

16th American Studies Network
Conference Report

Nixon and China Plus 50:
Reflections on Five
Decades of US-China
Relations

July 2022



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The 16th American Studies Network Conference

Nixon and China Plus 50: Reflections on Five Decades of US-China Relations

Webinar Conference Report

June 10-11, 2022

This report was prepared by the US-China Education Trust, which is solely responsible for its content.



ABOUT USCET

The US-China Education Trust, USCET, founded in 1998, is a leader in educational programs and exchanges that promote understanding and dialogue between the people of the United States and China. As one of its first areas of activity, USCET helped to build and support a strong network of Chinese universities that carry out research and teaching on American Studies. The American Studies Network (ASN) was formally established in 2004 and is now comprised of more than 50 Chinese institutions of higher education.

As the United States and China confront increasing frictions, USCET's programs to build mutual understanding and dialogue have grown in scope and urgency. As anti-Asian sentiments in the US rise alongside a deteriorating US-China relationship, USCET has added programs that provide a more nuanced understanding of contemporary issues affecting the Asian diaspora within the larger context of US China relations.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 16th American Studies Network Conference could not have taken place without the hard work and dedication of many people on both sides of the Pacific.

USCET would like to first thank our co-host, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), for their partnership in this event. The exigencies arising from the Covid-19 pandemic and other unavoidable delays led to the postponement of ASN conferences for almost four years, but CFAU remained committed to working with USCET and to bringing this conference to fruition throughout that time. Special thanks are due CFAU's Vice President Sun Jisheng, and professors Ran Jijun and Shi Yi for their dedication to this project.

This conference was the 16th in a series of conferences hosted by universities in the American Studies Network (ASN) and we are grateful for the continuing strength of the ASN network and its member institutions, who have remained engaged through very difficult times in bilateral relations. A special thanks to all the ASN universities who have hosted previous conferences. (For a complete list of past ASN conferences, see Appendix B.)

USCET would also like to thank all the distinguished participants in this event – for their presentations, their respectful comments, and their commitment to frank and constructive dialogue. Dr. Robert Kapp, advisor to USCET, deserves special thanks for his involvement in all aspects of conference planning, his vision, and his dedication to seeing that vision through. Finally, this event would not have been possible without the dedication and hard work of the USCET staff, from the earliest stages of planning to patient communication and action over several years, to the technical complexities of delivering a high-quality webinar with participants and audience members from around the globe.

We are fortunate, in this time of enforced trans-Pacific isolation, to be able to make use of available technologies to keep the flame of US-China direct communication alive. The 16th ASN conference was the first ever conducted online, in a webinar format rather than the traditional in-person gathering at a Chinese host university. Instead of the preparation, submission, selection, and presentation of formal papers by ASN faculty and students, USCET, in consultation with CFAU, replaced the traditional keynote speeches and paper presentations with smaller topical panels and moderated discussions, to make best use of the online format and to maximize the opportunity for direct and focused dialogue.

We hope that this event, like its predecessors, will be just the start of ongoing dialogues between and among the distinguished experts who spoke on the program, as well as among the participants and members of the audience.

INTRODUCTION

The US-China Education Trust (USCET), in cooperation with the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), convened the Sixteenth American Studies Network (ASN) Conference in the form of an extended webinar, because of continuing Covid-related travel restrictions. It took place over two three-hour sessions on June 11, 2022 (Beijing Time), corresponding to the evening of June 10 and the morning of June 11, US EDT.

The topic, *Nixon and China Plus 50: Reflections on Five Decades of US-China Relations*, utilized the notable 50th anniversary of President Richard Nixon's historic visit to China as a device to explore highs and lows of the relationship and to reflect on lessons for the future. The conference was organized around four topics of significance to both nations, each addressed in 45-minute panel discussions featuring one Chinese and one American presenter, with an expert moderator and the supplementary remarks of a designated commentator. USCET primarily recruited American specialists for the four panels and CFAU did the same for the Chinese specialists. Thanks to CFAU's efforts to include additional Chinese scholars from many institutions, two special 'Moderated Discussion' segments were added, one at the conclusion of each of the two halves of the conference, drawing upon the wisdom and experience of numerous highly respected Chinese academic specialists.

In all, 25 distinguished American and Chinese experts took part in six hours of discussions. Many of them have studied and played an active role in US-China relations for decades, and enjoyed lengthy professional relationships and friendships. The conference also included the voices of younger scholars and experts, to form a diverse group overall in terms of age, experience, and political leanings.

No one involved in this conference, whether in the US or in China, was under any illusion as to the current state of US-China government-to-government relations, now at their lowest point since the frozen relations of the early 1970s preceding the Nixon-Mao breakthrough. But many welcomed the opportunity to participate in the event itself, as it provided an increasingly rare opportunity for experts from the US and China to engage directly on specific issues of mutual importance, to express opinions on achievements and missteps in the relationship, and to give policy recommendations and personal prescriptions for the future. The conversations ranged from hopeful to pointed, frustrated, nostalgic, pessimistic, and regretful, but always collegial.

