.

## The evolving Indo-Pacific strategic environment

The three editors of the annual *Strategic Asia* volume—NBR’s Alison Szalwinski, Michael Wills, and research director Ashley Tellis—and four contributors conducted a workshop for Australian defense policy staffers. The delegation also met with Australian government experts, academics, and policymakers in Canberra and Sydney to discuss U.S.-China competition and the evolving Indo-Pacific security environment.

## Energy, science, and technology

As part of NBR’s ongoing project with the State Department on Clean EDGE Asia, NBR senior director Ashley Johnson led a team to the Independent University in Dhaka, Bangladesh, to establish the first Clean EDGE Resource Center and to Vietnam for a presentation at the Hanoi University of Science and Technology. The annual Pacific Energy Summit took place this year in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

## U.S.-Pacific Island engagement

NBR convened the Pacific Islands Strategic Dialogue in May 2022 in Tamuning, Guam, with support from the Defense Threat Reduction Agency and in partnership with the University of Guam. That event—featuring 25 officials, regional experts, practitioners, and scholars representing a diverse set of countries, territories, and freely associated states from Micronesia and beyond—explored Micronesian security priorities and opportunities for collaborative and sustained engagement with the United States.

Left to right: Michael Wills (NBR), former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) Sir John Sawers, and Kerry Brown (Lau China Institute, King’s College London) at the London discussion of “China’s Digital Ambitions.”



Paris event on China’s emerging strategy for Africa.



# **PROGRAMS & OUTREACH**



# Strategic Asia

The flagship Strategic Asia Program aims to strengthen and inform strategic and policy decisions by providing innovative research on challenges and opportunities for U.S. national interests in the Indo-Pacific region.

In January 2022, NBR released the twentieth volume in the *Strategic Asia* series—*Strategic Asia 2021–22: Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific*—edited by Ashley Tellis, Alison Szalwinski, and Michael Wills. The book assesses the impact of three major trends on the geopolitical environment of the Indo-Pacific region: intensifying strategic competition between China and the United States, growing pushback against globalization, and the Covid-19 pandemic. A hybrid launch event featured a keynote address by Laura Rosenberger, special assistant to the President and senior director for China and Taiwan on the National Security Council staff.

In 2022, the program contributed three episodes to NBR's *Asia Insight* podcast series. In one episode, Alison Szalwinski moderated a discussion on the new *Strategic Asia* book with Ashley Tellis and contributor Michael Green. Michael Wills moderated timely podcasts for the program with guest experts on Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the political legacy of former Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe, China's 20th National Party Congress, and the Quad.

Strategic Asia Program research director Ashley Tellis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.



**“ The work that you and your colleagues have been doing over the years at NBR on *Strategic Asia* and on the many other publications and reports and the really great research you do is so important to informing the broader discussion and debate involving key issues on China and the Indo-Pacific. ”**

## Laura Rosenberger

Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for China and Taiwan, National Security Council

*(Remarks at the launch event for Strategic Asia.)*



# China's Emerging Africa Strategy

The project Into Africa: China's Emerging Strategy assesses China's strategic inroads on the African continent and what these trends mean for the United States and its allies.

In 2022, NBR released the reports “(In)Roads and Outposts: Critical Infrastructure in China's Africa Strategy” and “Political Front Lines: China's Pursuit of Influence in Africa,” which built on the 2021 report “A New Great Game? Situating Africa in China's Strategic Thinking.”

The project's principal investigator Nadège Rolland was joined by a panel of contributors to the reports at a hybrid event in Washington, D.C., to discuss the key research findings and outcomes of the project. The project also organized a roundtable for NBR's journal *Asia Policy* examining different facets of the China-Africa relationship from the perspective of African states and published a brief summarizing priority areas for China's new Africa strategy and presenting implications and policy options for the United States.



Left to right: Ovigwe Eguegu (Development Reimagined) Nadège Rolland (NBR), and Isaac Kardon (U.S. Naval War College) discuss project findings with moderator Dewardric McNeal (Longview Global), joining via video link.

