As the world’s geopolitical center shifts toward the Indo-Pacific, the United States faces several opportunities—and challenges—that require nuanced understanding and whole-of-society involvement. Evolving and intensifying competition with China will influence every sector and community—ranging from industry to nonprofits to academia to government. The Pacific Northwest is the country’s gateway to the Indo-Pacific and is home to several key industries, military bases, and Indo-Pacific leaders, making it a critical nexus in achieving security objectives related to U.S. interests in Asia.

The Pacific Security Forum, a new initiative of the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR), brings together top experts from government, academia, and the private sector to address issues of strategic and security importance to U.S. interests in Asia. Leveraging NBR’s Seattle home and unique ability to connect policy to practice, the Pacific Security Forum features discussions with senior scholars from NBR’s network and remarks by current and former U.S. government officials, members of Congress, and political and security leaders from allied and partner governments. The goal of the initiative is to advance the interests of the United States and its allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific and demonstrate the importance of the Pacific Northwest to the accomplishment of U.S. national security interests.

**AGENDA**

8:30–9:00 a.m.  REGISTRATION

9:00–9:15 a.m.  WELCOME REMARKS

Roy Kamphausen  
*President, The National Bureau of Asian Research*

Jonathan Roberts  
*Founder and Partner, Ignition Partners*  
*Board of Directors, The National Bureau of Asian Research*

9:15–10:00 a.m.  MORNING KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Congressman Adam Smith  
*Ranking Member of the House Armed Services Committee, U.S. House of Representatives*

Moderator: Roy D. Kamphausen  
*President, The National Bureau of Asian Research*
SESSION I

Evolving Security Challenges in the Indo-Pacific

The Indo-Pacific security environment has evolved significantly in the last two decades, posing major security challenges to the United States and its allies and partners. The strengthening of the “no limits” partnership between Russia and China, coupled with North Korea’s continued enhancement of its nuclear and ballistic missile programs, underscores the increasingly sophisticated and multidimensional range of issues facing the region. This session will examine the challenges and threats to regional stability and consider various policy options to advance U.S. and allied interests.

Moderator: Michael Wills
Executive Vice President, The National Bureau of Asian Research

Panelists:
Elaine Bunn
Independent Consultant
Brigadier General Brian Davis (U.S. Army, retired)
Director of China Research, BluePath Labs
Nadège Rolland
Distinguished Fellow, China Studies, The National Bureau of Asian Research

11:00–11:15 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

SESSION II

Navigating Shifts in the Indo-Pacific Geoeconomic Order

Given the deep degree of economic interdependence that the United States and its allies and partners share with China, how desirable and realistic is “decoupling” or “de-risking” from the Chinese economy? This session will examine regional decision-making about decoupling and de-risking from China and assess potential consequences for the Indo-Pacific’s geoeconomic environment and balance of power.

Moderator: Richard J. Ellings
Co-founder, President Emeritus, and Counselor, The National Bureau of Asian Research

Panelists:
Aaron Friedberg
Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University
Counselor, The National Bureau of Asian Research
Ulrike Schaede
Professor of Japanese Business, University of California San Diego
Advisor, The National Bureau of Asian Research
Michael Wills
Executive Vice President, The National Bureau of Asian Research
12:15–1:00 p.m.  LUNCH

1:00–2:00 p.m.  RECOGNITION OF WASHINGTON STATE U.S. ARMED FORCES UNITS

LUNCHEON KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson  
Commanding General, I Corps and Joint Base Lewis-McChord

Introducer: Lieutenant General Stephen Raymond Lanza (U.S. Army, retired)  
Advisor, The National Bureau of Asian Research

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

2:00–2:15 p.m.  COFFEE BREAK

2:15–3:15 p.m.  SESSION III

Regional Perceptions of Escalating U.S.-China Competition

As strategic competition between the United States and China continues to intensify, governments in the Indo-Pacific are adopting a range of strategies to advance their national interests while imploring both Washington and Beijing to ensure that competition does not veer into conflict. This session will bring together representatives from Indo-Pacific governments to articulate how their countries are navigating this strategic competition and how they can contribute to the preservation of a free and open regional order.