While dialogue alone will not solve all problems, USCET and CFAU are committed to the idea that dialogue must be an integral part of any effort to build greater US-China understanding and lower the risk of miscalculation. This is an important goal of every ASN conference.

The event was off the record and was conducted in English.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS AND AGENDA

List of Participants (in alphabetical order)

Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch, Executive Chair and Founder, US-China Education Trust

Dr. DA Wei, Director, Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University

Dr. FU Meirong, Professor and Director of the American Studies Center, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Dr. JIA Qingguo, Professor and former Dean of the School of International Studies, Peking University; Director, Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding, Peking University

Dr. Robert A. Kapp, Special Advisor, US-China Education Trust; Former President, US-China Business Council

Mr. Arthur R. Kroeber, Founder, Gavekal Dragonomics; Adjunct Professor of Economics, NYU Stern School of Business; Senior Non-Resident Fellow, Brookings-Tsinghua Center

Dr. David M. Lampton, Senior Fellow, SAIS Foreign Policy Institute; Professor Emeritus, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies

Dr. LI Wei, Professor, School of International Studies, Director of the Economic Diplomacy Research Program, Renmin University of China; Senior Research Associate, National Academy of Development and Strategy

Dr. LIU Debin, Director, Institute of International Studies, Director of the Division of International Relations, Jilin University

Dr. RAN Jijun, Professor and Dean, Department of English and International Studies, China Foreign Affairs University

Dr. Stephen Roach, Senior Fellow, Jackson Institute of Global Affairs, Yale University; Senior Lecturer, Yale School of Management

Ms. Madelyn Ross, President, US-China Education Trust

Dr. SHI Yi, Professor and Director of the Undergraduate Affairs Office, China Foreign Affairs University

Dr. SUN Jisheng, Vice President, China Foreign Affairs University

Dr. Jennifer Turner, Director of the China Environment Forum, Wilson Center

Dr. WANG Dong, Executive Director, Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding, Peking University; Professor at the School of International Studies, Peking University

Dr. WANG Yong, Professor, School of International Studies, Director of the Center for International Political Economy; Director of the Center for American Studies, Peking University

Dr. XIE Tao, Professor and Dean, School of International Relations and Diplomacy, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Dr. ZHA Daojiong, Professor, School of International Studies and Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development, Peking University

Dr. ZHAO Kejin, Professor and Deputy Dean, School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University

Dr. ZHAO Mei, Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Dr. Suisheng Zhao, Professor and Director, Center for China-US Cooperation, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

Dr. ZHOU Qi, Director, Institute of Global Governance and Development, Tongji University

Dr. ZHU Feng, Executive Director, China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea, Nanjing University; Director, Institute of International Relations, Nanjing University

Dr. ZOU Xiaolong, Associate Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Institute of National Development and Security Studies, Jilin University

Conference Agenda

SESSION ONE

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 7:30AM -10:30AM BEIJING TIME

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 7:30PM – 10:30PM WASHINGTON, D.C. TIME

7:30 Host Introduction: Prof. Ran Jijun, China Foreign Affairs University

Introductory Remarks

Amb. Julia Chang Bloch, US-China Education Trust

Prof. SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University

7:45 Panel 1: Is There Opportunity in Crisis? Responses to Environmental Challenges

Moderator: Prof. WANG Dong, Peking University

Chinese Speaker: Prof. ZOU Xiaolong, Jilin University

American Speaker: Dr. Jennifer Turner, Wilson Center

Commentator: Prof. ZHU Feng, Nanjing University

Discussion and Q&A

8:30 Break

8:35 Panel 2: Different Times: Changing Societies

Moderator: Prof. FU Meirong, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Chinese Speaker: Prof. JIA Qingguo, Peking University

American Speaker: Prof. Suisheng Zhao, University of Denver

Commentator: Prof. ZHOU Qi, Tongji University

Discussion and Q&A

9:20 Break

9:25 Moderated Discussion 1: Session One Reflections & Reassessments:

Moderator: Madelyn C. Ross, US-China Education Trust

Discussants:

Prof. LIU Debin, Jilin University

Prof. ZHAO Mei, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Prof. ZHAO Kejin, Tsinghua University

Prof. WANG Dong, Peking University

10:30 Session One Concludes

SESSION TWO

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 8PM -11:00 PM BEIJING TIME

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 8AM – 11:00 AM WASHINGTON, D.C. TIME