**“ The Covid-19 pandemic and Russia's war in Ukraine have not changed Beijing's assessment of the geostrategic importance of Africa. If anything, both crises have reinforced two fundamental assessments of Chinese strategists: the West continues to be locked in a power contest against China, and the world structure is undergoing major changes that favor Beijing's yearning for preponderance. ”**

**Nadège Rolland**

Distinguished Fellow, China Studies, NBR

# Indo-Pacific Security

NBR convenes the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Conference with U.S. Indo-Pacific Command. The annual, invitation-only conference brings together leading specialists from academia, government, the military, and policy think tanks.

Drawing on its PLA expertise, since 2021 NBR has offered a three-day executive education course exploring the history, strategic culture, and impact of the PLA. This graduate-level course in Washington, D.C., features a series of interactive seminar-style classes, discussion sessions focused on research methods, and scenario exercises, as well as remarks from current and former senior defense officials.

## PLA decision-making amid great-power competition

On July 16–17, NBR partnered with U.S. Indo-Pacific Command's China Strategic Focus Group and the Department of Foreign Languages at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point to host the 2022 PLA Conference on "PLA Decision-Making in an Era of Great-Power Competition and Crisis." The conference brought together a hybrid audience of in-person and virtual participants representing the world's leading PLA specialists from academia, government, military, and policy research organizations.

At the 2022 PLA Conference at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, NBR's Alison Szalwinski (top) moderates a discussion on the role of artificial intelligence in military decision-making between (bottom, left to right) Zi Yang (RSIS) and Yuan-Chou Jing (Taiwan National Defense University).

**“ I had seen many of these topics before, but the ability to integrate these topics and have deep subject matter experts expand on why they were important was absolutely invaluable. A tremendous course. ”**

PLA executive education course participant







Left to right: Erik Quam (Indo-Pacific Command China Strategic Focus Group), Roy Kamphausen (NBR), and Colonel Jon Baskerville (U.S. Military Academy at West Point) offer opening remarks at the 2022 PLA Conference at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

**“ The commissioned research and strategic dialogue discussions generally underscored a continuing strong demand for the United States to be more deeply engaged in the Indo-Pacific region, including in helping regional governments respond more effectively to the threats posed by the PRC’s development of cyber, space, and autonomous weapons systems. ”**

#### **Bates Gill**

Executive Director of Asia Society Policy Institute’s Center for China Analysis; Principal Investigator of the project China’s Military Modernization: Implications for Regional Security

## **The PLA’s capabilities to conduct overseas missions**

Although not yet a global, expeditionary force on par with the U.S. military, the PLA has nevertheless significantly expanded its ability to operate abroad. To better understand the PLA’s capabilities to conduct overseas missions, a PLA Conference volume published by the U.S. Army War College in July examines China’s military relations with Europe, Africa, and Latin America; the country’s military activities in the Indian Ocean, polar regions, and Pacific Island countries; and the emerging roles of the PLA Rocket Force and Joint Logistic Support Force.

## **China’s military modernization**

To better understand the impact of China’s improving warfighting, deterrent, and coercive capabilities on regional Indo-Pacific security, NBR has convened a Track 1.5 dialogue series on China’s Military Modernization: Implications for Regional Security, engaging experts and government officials from a mix of regional allies and security partners with differing security environments, military capabilities, and relations with China. With a focus on Australia, India, Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam, the project has sought to better understand the implications of China’s emerging capabilities for the United States’ ability to achieve operational advantage and project power.