Moderator: Nadège Rolland  
Distinguished Fellow, China Studies, The National Bureau of Asian Research

Panelists: Director General Daniel K.C. Chen  
Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office

Consul General Makoto Iyori  
Consulate-General of Japan

Ambassador Tariq A. Karim  
Director, Centre for Bay of Bengal Studies  
Advisor, The National Bureau of Asian Research

3:15–3:30 p.m.  COFFEE BREAK
SESSION IV

Multilateralism and the Indo-Pacific Security Environment

The growth of multilateral and minilateral security groupings in the Indo-Pacific—including the AUKUS trilateral security partnership between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States; the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue consisting of Australia, Japan, India, and the United States; and trilateral cooperation between the United States, the Republic of Korea, and Japan—has offered an opportunity to enhance alliance interoperability and networking while advancing mutual interests and addressing common challenges. This session will explore the potential of these groupings in the Indo-Pacific, the obstacles they face, and how successful management of these groupings will shape the future of the security environment.

Moderator: Rear Admiral Huan Nguyen (U.S. Navy, retired)
Senior Advisor, Naval Sea Systems Command
Board of Directors, The National Bureau of Asian Research

Panelists: Consul General Eun-ji Seo
Consulate General of the Republic of Korea

Alison Szalwinski
Vice President of Research, The National Bureau of Asian Research

4:30–4:45 p.m. COFFEE BREAK

4:45–5:45 p.m. KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Admiral Samuel Paparo *
Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet

Moderator: Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert (U.S. Navy, retired)
John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies,
The National Bureau of Asian Research

Introducer: Alison Szalwinski
Vice President of Research, The National Bureau of Asian Research

5:45–6:00 p.m. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Roy Kamphausen
President, The National Bureau of Asian Research

6:00 p.m. FORUM CONCLUDES

SPONSOR

The Pacific Security Forum is made possible by the generous support of the Long and Kimmy Nguyen Family Foundation.

*Indicates that the individual will be participating remotely.
SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES

**Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson – I Corps and Joint Base Lewis-McChord**

Lieutenant General Xavier T. Brunson is Commanding General of I Corps since 2021. Previously, he served as Deputy Commanding General of I Corps and Commanding General of the 7th Infantry Division from 2019 to 2021. As a General Officer, he served as Assistant Commanding General (Support), United States Army Special Forces Command (now 1st Special Forces Command) (Airborne) at Fort Bragg, NC and Operation Inherent Resolve, and Deputy Commanding General (Operations), 10th Mountain Division (Light) at Fort Drum, NY. In this capacity, Lieutenant General Brunson commanded Charlie Company, 3d Battalion, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82d Airborne Division, 1st Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82d Airborne Division, and the 525th Battlefield Surveillance Brigade (Airborne), XVII Airborne Corps.

**Elaine Bunn – Independent Consultant**

M. Elaine Bunn is a consultant on strategic issues with 40 years of experience in the U.S. government working on defense policy. She is a non-resident fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., a non-resident senior associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute in London, and a member of the Nuclear Deterrence External Advisory Board at Sandia National Laboratories. Ms. Bunn served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for nuclear and missile defense policy (DASD/NMD) from 2013 to early 2017. Prior to being appointed DASD/NMD, Ms. Bunn was a distinguished research fellow in the Center for Strategic Research at the National Defense University’s Institute for National Strategic Studies and a senior executive in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD), where she worked from 1980 to 2000 in international security policy. She was involved with the 1994, 2001, and 2010 Nuclear Posture Reviews.

**Director General Daniel K.C. Chen – Taiwan Economic and Cultural Office**

Director General Daniel K.C. Chen is the Director General of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) in Seattle. Prior to this, he was Deputy Secretary-General of the Taiwan Council for U.S. Affairs (TCUSA) seconded to the Foreign Minister’s Office. D.G. Chen has also served as the Deputy Director in the Political Division at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office (TECRO) in the United States. He also served as the Section Chief in the Department of Northern American Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), Republic of China (Taiwan) and was awarded the Model Civil Servant of MOFA in 2011. D.G. Chen has also served as the Senior Consular Officer in TECO in Seattle. He was a platoon leader as a second lieutenant in the ROC Army and was awarded Excellent Mandatory Service Officer in 1997. D.G. Chen earned a Master of Science in Foreign Service (MSFS) with an International Business Diplomacy (IBD) honorary certificate from Georgetown University in 2000 and Bachelor of Arts with valedictorian in Diplomacy from National Chengchi University, Taiwan in 1995.

