

THE JOHN A. MAXWELL
SCHOLAR-DIPLOMAT PROGRAM

on

The Pacific Pivot: Overdue Recalibration or Utter Illusion?

Washington, D.C.

April 8-10, 2015



Sponsored by The West Virginia
Consortium for Faculty and Course Development in
International Studies

Funded by the Higher Education Policy Commission
of West Virginia

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Art DeMatteo, Glenville State College
 Hannah Geffert, Shepherd University
 Frew Hailou, West Virginia State University
 Andrea Kent, West Virginia University Institute of Technology
 Nancy Nanney, West Virginia University at Parkersburg
 T.J. Park, West Virginia State University
 Sunil Surendran, Fairmont State University

Program Coordinators:

Jack L. Hammersmith, FACDIS Director, West Virginia University
 Gretchen Peterec, FACDIS Assistant Director, West Virginia University

The John A. Maxwell Program is named in memory of the late Co-Director of FACDIS, who served in this capacity from 1984-1996. The **Scholar-Diplomat Program** was originally Dr. Maxwell's idea, and was renamed to honor his memory with the Spring 1996 program. The popular West Virginia history professor was well-known as one of the university's most outstanding teachers, and naming this faculty development program in his honor was deemed a fitting tribute.

PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, April 8

12:00-2:00 pm	Lunch:	The Monocle Restaurant, 107 D Street, NE
	Speaker:	Joel S. Wit, Visiting Scholar at U.S.-Korea Institute at SAIS and a Senior Research Fellow at Columbia University Weatherhead Institute for East Asian Studies
	Topic:	<i>Game Change on the Korean Peninsula</i>

2:30-3:30 pm	Meeting:	Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1616 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
	Speaker:	Jane Nakano, Senior Fellow, Energy and National Security Program, Center for Strategic & International Studies
	Topic:	<i>The Evolving Energy Security Landscape in Asia: Opportunities and Challenges for the United States</i>

4:00-5:00 pm	Meeting:	The German Marshall Fund of the United States, 1744 R Street, NW
	Speaker:	Andrew Small, Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States
	Topic:	<i>The United States, Europe and the Asia Pivot?</i>

THURSDAY, April 9

9:00-10:00 am	Meeting:	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
	Speaker:	Vikram Nehru, Senior Associate, Asia Program, Bakrie Chair in Southeast Asian Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
	Topic:	<i>The Future of the United States in Southeast Asia</i>

10:30-11:30 am	Meeting:	The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave, NW
	Speaker:	Mireya Solís, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies, The Brookings Institution
	Topic:	<i>The Geopolitical Importance of the Trans-Pacific Partnership</i>

12:00-1:30 pm	Lunch:	The Monocle Restaurant, 107 D Street, NE
	Speaker:	Ambassador Rt Hon Mike Moore, New Zealand Embassy, Washington, DC
	Topic:	<i>The Pacific Pivot: A New Zealand Perspective</i>

2:00-3:00 pm	Meeting:	The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave, NW
	Speaker:	Joshua Meltzer, Fellow, Global Economy and Development, The Brookings Institution
	Topic:	<i>Strategic Importance of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement</i>

3:30-4:30 pm	Meeting:	The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave, NW
	Speaker:	Richard C. Bush III, Director, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Senior Fellow and Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies, The Brookings Institution
	Topic:	<i>What Pivot to Asia?</i>

FRIDAY, April 10

8:45-9:45 am	Meeting:	Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University, 1957 E Street, NW, Room 503, Sigur Center
	Speaker:	Robert Sutter, Professor of Practice of International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University
	Topic:	<i>How and Why the Pivot Works and Its Challenges in Asia</i>

11:30-1:30 pm	Lunch:	Noelia Italian Kitchen, 1319 F St, NW
	Speaker:	John Feffer, Director, Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies
	Topic:	<i>Obama's Pivot to....What?</i>

ADJOURN

GUIDE TO SPEAKERS

Richard C. Bush III

Director, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Senior Fellow and Chen-Fu and Cecilia Yen Koo Chair in Taiwan Studies, The Brookings Institution