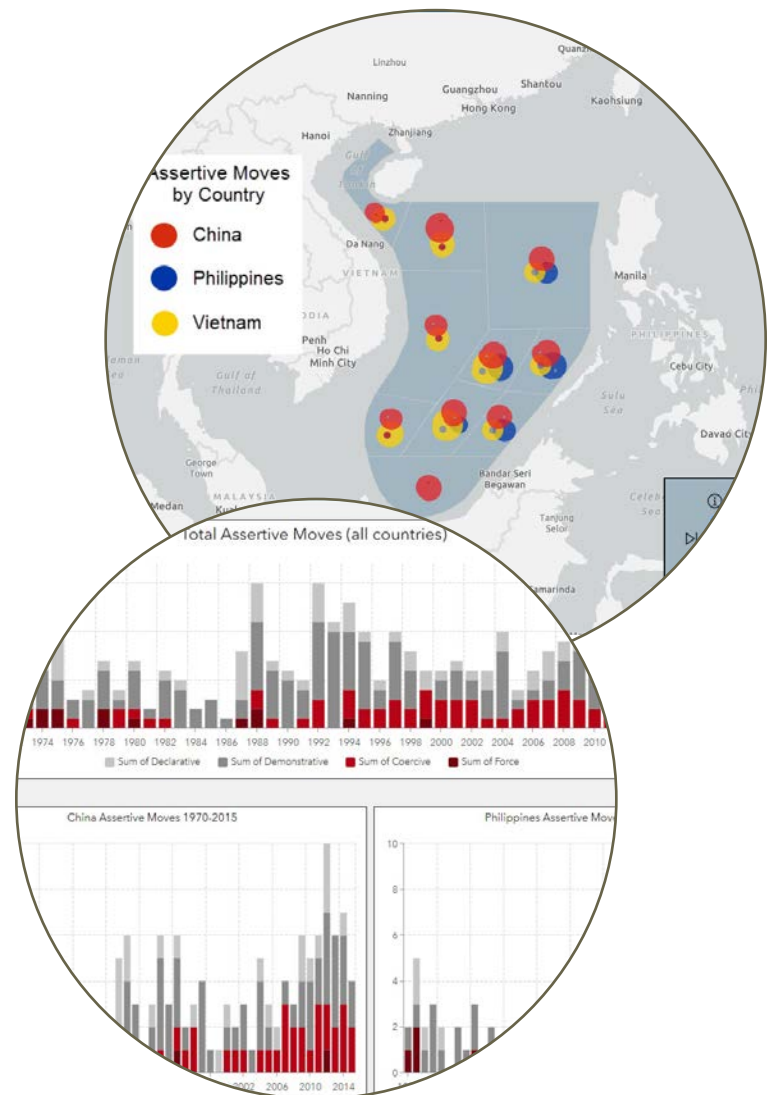
In 2022, NBR published two reports: “Meeting China’s Military Challenge: Collective Responses of U.S. Allies and Partners” and “Meeting China’s Emerging Capabilities: Countering Advances in Cyber, Space, and Autonomous Systems.”



# Maritime Security

## Dynamics of contestation in the South China Sea

The South China Sea remains a highly complex and contested maritime domain, with several nations in the region competing to press their territorial claims. To better understand the dynamics of contestation among these states and develop effective policy responses, it is essential to assess the impact of their previous and current behaviors. In 2022, the Maritime Awareness Project released the report “Dynamics of Assertiveness in the South China Sea: China, the Philippines, and Vietnam, 1970–2015” by Andrew Chubb, a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at Lancaster University. The report offers a dynamic picture of how power has overtaken proximity as the key factor shaping the behavior of the three most active claimants in the South China Sea—one that is explored interactively in the accompanying online Maritime Assertiveness Visualization Dashboard (MAVD).



Screenshots from the interactive online resource Maritime Awareness Visualization Dashboard, which can be accessed at <https://mavd.nbr.org>.

“ Through the Maritime Assertiveness Visualization Dashboard users can explore key trends and relationships encased in the data and investigate the dimensions of the South China Sea conflict that interest them most. ”

**Karolos Karnikis**

Senior Vice President for Information Technology, NBR

# Implications of the Ukraine War

Over the course of 2022, NBR experts addressed the implications of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in events, podcasts, and publications.

NBR and the Nakasone Peace Institute held a joint event on the development of Russia's hybrid warfare and its impact to security challenges in the Indo-Pacific, including implications for the U.S.-Japan alliance. The event featured keynote remarks from Admiral (ret.) Takashi Saito and Admiral (ret.) Jonathan Greenert, NBR's John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies.

Hayley Channer, Sheila Smith, Alison Szalwinski, and Akriti Vasudeva joined an NBR *Asia Insight* podcast to discuss how the four partner countries of the Quad—Australia, Japan, India, and the United States—are viewing the strategic landscape and thinking about the grouping following Russia's invasion of Ukraine and as Russia-China relations deepen.

Michael Wills spoke with Marcin Kaczmarski, author of the chapter "Russian Foreign Policy in a Time of Rising U.S.-China Competition" in *Strategic Asia 2021–22*, and Elizabeth Wishnick, author of "Russia and the Arctic in



Admiral Jonathan Greenert, USN (ret.), is the current holder of the John M. Shalikashvili chair in National Security Studies.