- 8:00** **Host Introduction:** Madelyn C. Ross, US-China Education Trust
- 8:05** **Panel 3: Perspectives On US-China Economic Ties: Then and Now**
Moderator: Dr. Robert Kapp, US-China Education Trust
Chinese Speaker: Prof. WANG Yong, Peking University
American Speaker: Mr. Arthur Kroeber, Gavekal Dragonomics
Commentator: Prof. LI Wei, Renmin University of China
- Discussion and Q&A**
- 8:50** **Break**
- 8:55** **Panel 4: 50 Years of Bilateral Relations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Not Learned**
Moderator: Prof. David Lampton, Johns Hopkins University
Chinese Speaker: Prof. ZHA Daojiong, Peking University
American Speaker: Prof. Stephen Roach, Yale University
Commentator: Prof. SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University
- Discussion and Q&A**
- 9:40** **Break**
- 9:45** **Moderated Discussion 2: Session Two Reflections and Reassessment:**
Moderator: Prof. SHI Yi, China Foreign Affairs University
Discussants:
Prof. DA Wei, Tsinghua University
Prof. XIE Tao, Beijing Foreign Studies University
Prof. ZHOU Qi, Tongji University
Prof. RAN Jijun, China Foreign Affairs University
Dr. Robert A. Kapp, US-China Education Trust
- 10:50** **Concluding Remarks**
Prof. SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University
Amb. Julia Chang Bloch, US-China Education Trust
- 11:00** **Conference Concludes**

SESSION ONE

Introductory Remarks

Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch, US-China Education Trust
Professor SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University

“ *Government to government relations may fracture, but people to people relations endure.*

We hope that by re-thinking and re-evaluating, we can draw inspiration to think about the challenges facing both our countries and the world.

In her opening remarks, Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch noted that this conference was born in 2018 on the campus of East China Normal University during the 15th ASN Conference, whose topic was *The Impact of Education Exchange on US-China Relations*. Since that time, educational exchanges have been severely challenged, and Sino-American relations are at their lowest ebb since the 1970s, before Nixon’s historic trip. Today, the relationship is verging on the catastrophic. In American politics, intense criticism of China is now one of the few shared bipartisan issues in Washington.

In these times, US-China education exchange is needed more than ever for building mutual understanding. In that spirit, Ambassador Bloch expressed the hope that this conference will keep the channels of communication open, and provide an opportunity to share new ideas and research, make connections, learn from each other, and exchange best practices to resolve differences for the future.

China Foreign Affairs University Vice President Sun Jisheng delivered her opening remarks later in Session One due to technical issues. She noted the importance of this topic to CFAU and its graduates. Established in 1955, CFAU alumni serve as diplomats all over the world, and more than 500 have been appointed as ambassadors.

Like Ambassador Bloch, Vice President Sun noted the difficulties that US-China relations have encountered in recent years. She expressed the belief that strengthening communication and dialogue obviously serves the interest of both countries and the whole world. She added her hope that the theme of the webinar – reflections and reassessments of the past five decades of US-China relations – will allow scholars from both countries to deepen understanding and contribute to the future stable and peaceful development of bilateral relations.

Panel One: Is There Opportunity in Crisis? Responses to Environmental Challenges

Moderator: Prof. WANG Dong, Peking University
Chinese Speaker: Prof. ZOU Xiaolong, Jilin University
American Speaker: Dr. Jennifer Turner, Wilson Center
Commentator: Prof. ZHU Feng, Nanjing University

“ *The problem is whether or not economic and environmental protection cooperation can positively modify a confrontational policy narrative between both sides.*

No country is invulnerable to climate change and its consequences, despite its economic and military might.

The first Panel Discussion revolved around the question, *Is there Opportunity in Crisis? Responses to Environmental Challenges*. Reminded that the word for “crisis” in Chinese consists of two characters – one meaning “peril” and the other meaning “opportunity” – this session explored whether, in times of critical difficulty, opportunities can be pursued jointly by the two countries in an area where the need is urgent and the benefits to all are clear.

This session was moderated by Professor Wang Dong of Peking University, with remarks by Professor Zou Xiaolong of Jilin University and Dr. Jennifer Turner, head of the China Environment Forum at The Woodrow Wilson Center. Professor Zhu Feng of Nanjing University served as the commentator.

The discussion was frank and sometimes blunt, combining positive affirmations of the vital importance of Sino-American cooperation with a cooler realism as to the difficulties that cooperative environmental projects face in a time of growing government-to-government disconnection. China’s relatively straight-line approach to environmental policy was contrasted with America’s pendulum-like policy swings. But environmental cooperation has really been energized from the bottom up, one speaker asserted: from NGOs, think tanks, research centers, universities, and foundations. A lively discussion of the achievements and possibilities inherent in sub-national environmental cooperation (between states or provinces, for example, or between cities in both countries) was tempered by the challenges posed by current procedural obstacles such as visa restrictions occasioned by Covid and other factors effectively preventing direct interactions between would-be cooperation partners.