Bush came to Brookings in July 2002, after serving almost five years as the chairman and managing director of the American Institute in Taiwan, the mechanism through which the U.S. government conducts substantive relations with Taiwan in the absence of diplomatic relations. Bush began his professional career in 1977 with the China Council of The Asia Society. In July 1983, he became a staff consultant on the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. In January 1993, he moved up to the full committee, where he worked on Asia issues and served as liaison with Democratic members. In July 1995, he became national intelligence officer for East Asia and a member of the National Intelligence Council (NIC), which coordinates the analytic work of the intelligence community. He left the NIC in September 1997 to become head of AIT. Richard Bush received his undergraduate education at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. He did his graduate work in political science at Columbia University, getting an M.A. in 1973 and his Ph.D. in 1978. He is author of a number of articles on U.S. relations with China and Taiwan. Major recent papers include *The Challenge of a Nuclear North Korea: Dark Clouds, Only One Silver Lining* (2010) and *The U.S. Policy of Extended Deterrence in East Asia* (2011). He is author of *At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations Since 1942*, a book of essays on the history of America's relations with Taiwan published in March 2004 by M.E. Sharpe; and of *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait*, a book on cross-strait political relations published by the Brookings Institution Press in July 2005. Bush co-wrote *A War Like No Other: The Truth About China's Challenge to America* (Wiley, 2007), which examines the challenges that the United States faces in avoiding conflict and developing its relationship with China, with Brookings scholar Michael O'Hanlon. He is the author of *Perils of Proximity: China-Japan Security Relations*, published by the Brookings Institution Press in October 2010. His latest book, *Uncharted Strait: The Future of China-Taiwan Relations*, was published by the Brookings Institution Press in January 2013.

John Feffer

Director, Foreign Policy In Focus, Institute for Policy Studies

John Feffer is the author of several books and numerous articles. He has been a Writing Fellow at Provisions Library in Washington, D.C. and a PanTech fellow in Korean Studies at Stanford University. He is a former associate editor of *World Policy Journal*. He has worked as an international affairs representative in Eastern Europe and East Asia for the American Friends Service Committee. He has studied in England and Russia, lived in Poland and Japan, and traveled widely throughout Europe and Asia. He taught a graduate level course on international conflict at Sungkonghoe University in Seoul in July 2001 and delivered lectures at a variety of academic institutions, including New York University, Hofstra, Union College, Cornell University, and Sofia University (Tokyo). Feffer has been widely interviewed in print and on radio. He serves on the advisory committees of the Alliance of Scholars Concerned about Korea. He is a recipient of the Herbert W. Scoville Fellowship and has been a writer in residence at Blue Mountain Center and the Wurlitzer Foundation.

Joshua Meltzer

Fellow, Global Economy and Development, The Brookings Institution

Dr. Joshua Meltzer is a fellow in Global Economy and Development at The Brookings Institution and an adjunct professor at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies. Dr. Meltzer is also a reviewer for the *Journal of Politics and Law*. His work focuses on international trade law and policy issues relating to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Free Trade Agreements. Dr. Meltzer's research also includes the intersection between climate change and international trade and the role of trade policy in supporting access to the internet and cross-border data flows. He also writes on global governance issues with a focus on the legitimacy of the WTO and other international economic bodies such as the G-20. Dr. Meltzer has been published in several peer-reviewed law and policy journals and has also testified on international trade issues before Congress and the United States International Trade Commission. A regular commentator in international print media, Dr. Meltzer has been interviewed by the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, *Asahi Shimbun* and in global news wires, including *Bloomberg News* and *Thomson Reuters*. He has also appeared on television news media outlets, including BBC, CNN and Fox News. Prior to joining Brookings, Dr. Meltzer was a trade negotiator and legal advisor with the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He was also posted as a diplomat with the Australian Embassy in Washington, D.C. where he was responsible for trade and climate change issues. Dr. Meltzer has an S.J.D. and L.L.M from the University of Michigan Law School, Ann Arbor, and law and commerce degrees from Monash University in Melbourne, Australia.