**Brigadier General Brian Davis (U.S. Army, retired) – BluePath Labs**

Brigadier General Brian Davis (U.S. Army, retired) is the Director for China Research with BluePath Labs and also serves as a Senior Fellow with the Center for Naval Analyses and as a Senior Advisor to the Center for Strategic and International Studies’ China Power Project. Prior to joining BluePath Labs, BG Davis served in the U.S. Army for 35 years as an Armor Officer and China Foreign Area Officer (FAO). As a FAO, he served in a number of assignments focused on China and Indo-Pacific security affairs, including as Senior Country Director for China in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and three tours as a military attaché in China, including as the Defense Attaché from 2018 to 2020. Brian’s final military assignment was as Director of the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command’s China Strategic Focus Group in Hawaii from 2021 until he retired in 2022.
Richard J. Ellings – The National Bureau of Asian Research

Richard J. Ellings is Co-founder, President Emeritus, and Counselor at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He is also a member of the institution’s Board of Directors. At the University of Washington, Dr. Ellings is Affiliate Professor of International Studies in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Earlier in his career, Dr. Ellings served as legislative assistant in the U.S. Senate, Office of Senator Slade Gorton, and was responsible for legislation on foreign and defense policy. More recently, he has served as consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of State, Department of Energy, Government Accountability Office, and other U.S. government offices and agencies and testified before Congress and the International Trade Commission. Dr. Ellings is the co-founder and co-chairman of the editorial board of the peer-reviewed journal Asia Policy and established the Strategic Asia Program. He has also authored and edited many books, the most recent one being Axis of Authoritarians: Implications of China-Russia Cooperation (2018, contributing author and co-editor with Robert Sutter).

Aaron Friedberg – Princeton University / The National Bureau of Asian Research

Aaron L. Friedberg is a Counselor at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he has taught since 1987, and co-director of the Woodrow Wilson School’s Center for International Security Studies. He is also a non-resident senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Dr. Friedberg has written extensively on international security, with his most recent monograph being Beyond Air-Sea Battle: The Debate Over U.S. Military Strategy in Asia (2014) and co-editor (with Richard Ellings) of three volumes in the National Bureau of Asian Research’s annual Strategic Asia series. Dr. Friedberg served from June 2003 to June 2005 as Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs and Director of Policy Planning in the office of the Vice President. After leaving government, he was appointed to the Defense Policy Board and the Secretary of State’s Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion.

Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert (U.S. Navy, retired) – The National Bureau of Asian Research

Admiral Jonathan W. Greenert holds the John M. Shalikashvili Chair in National Security Studies at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). At NBR, Admiral Greenert informs debates on critical issues in the Asia-Pacific through briefings to congressional members, military, media, and administration officials; meetings with senior-level counterparts in Asia; and research, speaking, and writing. Prior to joining NBR, he served as the 30th chief of naval operations from 2011 to 2015. Admiral Greenert came to NBR after a distinguished 40-year career in the U.S. Navy. He served as commander, U.S. Fleet Forces Command, before becoming the 36th vice chief of naval operations from 2009 to 2011. Admiral Greenert is a recipient of various personal and campaign awards, including the Distinguished Service Medal (six awards), Defense Superior Service Medal, and Legion of Merit (four awards). In 1992, he received the Vice Admiral Stockdale Award for inspirational leadership.

Consul General Makoto Iyori – Consulate-General of Japan

Consul General Makoto Iyori arrived in Seattle and assumed the post of Consul General of Japan in Seattle on October 24, 2023. Consul General Iyori joined the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in 1990. After serving as Managing Director of the General Affairs Department at the Japan Foundation, he was appointed as Consul General of Japan in Seattle in September 2023. Past assignments include overseas postings in Canada, Indonesia, and the Philippines. He has an extensive career and deep experience in the field of international relations with the Asia-Pacific Region at MOFA.
Roy D. Kamphausen – The National Bureau of Asian Research
Roy D. Kamphausen is President of the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Mr. Kamphausen joined NBR in 2004 and formerly served as Senior Vice President for Research. As a specialist on a range of U.S.-Asia issues, he is the author, contributing author, and co-editor of numerous publications, including chapters in NBR’s Strategic Asia series; the People's Liberation Army Conference series, and an NBR Special Report on innovation in India (2015). He regularly briefs members of Congress and advises leaders in the U.S. Department of Defense. Prior to joining NBR, Mr. Kamphausen served as a career 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 of Staff, and a military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. He is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Mr. Kamphausen served as a Commissioner on the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission from 2018–2021.