The concluding conversation period took on a positive tone, as speakers from both countries pointed to the potential of G-20 cooperation and opportunities in specific sectors such as the production of minerals and rare earths, now central to global scientific and economic advancement. The discussion took note of the important role that non-governmental organizations have performed in identifying and pursuing opportunities for Sino-American cooperation on environmental issues in previous years.

Participants joined in identifying a set of concerns, including agriculture, smart buildings, and transportation, in which bilateral cooperation has been and can still be mutually beneficial, whether

at the national, sub-national, or NGO levels. All participants were soberly cognizant of the overarching challenges imposed by the wide-ranging effects of deterioration in bilateral government relations.

Panel Two: Different Times, Changing Societies

Moderator: Prof. FU Meirong, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Chinese Speaker: Prof. JIA Qingguo, Peking University

American Speaker: Prof. Suisheng Zhao, University of Denver

“ *History often changes course through certain events at critical times. President Nixon’s visit was such an event. It kicked off a process that changed history.*

Both the US and China are now guilty of over-confidence.

The intent of the organizers in setting up this session was to encourage a look back at the societal conditions of the United States and of China at the time of the Nixon visit to China in 1972, and to explore changes in each society that came about as a result of the US-China relationship in the half-century since.

This session was moderated by Professor Fu Meirong of Beijing Foreign Studies University, with remarks from two principal presenters, Professor Jia Qingguo of Peking University and Professor Suisheng Zhao of the University of Denver. The planned commentator, Professor Zhou Qi of Tongji University, was unable to take part at the last moment because of technical difficulties.

This session offered a particularly rich exchange of personal perspectives. The two panelists spoke powerfully to the vast changes that had unfolded over fifty years, especially in the PRC but also in the US, and the impacts of these changes upon public attitudes and perceptions, as well as on their personal trajectories.

The discussion noted that optimism followed the Nixon visit in both countries, as well as eagerness to seek exchange opportunities on both sides. Nixon and Mao recognized that the two countries had huge interests in stabilizing the relationship and improving it, and both governments were generally committed to gradually working out problems over the decades of engagement, even though crises that punctuated the relationship such as the 1989 Tiananmen tragedy, the US bombing of the PRC Embassy in Belgrade in 1999, and the EP-3 aircraft crisis of 2001. Although we still have huge interests in working together and negative risk if we do not, leaders of the two countries no longer see the necessity of making compromises and taking pragmatic approaches to manage their differences in the present climate of distrust and mutual recrimination.

While the speakers called on both sides to take responsibility for this deterioration, the discussion concluded with an emphasis on the need to diminish “ideology” and enhance “pragmatism” in managing US-China disagreements.

Moderated Discussion 1: Session One Reflections and Reassessments

Moderator: Madelyn C. Ross, US-China Education Trust

Discussants:

Prof. LIU Debin, Jilin University

Prof. ZHAO Mei, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Prof. ZHAO Kejin, Tsinghua University

Prof. WANG Dong, Peking University



A new engagement consensus based on mutual respect and reciprocity needs to be forged between China and the United States in the years to come.

We should be prepared for post-Covid engagement. People to people exchange should take the lead in the recoupling of the two societies.

Four presenters from Chinese academic institutions provided their own diagnoses for the ills of the bilateral relationship and offered their own prescriptions, drawing on points made in the previous two panels. One speaker asked “What is the *normal* state of US-China relations?” and went on to wonder if it may be a state of tension and mistrust, rather than the relative trust and cooperation that prevailed during the decades of engagement.

China’s rise is different from that of other great powers in the past, argued one scholar. Chinese scholars themselves are trying hard to understand their own country, a developing nation trying to find the best way to “grow up” by learning from others. Another discussant bluntly asserted that the term “liberal international order” so often referred to by the United States was inaccurate, inward-looking, and exclusionary, since China, Russia, and others were not included within it.

One presenter noted that both countries are now largely preoccupied with domestic politics, which drives foreign policy decisions and complicates their bilateral relations. Another argued that US policy experts fundamentally misunderstand China and its motivations. Several speakers urged the US and China to seek reasonable solutions to their bilateral problems and to return to a long-term perspective on the relationship. It was agreed that it was critically important to normalize people-to-people exchanges as soon as possible. One presenter added that students should be encouraged to continue studying in each other’s countries, to develop future leaders with direct understanding of the other country.

There was a short but lively conversation in response to an audience question, asking whether the relationship will only return to stability when one side decisively overtakes the other. “There is no need to establish who is number one,” a presenter responded. The world is increasingly connected and interdependent. As pointed out in Panel 1, environmental crises illustrate the many issues that affect all of humanity and do not respect borders. There are no winners and losers. If the US and China can conduct their relations as a positive sum game instead of a zero-sum game, we will be better able to avoid worst-case scenarios.