Ambassador Rt Hon Mike Moore

New Zealand Embassy, Washington, United States of America

Mike Moore is a past Director-General of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and oversaw the launch of the Doha Development Round. His period in office saw the successful accession to the WTO of China and Chinese Taipei along with Estonia, Jordan, Georgia, Albania, Oman, Croatia, Lithuania, and Moldova. Mr. Moore is a former Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand. He held portfolios in a wide range of areas and served in a number of senior political positions including Trade Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Tourism, Minister for the Americas Cup and Deputy Minister of Finance. Mike Moore worked as a meat and construction worker and as a printer where he became an active trade unionist. He became a social worker in a hospital for the criminally insane - an experience he claims "prepared him well for a life in politics." Amb. Moore has held numerous appointments and board memberships with global policy and commercial organisations. These included Membership of the United Nations Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor; Commissioner for the UN Global Commission on International Migration; and a number of private sector boards. Amb. Moore served on the Economic Development Board of South Australia, and was an advisor to other governments. He is a Trilateral Commission member and a member of the Privy Council. Amb. Moore was an Adjunct Professor at Adelaide University, Australia, and La Trobe University, Australia; is Honorary Professor at Beijing Normal University in Zhuhai; the Chinese University for Political Science and International Law in Beijing; and Shanghai Customs College. The recipient of numerous honours from governments in Africa, Europe and South America, he was awarded New Zealand's highest honour, the Order of New Zealand. Mr. Moore also holds honorary doctorates in commerce from Lincoln University, New Zealand; in economics from the People's University of China, Beijing; in commerce from Auckland University of Technology and Canterbury University; and law from La Trobe University in Australia. He is the author of ten books, including, *A Pacific Parliament*; *Hard Labour*, *Fighting For New Zealand*; *Children of the Poor*; *A Brief History of the Future* and *A World Without Walls*. Amb. Moore's latest book, *Saving Globalisation*, was published by Wiley's in 2009. Amb. Moore is the founder of a New Zealand Charity "School Aid" which creates investment funds which are managed by high school students, the profits of which will go to schools in developing countries.

Jane Nakano

Senior Fellow, Energy and National Security Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Jane Nakano's areas of research include energy security issues in Asia, global nuclear energy trends, and global natural gas market dynamics. Prior to joining CSIS in 2010, Nakano was with the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) and served as the lead staff on U.S. energy engagements with China and Japan. She was responsible for coordinating DOE engagement in the U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue, U.S.-China Energy Policy Dialogue, and U.S.-Japan Energy Dialogue. She also worked on U.S. energy engagement with Indonesia, North Korea, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. From 2001 to 2002, she served at the U.S. embassy in Tokyo as special assistant to the energy attaché. Nakano's publications include "New Energy, New Geopolitics" (CSIS, April 2014); "The United States and China: Making Nuclear Energy Safer" (Brookings, July 2013); "Prospects for Shale Gas Development in Asia" (CSIS, August 2012); and "Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation between the United States and Japan" (Stimson, February 2012). Also, she has testified before the U.S. Congress on energy issues in Asia. She holds a bachelor's degree from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a master's degree from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

Vikram Nehru

Senior Associate, Asia Program, Bakrie Chair in Southeast Asian Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Vikram Nehru is a senior associate in the Asia Program and Bakrie Chair in Southeast Asian Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. An expert on development economics, growth, poverty reduction, debt sustainability, governance, and the performance and prospects of East Asia, his research focuses on the economic, political, and strategic issues confronting Asia, particularly Southeast Asia. From 1981 to 2011, Nehru served in the World Bank, including in a number of senior management positions. Most recently, he was chief economist and director for poverty reduction, economic management, and private and financial sector development for East Asia and the Pacific. In this capacity, he advised the governments of developing countries in East Asia and the Pacific on economic and governance issues, including macroeconomic management, public sector and public financial management, financial and private sector development, and poverty reduction. Previously, he directed the World Bank's Economic Policy and Debt Department, where he was responsible for managing global programs for debt relief and for developing new tools and techniques for growth analytics, fiscal-policy analysis, subnational and regional development, and small-states development. In addition, he chaired the Bank's Economic Policy Sector Board, which provided strategic leadership for all of its country and macroeconomists. In leading the World Bank's Debt Department, Nehru managed the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative, Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative, Debt Sustainability Framework, Debt

Reduction Facility, Debt Management Facility, Debt Management Performance Assessment Program, and Medium Term Debt Strategies for Developing Countries. His portfolio at the World Bank also included serving as lead economist on Indonesia and China as well as senior economist for Ghana. Prior to joining the World Bank, he held an administrative position with the government of India. Nehru has written numerous journal articles and contributed to several books. His papers include: "East Asia and the Pacific Confronts the 'New Normal,'" "The Concept of Odious Debt: Some Considerations," "When is External Debt Sustainable?," "Indonesia in Crisis," and "China 2020: Development Challenges in the New Century."