China's Quest for Great-Power Status" in *Strategic Asia 2019*, about Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Among other questions, they considered how Beijing was viewing the invasion as it unfolded in terms of China's objectives.

The April issue of *Asia Policy* featured an essay by Sheila Smith that considers Russia's invasion of Ukraine and analyzes similarities, differences, and lessons from that conflict to date for a cross-Taiwan Strait scenario that involves the United States and Japan.

**“ Russia’s invasion [of Ukraine] and the Western response suggest already that this conflict will shape future global crises, including a potential clash between China and Taiwan. ”**

## Sheila Smith

John E. Merow Senior Fellow for Asia-Pacific Studies  
at the Council on Foreign Relations

# China's Digital Ambitions

The groundbreaking project “China’s Digital Ambitions,” led by principal investigator Emily de La Bruyère, finds that the Chinese Communist Party views the digital revolution as a fourth industrial revolution and a competitive opportunity to leapfrog to leadership of the international system. Beijing’s global digital strategy rests on seizing this opportunity by competing to control international data, its movement, and, by extension, the production, distribution, and consumption of resources and ideas internationally. The project’s final report, “China’s Digital Ambitions: A Global Strategy to Supplant the Liberal Order,” examines China’s strategic approach to the digital revolution, assesses the implications for the international order, and provides a roadmap for a multilateral response by the United States and its allies and partners. The full report is available in English, French, Japanese, and Korean.

NBR, Institut Montaigne, and the European Council on Foreign Relations partnered for a virtual event to discuss the report in March. NBR also partnered for joint events with the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security in Seoul, the Nakasone Peace Institute in Tokyo, and the Lau China Institute at King’s College London. Sir John Sawers, former chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), delivered keynote remarks at the London event.

**“ Several things struck me [including] how Chinese strategy is not just about commercial advantage and intelligence collection and cybersecurity, it’s about digitally empowered authoritarianism [and] that China is building a digital platform and an infrastructure and creating an operating system for a new illiberal international order. Those findings should worry us all. ”**

## Sir John Sawers

Former Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)



Left to right: Kerry Brown (Lau China Institute, King’s College London) moderates a discussion on China’s digital strategy with Emily de La Bruyère (Horizon Advisory) and other panelists.



The project also features an interactive data tool for visualizing the global reach of China’s digital ambitions and the relationships between different forms of Chinese digital influence.

# Science and Technology Cooperation

In 2022, NBR held several events on science and technology cooperation in Seattle.

NBR's Center for Innovation, Trade, and Strategy hosted a private roundtable with Matt Murray, State Department Senior Official for APEC, who outlined the U.S. vision for Indo-Pacific international economic issues and engaged in discussion with prominent members of the Seattle tech, business, and academic communities.

Japanese Consul General Hisao Inagaki and TECO Seattle Director-General Daniel Kuo-ching Chen attended an event on Japan's digital transformation and U.S.-Japan cooperation in advancing the digital transformation in the Indo-Pacific.

To examine potential areas for cooperation between the United States and South Korea on science and technology diplomacy, NBR hosted a roundtable discussion that featured keynote remarks from Consul General Eunji Seo (Consulate General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle) and presentations from Jennifer Audet (CleanTech Alliance), Sam Cho (Port of Seattle), Ian Oates (University of Washington), and Geoff Potter (Office of Governor Jay Inslee).

In partnership with the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Seattle, NBR hosted a delegation of government officials and business leaders from Taiwan, led by Minister Ming-Hsin Kung of the National Development Council, for a private dinner in Seattle. They also participated in an event that included remarks from Washington State Lieutenant Governor Denny Heck, NBR board chair John Rindlaub, and NBR board member and Microsoft corporate vice president and deputy general counsel Tom Robertson as well as Senator Jim Risch (R-ID) and Congresswoman Suzan DelBene (D-WA). The event featured a panel of experts from Taiwan moderated by Doug Strub, assistant director of the Center for Trade, Innovation, and Strategy.



Left to right: A panel discussion on the development of Taiwan's 5G/6G Open-RAN and business opportunities for the United States and Taiwan's cooperation on NextGen Telecom 5G/6G was moderated by Doug Strub (NBR) and included Tony Yang (Industrial Technology Research Institute), Jeffery Yan (Microsoft), and Chen-Yu Feng (Pegatron Corporation).