SESSION TWO

Panel 3: Perspectives on US-China Economic Ties, Then and Now

Moderator: Dr. Robert Kapp, US-China Education Trust
Chinese Speaker: Professor WANG Yong, Peking University
American Speaker: Arthur Kroeber, Gavekal Dragonomics
Commentator: Professor LI Wei, Renmin University

“ *Economic interdependence, not only between the US and China but among all the Asia Pacific countries, has become the foundation of stability, peace, and prosperity in the region over the last 40 years.*

Both sides have fallen prey to false narratives about how their enormous economic success story has created harm, and both sides are now trapped in these narratives.

The focus of Panel 3 was chosen by the conference organizers to provide a chance to explore the economic and trade relationship, long viewed as a clear example of mutual benefit and a bulwark of US-China relations but now enmeshed in controversy and recrimination. The session was lively and informative, introducing elements of retrospection and historical background as well as prescriptions and policy suggestions for the future.

The panel featured experienced and accomplished presenters. Arthur Kroeber of Gavekal Dragonomics, and Professor Wang Yong of Peking University were the panelists. Dr. Robert A. Kapp, USCET advisor and former president of the US-China Business Council was the moderator, and Professor Li Wei of Renmin University served as commentator.

The presenters agreed that responsibilities for easing the current adversarial US-China economic relationship lay in both countries rather than one or the other nation. One theme explored in the session was the current absence of “patient, creative diplomacy” at the highest levels of authority, as compared to earlier decades. Speakers also concurred on the need to restore lower-level topical interactions as well as high-level diplomatic efforts. As one presenter noted, by the 2010s, the US and China had over 100 dialogues or interactions at various levels of government, the majority of which had at least some economic component. These dialogues have all but been eliminated in the past few years.

A return to greater economic cooperation will require visionary leadership, a sense of shared interests, and a commitment to patient, difficult, diplomacy over the long run. But, as one speaker noted, those conditions do not seem to be in place at the moment.

Another speaker noted that both the US and China had “winners” and “losers” as China entered the global economy: American “winners” were especially Silicon Valley (advanced technology) and Wall Street (finance), while China’s “losers” included both peasants and workers in state-owned enterprises. But China has employed more effective tools to protect those whose livelihoods

were negatively affected by China's "Reform and Opening," especially since the PRC's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001. The same observer noted that China had benefited more from the WTO-defined "liberal order" than most countries, and urged China to improve its market-access regime by lowering barriers to market entry.

A final theme that emerged in this session was the reminder (if one was needed) of the vast benefits that have accrued to both China and the US from the enormous expansion of economic ties between the 1970s and the present.

Panel 4: 50 Years of Bilateral Relations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Not Learned

Moderator: Prof. David Lampton, Johns Hopkins University

Chinese Speaker: Prof. ZHA Daojiong, Peking University

American Speaker: Prof. Stephen Roach, Yale University

Commentator: Prof. SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University

“ *Our relationship will not work if it is based on ideology. That was one of the key things Nixon and Mao agreed about.*

The diversity of views on the Chinese side is not always well recognized.

Sometimes we use the same language but we mean different things. If we do not bridge this gap, our dialogue will not be effective.

The final panel session was moderated by Emeritus Professor David M. Lampton of The Johns Hopkins University, well known to all conference participants for his singular contributions to US-China relations and American knowledge of China. It also brought together a renowned Chinese scholar of International Relations, Professor Zha Daojiong of Peking University, and a veteran business practitioner and author, Mr. Stephen Roach of Yale University, around the theme, “50 Years of Bilateral Relations: Lessons Learned, Lessons Not Learned.” The commentator was Professor Sun Jisheng, Vice President of China Foreign Affairs University.

The organizers’ intent in adopting this title for the concluding panel was self-evident in the “Lessons Learned” formulation, but the formulation also sought to stimulate discussion about what the US and China had failed to understand after a half-century of modern relations. The result was a stimulating mix of historical summations and suggestions for the future.

The session opened with a provocative question—can scholars agree that the era of “constructive engagement brought both economic and peace dividends to both nations?” Most of the ensuing discussion leaned toward answering in the affirmative. The panelists agreed that the US-China relationship will fail if it is based solely on ideology. Instead, one presenter argued that the two nations must respect each other’s internal decisions, whether they agree with them or not. Another pointed out that China’s leaders are preoccupied with consolidating the domestic legitimacy of the CCP, and this has an impact on approaches to foreign policy.

The past fifty years have been the most fortunate and peaceful in China’s history, noted one speaker, and US-China relations have been a key factor in China’s remarkably fast development. They have also brought a peace dividend to the United States and the Asia Pacific region. The US and China should recognize that they are “inescapable neighbors” and show empathy to each other. They need to find ways to continue to coexist peacefully, even in cases where familiarity has bred contempt between them.