Andrew Small

Transatlantic Fellow, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Andrew Small is a transatlantic fellow with the Asia Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States, which he established in 2006. He previously worked as the director of the Foreign Policy Centre's Beijing office; as a visiting fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and was an English-Speaking Union scholar in the office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy. His articles and papers have been published in outlets including the *New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and the *Washington Quarterly*. He is the author of the new book: *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*, published by Hurst /Oxford University Press.

Mireya Solís

Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy, Center for East Asia Policy Studies, Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies, The Brookings Institution

Mireya Solís is a senior fellow and the Philip Knight Chair in Japan Studies at the Brookings Center for East Asia Policy Studies. An expert in Japan's foreign economic policies, Solís earned a Ph.D. in government and an M.A. in East Asian studies from Harvard University, and a B.A. in international relations from El Colegio de México. Her main research interests include Japanese politics, political economy and foreign policy; international and comparative political economy; international relations; and government-business relations. She also has interests in broader issues in U.S.-Japan relations and East Asian multilateralism. A theme running through Solís's research on Japanese political economy is an attempt to explain the coexistence of pork-barrel and state-led growth practices in Japan's industrial policy. She also gives important attention to domestic determinants of Japan's foreign economic policy. Her most recent research is on what she calls the single most important departure of Japanese trade policy of the last decade: Japan's embrace of preferential trade agreements as a means of liberalizing its trade relations. Solís explores the causes and results of this policy set, and explores the on-going competition among different blueprints for regional integration - a trend which includes the United States through its leadership of negotiations toward the Trans-Pacific Partnership. She is the author of *Banking on Multinationals: Public Credit and the Export of Japanese Sunset Industries* (Stanford University Press, 2004) and co-editor of *Cross-Regional Trade Agreements: Understanding Permeated Regionalism in East Asia* (Springer, 2008) and *Competitive Regionalism: FTA Diffusion in the Pacific Rim* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). She has also published numerous articles and book chapters on the implications of and responses to the recent economic crisis, Japan's domestic politics and foreign and economic policies and East Asian multilateralism.

Robert Sutter**Professor of Practice of International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University**

Since 2011, Robert Sutter has been Professor of Practice of International Affairs at the Elliott School of George Washington University. He also serves as the School's director of the Program of Bachelor of Arts in International Affairs. A Ph.D. graduate in History and East Asian Languages from Harvard University, Sutter taught full time for ten years at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and part-time for thirty years at Georgetown, George Washington, Johns Hopkins Universities, and the University of Virginia. He has published 20 books, over 200 articles and several hundred government reports dealing with contemporary East Asian and Pacific countries and their relations with the United States. His most recent book is *Foreign Relations of the PRC: The Legacies and Constraints of China's International Politics since 1949* (Rowman and Littlefield 2013). Sutter's government career (1968-2001) involved work on Asian and Pacific affairs and U.S. foreign policy for the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of State, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was for many years the Senior Specialist and Director of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service. He also was the National Intelligence Officer for East Asia and the Pacific at the U.S. Government's National Intelligence Council, and the China Division Director at the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

Joel S. Wit**Visiting Scholar at U.S.-Korea Institute at School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, and a Senior Research Fellow, Weatherhead Institute for East Asian Studies, Columbia University**

Joel S. Wit has served as Senior Advisor to Ambassador Robert L. Galluci from 1993-1995, where he developed strategies to help resolve the crisis over North Korea's weapons program, and as Coordinator for the U.S.-North Korea's weapons program and as Coordinator for the US-North Korea Agreed Framework from 1995-1999, where he was the official in charge of implementation. He was also a key participant in the establishment of the Korean Peninsular Energy Development Organization (KEDO). Prior to his efforts on the Agreed Framework, Wit was assigned to the State Department's Office of Strategic Nuclear Policy, where he was responsible for U.S. policy on a range of issues related to nuclear arms control and weapons proliferation. In that capacity from 1988 to 1992, Wit helped negotiate strategic arms control agreements with the former Soviet Union and participated in the Nunn-Lugar program to dismantle its nuclear weapons. He was also a Guest Scholar at the Brookings Institution from 1999-2001. In addition, he has published numerous articles on Northeast Asian security issues. He has also written numerous articles on North Korea and nonproliferation and is the coauthor of the book, *Going Critical: The First North Korean Nuclear Crisis* (Brookings Institution Press, 2004). He received his M.I.A. from Columbia University in 1979 and his B.A. from Bucknell University in 1976.