# Energy Security

## Demand for critical minerals

As countries across the Indo-Pacific set increasingly ambitious targets to electrify their energy systems and achieve net-zero emissions in their energy, power, and transportation sectors, demand will mushroom for critical minerals and rare earth elements essential for this transformation.

In July, NBR held the eighteenth annual Energy Security Workshop, “Critical Minerals: Global Supply Chains and Indo-Pacific Geopolitics.” The report released by the program assessed the risks associated with the growing scarcity of critical minerals, examining the geographic concentration of critical minerals in China and a small number of other countries, Australia’s role as a key supplier, lessons from Japan’s and South Korea’s progress in building resilient supply chains, and the outlook for the United States.

“Energy on the Hill,” cohosted with the U.S. Japan Congressional Caucus, capped NBR’s year of return to in-person public events. Convening more than 100 representatives from government, business, academia, and media, the event marked the launch of the Energy Security Program report.

The Energy Security Workshop on critical minerals and rare earth elements met in-person in Washington, D.C., and included virtual participation via video link.



Left to right: Energy Security Program research director Mikkal Herberg (University of California San Diego), Sharon Burke (Ecospherics), and Lesley Bearman Lahm (Asian Development Bank) at Energy on the Hill.



**“ The new geopolitics of clean energy is being shaped by intensifying strategic competition as well as powerful recent shocks to global supply chains that are fundamentally changing the way that countries and companies organize their supply systems and production chains. ”**

### Mikkal Herberg

Research Director of the Energy Security Program, NBR  
Senior Lecturer, University of California San Diego

## Energy security and access

NBR's project on Clean EDGE Asia is made possible with funding through a cooperative agreement with the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Energy Resources (ENR). This initiative engages high-level stakeholders from government, business, and the research community to craft market-based recommendations for public policy on energy security and access in the Indo-Pacific.

In partnership with ENR, NBR hosted the conference "Opportunities for Innovation: Ensuring Equitable Energy Development in the Indo-Pacific," at which Laura Lochman, deputy assistant secretary for energy diplomacy, delivered the keynote address.

The Clean EDGE Asia project includes a year-long nonresident fellowship program to support the professional development of five experts from South and Southeast Asia who participate in discussions with policymakers, conduct research, and author publications. In July, the fellows shared perspectives on regional energy security in Washington, D.C. After completing the program, these fellows continued their work with the experience they gained on a range of energy market and policy issues—including technical, economic, legal, and regulatory concepts that can advance domestic and regional goals for energy security.

Left to right: Clean EDGE Asia fellows Mirza Sadaqat Huda (ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute), Han Phoumin (Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia), Twarath Sutabutr (Office of Knowledge Management and Development, Thailand), and Nguyen Linh Dan (Hanoi University of Science and Technology) at the 2022 Clean EDGE Asia workshop dialogue.



**“ We are especially excited about launching the third year of the Clean EDGE Asia Fellows Program.... We see this partnership, and the fellows program in particular, as a fantastic opportunity to expand our networks of experts and thought leaders in the United States and across the Indo-Pacific region and reiterate U.S. support for energy security, sustainability, and access. ”**

### **Laura Lochman**

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Energy Diplomacy  
*(Remarks at the Clean EDGE Asia Conference.)*



# Energy and Climate Security

As the world continues its recovery from Covid-19, growth in energy demand is returning to pre-pandemic highs, with much of this growth concentrated in the Indo-Pacific. In partnership with the Universiti Teknologi MARA, NBR hosted its annual Pacific Energy Summit in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on “Understanding Southeast Asia’s Vision for Energy and Climate Security in the Indo-Pacific.” The deputy secretary general of the Malaysian Ministry of Environment and Water, YBhg. Puan Boor Afifah Abdul Razak, provided opening remarks on Malaysia’s net-zero goals, and participants from six countries discussed pathways to increase investment and capacity building in Southeast Asia.

The summit’s key findings emphasized the need to diversify and secure the energy system, mobilize investment for the energy transition, plan for step-by-step transitions with tailored paths for each economy, and improve agency and access in the energy transition.

Top: Professor Datuk Ts. Dr. Hajah Roziah Mohammad Janor (Vice Chancellor of Universiti Teknologi MARA ) with Roy Kamphausen.

Bottom: NBR staff with 2022 Pacific Energy Summit participants.