Looking broadly at the future of US-China relations, one speaker argued that diplomacy is “necessary but not sufficient.” Instead, the two countries should create an institutionalized high-

level Secretariat, that would set the framework for working out all types of problems and focus the attention of senior leaders on specific and urgent problems.

What especially enlivened this session was the nuance of each speaker's remarks, and the willingness of all speakers to contemplate challenges and obstacles arising within their own countries as well as in their trans-Pacific colleagues' nations. This session offered food for thought in its reflections on the historical evolution of US-China relations since Nixon, and in its discussion of the systemic problems now evident in each country's assessment of, and approach to, the other. Even the language of bilateral communication came up for discussion since, as one speaker pointed out, it is not uncommon for the two countries to find different meanings in the very same words that they share when addressing one another

Moderated Discussion 2: Session Two Reflections and Reassessments

Moderator: Prof Shi Yi, China Foreign Affairs University

Discussants:

Prof. DA Wei, Tsinghua University

Prof. XIE Tao, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Prof. ZHOU Qi, Tongji University

Prof. Ran Jijun, China Foreign Affairs University

Dr. Robert A. Kapp, US-China Education Trust



It’s very important when we talk to each other that we talk about our own countries, as well as what we see in the other country.

There is a clear positive correlation between the [state of] bilateral relations and the extent of the media interaction.

The Moderated Discussion following Session Two continued the lively and spontaneous quality of the two panels in that session. As in the Moderated Discussion following Session One, this discussion included observations primarily by Chinese scholars, occasioned by the presentations in the previous two panels on the program. The dialogue was realistic, sober, and at times sharply critical, yet remained collegial and informal.

The session began with the observation that the Cold War era coincidence of US and Chinese foreign policy objectives, in which mistrust of the Soviet Union brought the countries together, has given way to instability and different perspectives, as exemplified by the two countries’ “different understanding of the present Ukraine conflict.” A presenter urged the US and Chinese militaries to urgently resume regular substantive dialogues. Several scholars expressed deep frustration at what they saw as American misunderstanding of China’s actions and motives. One noted that Chinese scholars must help Americans understand China’s determination to compete peacefully. At the same time, US experts need to address China’s concern that the US is attempting to “keep China down.”

Henry Kissinger’s strategic vision helped to turn two erstwhile enemies into partners in the 1970s, said one scholar. He engineered a stunning diplomatic success that led to a fundamental restructuring of the global political order--but it is time to move beyond his legacy and deal with today’s very different geopolitical landscape.

The session closed with one participant’s observation that, at conferences such as this, it is important for specialists to frankly discuss the problems and issues that their own respective countries are dealing with internally, and not confine themselves solely to dissecting the policies and behavior of the “other” country under discussion.

Concluding Remarks

Prof. SUN Jisheng, China Foreign Affairs University
Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch, US-China Education Trust



We can agree that China-US relations are very important, not only for the two countries but also for the rest of the world.

The tenor of our meeting has been somewhat pessimistic. But there is hope in the candor, in the discussions, in the recommendations, that have come out from our discussions.

By the end of this 16th American Studies Network Conference, a broad consensus had emerged that embraced several basic understandings: the “Era of Engagement” that began in the 1970s has come to an end; the smothering effect of “ideology” and “politics” on all concrete issues arising between the two countries must be remediated; the notion of complete divorce of the United States and China is both destructive and profoundly impractical; and each of the two countries must grapple with its own domestic dilemmas on its own terms instead of assigning blame to the other country.

In closing remarks, President Sun and Ambassador Bloch noted that the tensions that have built up between the US and China have been extensively discussed in this meeting, but the participants also saw reasons for hope and optimism.

While no one was under the illusion that conferences like this will markedly alter the trajectory of bilateral relations, there was a consensus among participants that we must keep nongovernmental bilateral discussions alive, as they are an integral component of a balanced, realistic relationship between the two most powerful and influential nations on earth. Only by staying engaged can we avoid serious misunderstandings, cooperate on critical areas, and keep inevitable areas of competition and confrontation peaceful.

Both Professor Sun and Ambassador Bloch expressed hope for a future in which these two can cooperate and compete in an atmosphere of mutual trust and constructive engagement that brings benefits to both countries and to the world

APPENDIX A: CONFERENCE BIOGRAPHIES

Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch is Executive Chair and Founder of the US-China Education Trust. She was the first US ambassador of Asian descent in US history. She has had an extensive career in international affairs and government service, beginning in 1964 as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Malaysia and culminating as US Ambassador to the Kingdom of Nepal in 1989. From 1981 to 1988, Ambassador Bloch served at the US Agency for International Development as Assistant Administrator of Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance and as Assistant Administrator for Asia and the Near East, positions appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. She also was the Chief Minority Counsel to a Senate Select Committee; the Deputy Director of the Office of African Affairs at the US Information Agency; president of the US-Japan Foundation; a Fellow of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and an Associate of the US-Japan Relations Program at Harvard.