Ambassador Tariq A. Karim – Centre for Bay of Bengal Studies / The National Bureau of Asian Research
Ambassador Tariq A. Karim is a member of the Board of Advisors at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He is also the Director of the Centre for Bay of Bengal Studies at the Independent University, Bangladesh. Ambassador Karim was formerly an advisor to the World Bank for Regional Integration, South Asian Region, during which he shepherded the initiation of power trade between Bangladesh and India, and facilitated talks between Bangladesh, Bhutan, and India for working towards regional energy security. Prior to this, he was Bangladesh’s immediate past High Commissioner to India with the rank and status of a Minister of State, from August 2009 until October 2014. Ambassador Karim has also served in ambassadorial assignments in Washington D.C., Pretoria, and Tehran.

Lieutenant General Stephen Raymond Lanza (U.S. Army, retired) – The National Bureau of Asian Research
Lieutenant General Stephen Raymond Lanza (U.S. Army, retired) is a member of the Board of Advisors at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He retired as a United States Army lieutenant general. He served as commanding general, I Corps at Joint Base Lewis–McChord, from February 2014 to April 2017. He has commanded soldiers at all levels including the 7th Infantry Division; 5th Brigade Combat Team, 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas; Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iraq; and the 1st Battalion, 5th Field Artillery, 1st Infantry Division, Fort Riley, Kansas. His operational deployment experience includes Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Saudi Arabia; Operation Joint Guard, Bosnia-Herzegovina; Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iraq; and Operation New Dawn, Iraq.

Rear Admiral Huan Nguyen (U.S. Navy, retired) – Naval Sea Systems Command / The National Bureau of Asian Research
Rear Admiral Huan Nguyen (U.S. Navy, retired) is a member of the Board of Directors at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Admiral Nguyen is currently the Senior Advisor to Naval Sea Systems Command, providing support on cybersecurity and digital transformation. He served 30 years in the Navy, retiring as a rear admiral. A career Engineering Duty Officer, he has commanded at various levels including a Flag Officer assignment as Deputy Commander, Cyber Engineering, responsible for the establishment of the SEA 03 Directorate to support cybersecurity and digital transformation requirements for new ships, submarines, and weapon systems for the Navy. He was awarded the Melvin R. Lohmann Medal and inducted into the Hall of Fame at Oklahoma State’s College of Engineering, Architecture and Technology in 2020 for contributions to the engineering profession. Rear Admiral Nguyen is the first Vietnamese American to be promoted to the rank of rear admiral. He is serving on the board of advisors for several start-up technology companies and spending his time serving as mentor for Asian-Americans.
Admiral Samuel Paparo – U.S. Pacific Fleet
Admiral Samuel Paparo is Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet since May 2021. His previous assignment was U.S. Naval Forces Central Command/U.S. 5th Fleet/Combined Maritime Forces, from August 2020 to May 2021. A U.S. Naval Aviator, he is a TOPGUN graduate and has flown over 6,000 hours in the F-14, F-15 and F/A-18 aircraft, with 1,100 carrier landings. Operational command tours at sea include Strike Fighter Squadron (VFA) 195 with Forward Deployed Naval Forces, Yokosuka, Japan, deploying in Kitty Hawk Strike Group, and Commander, Carrier Air Wing 7, embarked in Dwight D. Eisenhower Strike Group and Commander, Carrier Strike Group Ten. On the ground, he commanded Provincial Reconstruction Team, Nuristan Province, Afghanistan, with the 3rd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division and the 173rd Airborne Brigade.

Jonathan Roberts – Ignition Partners / The National Bureau of Asian Research
Jonathan Roberts is a member of the Board of Directors at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). He is also a Founder and Partner of Ignition Partners. He invests in business application and services companies and is a director on the boards of AVST, Docusign, Spoken, and Earth Class Mail. Prior to Ignition, Mr. Roberts spent 13 years at Microsoft, most recently as General Manager of the Windows CE Intelligent Appliance Division, where he was responsible for developing new WinCE products, product marketing, business development, and long-term planning for the Windows CE platform, as well as the retargeting of the Microsoft’s PocketPC effort. In addition to his Ignition boards, Mr. Roberts was formerly on the executive committees of the Epiphany School and the University of Washington Foundation Board.