**“ Energy transition plans across the region are contingent on cutting-edge fuels or technologies that are not yet economically deployed, such as hydrogen or carbon capture and storage. Identifying partnerships that can drive commercialization and deployment of these technologies will be critical for both developed and developing economies alike. ”**

Key Findings from the 2022 Pacific Energy Summit



# Engagement on the Hill

Here are some highlights of NBR's congressional engagement in 2022.

Experts participating in our ongoing dialogue on China's military modernization briefed the full bipartisan staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee on how Indo-Pacific allies and partners assess the PLA's space, cyber, and autonomous systems capabilities.

NBR held a joint briefing for staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, House Foreign Affairs Committee, Senate Armed Services Committee, and House Armed Services Committee on the findings of the latest *Strategic Asia* volume with research director Ashley Tellis and select volume authors.

NBR held bipartisan briefings for congressional staff on how the United States, Japan, and South Korea could deepen and broaden trilateral cooperation in the Biden-Kishida-Yoon era and how an end-of-war declaration fits into a broader diplomatic strategy toward North Korea. A bicameral briefing for congressional staff in conjunction with the House Foreign Affairs Committee featured an expert panel on North Korea policy, South Korea's foreign economic and technology policies, and alignment amid U.S.-China geopolitics.

NBR held separate briefings on its report on China's digital ambitions for Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence staff.

The launch of the new bipartisan Pacific Rim Congressional Study Group & Dinner Series for senior staff from the House and Senate featured a discussion with Caroline Atkinson (former deputy national security advisor for international economics) and Robert Sutter (George Washington University) on the state of U.S.-Asia economic and trade relations and the implications of U.S.-China economic decoupling.



Left to right: Heino Klinck (NBR) and Clint Work (Stimson Center) participate in a congressional briefing on U.S.-Japan-South Korea trilateral cooperation, organized by NBR assistant director for congressional affairs Josh Nezam.



# Asia Policy Journal

## Bridging the Gap

*Asia Policy* is NBR's peer-reviewed scholarly journal presenting policy-relevant academic research on the Asia-Pacific that draws clear and concise conclusions useful to today's policymakers. In 2022, the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore, and the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University served alongside NBR as *Asia Policy* consortium partners.

The October issue of *Asia Policy* was a special issue focusing on the role of Asia's middle powers in a new era of great-power politics defined by U.S.-China rivalry. It also featured a roundtable on whether and how minilateral groupings can provide effective deterrence and maintain stability in the Indo-Pacific and a book review roundtable on former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd's book *The Avoidable War: The Dangers of Catastrophic Conflict between the U.S. and Xi Jinping's China*. Influential experts Carla Freeman, Rory Medcalf, Joseph Liow, and Susan Thornton contributed essays, followed by a response from the author.

Other issues examined in 2022 included:

- African perspectives on Africa-China relations
- the Mekong River subregion
- small-state responses to Covid-19
- Japan's security policy
- implications of India's illiberalism
- Russia's food exports to China
- U.S. relations with the Philippines
- Japan's human rights diplomacy
- the United States' and China's views of globalization and the regional implications
- U.S.-Japan cooperation and the rules-based economic order
- minilateral deterrence in the Indo-Pacific



In 2022, NBR's outreach to congressional offices resulted in 46 requests for *Asia Policy* articles and roundtables.

**“ [My] book has benefited greatly from professional and scholarly responses from around the world, including those brought together here in the important work of *Asia Policy* and the National Bureau of Asian Research. ”**

**Kevin Rudd**  
Former Prime Minister of Australia

# Next Generation Programs

NBR provides exceptional fellowship and internship opportunities to post-graduate, graduate, undergraduate, and community college students for the purposes of attracting and training the next generation of Asia specialists and leaders.

## Chinese Language Fellowship

The Chinese Language Fellowship Program seeks to train a new generation of scholars who possess deep understanding of China as well as fluency in the Chinese language. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the program provides fellowships to American graduate students whose work focuses on China policy issues to spend a year taking part in intensive Chinese language training, generally in China or Taiwan.

In July 2022, the fourth class of eight fellows gathered in Washington, D.C., for a program orientation, including a briefing with staff of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, before traveling to their Chinese language sites.



## Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship

Established in 2021 to honor NBR's president emeritus Richard Ellings and his wife Marta Korduba, the Ellings-Korduba Research Fellowship provides support for American graduate and advanced undergraduate students who focus on issues of strategic importance to the United States in Asia. The program enables students to spend a summer in residence at NBR's Seattle office participating in a summer seminar series with high-level speakers from NBR's network of experts.



Above: Lieutenant General Charles Hooper (U.S. Army, ret.), a member of NBR's Board of Directors, speaks virtually with NBR Summer Seminar participants on lessons learned as a foreign area officer during his 40 years of service with the U.S. Army.

Left: 2022–23 Chinese Language Fellowship Program recipients attend orientation in Washington, D.C., prior to departing for language programs in Beijing and Taipei.

## Gorton Leaders Program

This six-month professional development program organized by the Slade Gorton Policy Center is open to community college, undergraduate, and master's degree students attending universities in the Seattle area. Fellows take part in expert speaker discussions and guided reading on democracy in China, national security, IP protection, and digital trade, as well as leadership lessons from Senator Gorton's career in public services. In 2022, five students from the University of Washington and Seattle University completed the Gorton Leaders Program in June, joining a growing number of over 100 program alumni. The commencement ceremony included remarks from former U.S. senator and Washington State governor Dan Evans, former Washington secretary of state Ralph Munro, and president emeritus of the Slade Gorton Policy Center Mariana Parks.



Gorton Leaders Program Class of 2022 at their commencement ceremony with Gorton Center advisory committee chair Deborah Hazlegrove, Gorton Center advisor Sarah Gorton Nortz, and NBR project manager Dylan Plung.

## Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship

Established in 2020, the Undergraduate Diversity Fellowship aims to extend educational, professional, and mentorship opportunities to Black and brown students who are interested in pursuing a career in the field of international affairs. Fellows work primarily with one of the existing program teams at NBR and gain experience in project management, research, writing, and editing in order to build skills for future careers in policy.

## Summer Learning Series

Organized as an in-house professional development workshop series, this program aims to support the growth of NBR's interns, fellows, and early career staff by bolstering existing networks and honing professional skills.



At a Summer Learning Series session, NBR alumnus Khyle Eastin shared insight into his career development leading up to his current role as an intelligence analyst at a private cybersecurity firm.



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The Chairman's Council is an exclusive forum for select donors to engage with leaders on a substantive level in an off-the-record context. Chairman's Council members provide a significant annual gift in support of NBR's mission to help decision-makers better understand Asia and make concrete, actionable choices.

To learn more about the full range of membership benefits, contact [give@nbr.org](mailto:give@nbr.org).



## Chairman's Council guests in 2022

### **Shinzo Abe**

Former Prime Minister of Japan

### **Admiral John Aquilino**

U.S. Navy, the 26th Commander of the United States Indo-Pacific Command

### **Eric Heginbotham**

Principal Research Scientist at MIT's Center for International Studies

### **Ambassador Daniel Kritenbrink**

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs

### **Ambassador Sang-Woo Lim**

Republic of Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Director-General for North America

At the September NBR board meeting in Hawaii, directors, Chairman's Council members, staff, and guests enjoyed a dynamic dinner discussion with Admiral John Aquilino, U.S. Navy, the 26th Commander of the United States Indo-Pacific Command. Admiral Aquilino's remarks focused on the current regional security environment.



# President's Circle

The President's Circle is a forum for key supporters to engage with NBR president Roy Kamphausen and leading experts on U.S. affairs in Asia. President's Circle members provide an important annual gift in support of NBR's mission to promote balanced perspectives and research and to help decision-makers better understand Asia.

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## President's Circle guests in 2022

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Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Japan, Korea, and APEC

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### **Bates Gill**

Professor of Asia-Pacific Security Studies and Chair of the Department of Security Studies and Criminology at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia

### **Ambassador Tariq Karim**

Former Bangladeshi Ambassador to the United States and Iran  
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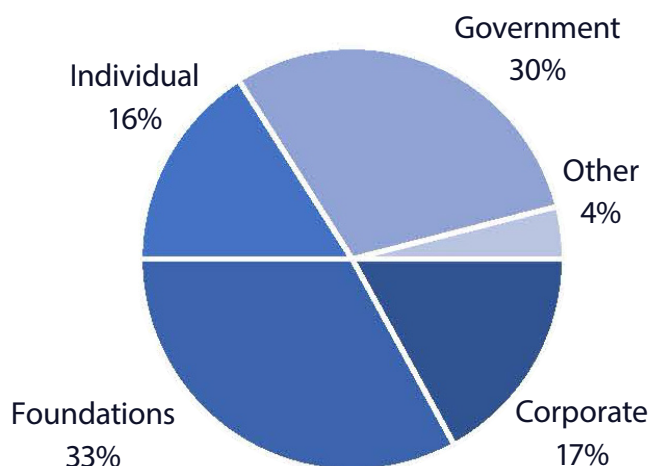
### **John S. Park**

Director of the Korea Project and Adjunct Lecturer at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

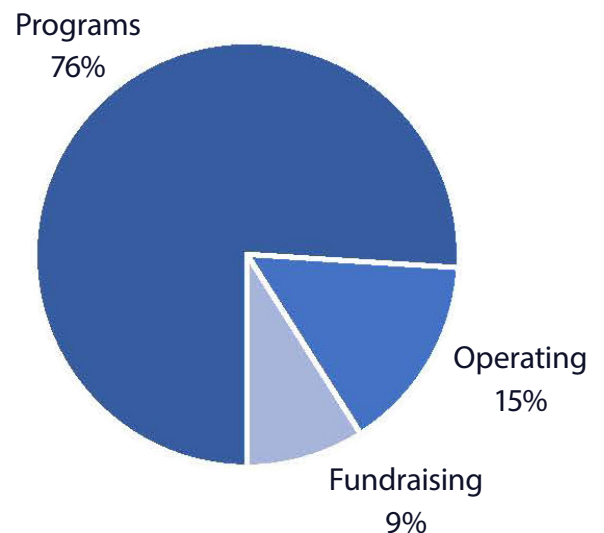
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**Expenses in 2022**



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# **A LOOK AHEAD**



# Spotlight on 2023

## Energy Security & Transition

NBR's Pacific Energy Summit will be held alongside the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings in Seattle in August. The 2023 Summit will focus on the role for international trade and economic policy in energy security and low-carbon transitions.

## Cybersecurity & Technology

NBR received a million-dollar grant from the Department of State for a three-year research and capacity-building initiative that will examine global cybersecurity and data security policies, provide recommendations for developing and implementing more effective approaches, and engage in a series of overseas policy briefings and capacity-building efforts to strengthen global cybersecurity and data security practices.

With support from the Korea Foundation, a new project will bring together U.S. and Korean experts to examine ways to improve U.S.-Korea technology and innovation cooperation. U.S. and Korean experts will address contentious issues acting as barriers to greater cooperation, including differing views on data policy, export controls, and certain critical and emerging technologies. The project will conclude with a major conference in Seattle seeking to bring together the tech communities from both countries.

## Strategic Asia

The 21st volume in the *Strategic Asia* series will explore changes in the global trading system—including merchandise trade and labor movements, investment flows, and the digital economy and data governance—and consider consequences of any observable shift toward decoupling from China for regional and global politics.

## U.S. Engagement in Micronesia

In 2022, the United States released the Indo-Pacific Strategy and Pacific Partnership Strategy, announced the Partners in the Blue Pacific coordination mechanism, and held the first ever U.S.-Pacific Islands Country Summit. The Pacific Islands Strategic Dialogue, with support from the U.S. Defense Threat Reduction Agency, will convene experts and officials from Pacific Island countries and the United States to develop recommendations for U.S. defense officials to better engage in Melanesia. The Track 1.5 dialogue in Fiji in April 2023 will feature discussions on militarization in the Pacific and the effects of strategic competition on regional security.

## The Next Generation

NBR has established a new Japan Studies Research Fellowship, made possible through a generous grant from the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission, to cultivate a new generation of U.S.-Japan specialists and leaders and to build stronger bridges between the United States and Japan. Fellows will explore how the U.S.-Japan relationship must evolve to meet the demands of today, gain a broad understanding of the geopolitical shifts within the Indo-Pacific, and apply their expanded knowledge within a policy-oriented environment.

## Giving societies

NBR has an exciting roster of speakers planned for Chairman's Council and President's Circle members in 2023. To learn more about the benefits of these giving societies, contact [give@nbr.org](mailto:give@nbr.org).

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