Dr. DA Wei is the director of the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) at Tsinghua, and professor in the Department of International Relations, School of Social Science, Tsinghua University. His research expertise covers China-US relations and US security & foreign policy. Da Wei has worked in China's academic and policy community for more than two decades. He was the assistant president of University of International Relations (UIR) from 2017 to 2020, and director of the Institute of American Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) from 2013 to 2017. He has written hundreds of policy papers for the Chinese government, and published dozens of academic papers in China, the US, and other countries. Da Wei earned his B.A. and M.A. from UIR, and his Ph.D. from CICIR. He was a visiting senior fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States from 2006 to 2007, and a visiting senior associate at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, from 2008 to 2009.

Dr. FU Meirong is a professor and Director of the American Studies Center at Beijing Foreign Studies University. She received her Ph.D. in American Studies from Beijing Foreign Studies University. In 2005 she was a visiting Fulbright scholar at Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, and in Spring 2008 she was a Fulbright scholar-in-residence at the University of Montevallo, Alabama. Her current teaching and research specialties include American economic competitiveness; highly educated immigrants in the US; and History of China-US educational exchanges. Her recent publications include: "Red Alert: The Campaign of Probing Foreign Influence on US Research Enterprise," *The Chinese Journal of American Studies*, 2021 (1); "Can China's Brain Drain to the US be Reversed in the Trump Era? Trends in the Movements of American Trained Chinese STEM talent and its Implications," *Journal of Global Studies*, 2018 (2); "The Rise and Fall of American Railroads and the Contributing Factors," *The Chinese Journal of American Studies*, 2018 (1); "The Fulbright Experience of Visiting Scholars from Post-Communist China: A Qualitative Study and a Critical Evaluation." *ASJ Occasional Papers*, 2018 (15).

Dr. JIA Qingguo has been a member of the Standing Committees of the 11th, 12th and 13th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) and was elected in March 2013 as a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the 13th CPPCC. He is a professor and doctoral supervisor, and the former Dean of the School of International Studies at Peking University. He is a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the China Democratic League and the Director of its Education Committee. He is the Vice Chairman of the Beijing Municipal Committee, Director of the Research Center for International Economic Strategy of China, a member of the Academic Evaluation Committee of the China Foundation for International

and Strategic Studies, a member of the Academic Committee of Quarterly Journal of International Politics of Tsinghua University, as well as an adjunct professor at Nankai University and Tongji University. JIA is also a senior researcher of the Hong Kong and Macao Research Institute under the Development Research Center of the State Council.

Dr. Robert A. Kapp is Special Advisor to the US-China Education Trust, and President of Robert A. Kapp & Associates, Inc., a consultancy. He previously served as President of the US-China Business Council, the principal organization of American companies engaged in trade and investment with China. During his presidency of the US-China Business Council, Dr. Kapp was the principal initiator of the US-China Legal Cooperation Fund, which provided more than a million dollars in support of a wide range of Sino-American cooperative legal initiatives between 1998 and 2012.

Mr. Arthur R. Kroeber is the founder of Gavekal Dragonomics, a China-focused economic research firm with offices in Beijing and Hong Kong, and a partner in its parent firm Gavekal. Before establishing Dragonomics in 2002, he spent fifteen years as a financial and economic journalist in China and South Asia. He is adjunct professor of economics at the NYU Stern School of Business, a senior non-resident fellow of the Brookings-Tsinghua Center in Beijing, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the National Committee on US-China Relations. His book, *China's Economy: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2nd edition, 2020) is published by Oxford University Press.

Dr. David M. Lampton is Senior Fellow at the SAIS Foreign Policy Institute and Professor Emeritus at Johns Hopkins–SAIS. Immediately prior to his current post, he was Oksenberg-Rohlen Fellow at Stanford University's Asia-Pacific Research Center from 2019-2020. For more than two decades prior to that he was Hyman Professor and Director of China Studies at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. Lampton is former Chairman of The Asia Foundation, former President of the National Committee on United States-China Relations, and former Dean of Faculty at SAIS. His most recent book (with Selina Ho and Cheng-Chwee Kuik), is *Rivers of Iron: Railroads and Chinese Power in Southeast Asia* (University of California Press, 2020). His many other books include *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing US-China Relations, 1989-2000*, and *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds*. He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Stanford University in political science.

Dr. LI Wei is a professor at the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China (RUC). He is also in charge of the Center for Economic Diplomacy at RUC. Prior to joining the faculty, he gained his Ph.D. at Fudan University in 2009. Li Wei was a visiting scholar at Japan's Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) in 2019, Cornell University during 2015-2016, and the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies based in Hawaii in 2010. His research interests include International Political Economy, American International Economic Policy, and China's Foreign Policy. His newest book is *Battles for International Institutions: Sino-US Relations in the Era of Strategic Competition*, published in 2017.