Nadège Rolland – The National Bureau of Asian Research
Nadège Rolland is Distinguished Fellow, China Studies, at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Her research focuses mainly on China's foreign and defense policy, grand strategy, and the articulation of China's vision for itself as a great power on the world stage. She is an author and editor of many books and publications such as “China’s Vision for a New World Order” (2020) and “An Emerging China-Centric Order: China’s Vision for a New World Order in Practice” (2020). Her most recent project examines where the African continent fits in relation to China's overall strategic vision and identifies the main instruments used by Beijing to achieve its objectives, publishing NBR’s special report, “Political Front Lines: China's Pursuit of Influence in Africa” (2022). Prior to joining NBR, Ms. Rolland served for two decades as an analyst and Senior Advisor on Asian and Chinese strategic issues to the French Ministry of Defense, for which she has been awarded the Medal of Honor.

Ulrike Schaede – University of California San Diego / The National Bureau of Asian Research
Ulrike Schaede is a member of the Board of Advisors at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). Dr. Schaede is Professor of Japanese Business at the University of California, San Diego, School of Global Policy and Strategy. She is the Director of JFIT (Japan Forum for Innovation and Technology) where she organizes a weekly “Japan Zoominar” on current issues on Japan. Schaede works on Japan’s changing corporate strategies and management, including business culture, employment practices, financial markets, corporate governance, and manufacturing and innovation under the digital transformation. She has written extensively on Japanese business organization and is the author of The Business Reinvention of Japan: How to Make Sense of the New Japan (Stanford University Press, 2020), which won the 2021 Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize. Dr. Schaede has spent over nine years of research in Tokyo and is an advisor to two startup incubator initiatives in Japan.
**Consul General Eun-ji Seo** – *Consulate General of the Republic of Korea*
Consul General Eun-ji Seo is Consul General of the Republic of Korea in Seattle since March 2022. Before that, she served as Director-General of the 2021 Seoul UN Peacekeeping Ministerial Preparatory Secretariat as well as Director-General of the Bureau of Public Diplomacy and Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). Consul General Seo has an extensive career and deep experience in the fields of public diplomacy, development cooperation, and disarmament. She was Minister-Counsellor of the Korean Permanent Mission to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland from 2015 to 2018. In 2013, she served as Director of Multilateral Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Assistance Division in the Development Cooperation Bureau, MOFA and as Director of Culture and Art Division, Cultural Affairs Bureau, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT) in 2011. Her past assignments abroad include Hanoi, Vietnam, and San Francisco, United States.

**Congressman Adam Smith** – *U.S. House of Representatives*
Congressman Adam Smith currently represents Washington’s 9th congressional district in the U.S. House of Representatives, and serves as Ranking Member of the House Armed Services Committee and is a Co-Chair of the bipartisan Congressional Caucus for Effective Foreign Assistance (CCEFA). Previously, he served in the Washington State Senate representing the 33rd Legislative District. While in the State Senate, he served on the Education and Law and Justice Committees and as Chair of the Law and Justice Committee from 1993–1997. Having served on the House Armed Services Committee since he started in Congress, Congressman Smith formerly chaired the Subcommittee on Air and Land Forces (ALF), which had jurisdiction over all Army and nearly all Air Force acquisition programs. Prior to serving as Chair of ALF, Congressman Smith chaired the Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities subcommittee, and served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

**Michael Wills** – *The National Bureau of Asian Research*
Michael Wills is Executive Vice President at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) and also serves as secretary to the Board of Directors. He helps lead the Strategic Asia program and manages NBR’s corporate briefing series on geopolitical risk assessment. Prior to his current position at NBR, he was vice president of strategy and finance (from 2016 to 2017), vice president of research and operations (from 2008 to 2015), and director of the Strategic Asia and Southeast Asia Studies Programs (from 2000 to 2007). He is co-editor with Ashley J. Tellis and most recently Alison Szalwinski of eleven Strategic Asia volumes—including *Reshaping Economic Interdependence in the Indo-Pacific* (2023), *Navigating Tumultuous Times in the Indo-Pacific* (2021–22), *U.S.-China Competition for Global Influence* (2020), and *China’s Expanding Strategic Ambitions* (2019). He is a contributing editor to three other Strategic Asia books and several other edited volumes on Asian security. Before joining NBR, Mr. Wills worked at the Cambodia Development Resource Institute in Phnom Penh, and prior to that with the Control Risks Group, an international political and security risk management firm in London.