Dr. LIU Debin is the Professor of History and International Studies at Jilin University. He is the Director of the Institute of International Relations (IIS) and founding dean of the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Jilin University. He also serves as Vice President of the China National Association of International Studies (CNAIS) and Vice Chairman of Chinese Society of Modern World History. Professor Liu Debin obtained his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from Jilin University, and previously studied and worked at the University of Warwick, University of Cambridge, and University of Virginia. His current academic interests include the transformation of international

relations in the 20th century, China-US relations, and Public Diplomacy.

Dr. RAN Jijun is a professor and Dean of the Department of English and International Studies at China Foreign Affairs University. Dr. Ran received his Ph.D. in Mass Communication from the School of Journalism and Communication at Peking University and has since joined the Department of English and International Studies of China Foreign Affairs University, with academic interests ranging from political communications to international politics. During 2017-2018, he served as a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. He has authored two books on media studies and published about 30 academic papers in peer-reviewed academic journals and several book chapters.

Dr. Stephen Roach is a Senior Fellow at Yale University's Jackson Institute of Global Affairs and a Senior Lecturer at Yale's School of Management. He was formerly Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia and the firm's Chief Economist for the bulk of his 30-year career at Morgan Stanley, heading up a highly regarded team of economists around the world. Mr. Roach's current teaching and research program focuses on the impacts of Asia on the broader global economy. At Yale, he has introduced new courses for undergraduates and graduate students on the "The Next China" and "The Lessons of Japan." His writing and research also addresses globalization, trade policy, the post-crisis policy architecture, and the capital markets implications of global imbalances. One of Wall Street's most influential economists, Roach's latest book, *Unbalanced: The Codependency of America and China* (Yale University Press, Jan. 2014) examines the risks and opportunities of what is likely to be the world's most important economic relationship of the 21st century. His 2009 book, *The Next Asia: Opportunities and Challenges for a New Globalization* (Wiley), analyzes Asia's economic imbalances and the dangers of the region's excessive dependence on overextended Western consumers.

Ms. Madelyn Ross became president of the US-China Education Trust in 2022. She has worked for more than 30 years in China-related positions at education and non-profit institutions and has written and spoken widely about US-China education relations. Ross is the former Associate Director of China Studies and Executive Director of SAIS China at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). She joined SAIS in 2015 as Washington Director of the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, one of the longest running US-China university partnerships. Before that, she was Director of China Initiatives and the Global Consortium at George Mason University, and she spent nine years at the US-China Business Council, as editor of *The China Business Review* and Executive Director of The China Business Forum. Ross holds an M.A. from Columbia University and a B.A. from Princeton University. She did graduate work in Chinese literature at Shanghai's Fudan University in 1979-80, and has lived and worked in Beijing, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Taipei.

Dr. SHI Yi is a professor of American Studies and Anthropology and Director of Undergraduate Affairs Office at China Foreign Affairs University. Dr. Shi was twice a visiting scholar in the Anthropology Department at Harvard University. Her professional interests are theories of cultural anthropology, ethnicity and race in the US, ethnicity and religion in China, and the diaspora in comparative perspective. She has published, among others, *From Paternalism to Laissez-Faire: A Study of Racial Policies in the United States* (2007), which addresses issues of ethnic policymaking and the undergirding forces, and *Han Chinese in International Migration History* (2017), which is an extensive study on overseas Han Chinese communities. Dr. Shi received her B.A. and M.A. in English Language and Literature, and her doctorate in Cultural Anthropology.

Dr. SUN Jisheng is a professor of international studies and Vice President of China Foreign Affairs University. She is the Secretary General of China National Association for International Studies, Vice President of China National Association for International Law, and deputy editor-in-chief of *Foreign Affairs Review*. She has been a research fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University (2006-2007), visiting scholar at Princeton University (2018), and visiting professor at Luiss University (2019). She has published and translated books, and has produced articles and papers on international relations, China's foreign policy, and international political linguistics in several key journals such as *World Economics and Politics*, *Foreign Affairs Review*, and the *Journal of International Studies*. She is the author of *Language, Meaning and International Politics—On Iraq War*; *International Political Linguistics: Theory and Practice* (ed); "Mutual Construction and Evolution: China's Engagement with the International Social and Cultural System;" and "Traditional Culture and the Improvement of China's Diplomatic Discourse." She holds a Ph.D. in international relations and an MA in English linguistics and literature.

Dr. Jennifer L. Turner has been the director of the China Environment Forum at the Woodrow Wilson Center for 18 years, where she creates meetings, exchanges and publications focusing on a variety of energy and environmental challenges facing China, particularly on water, energy, and green civil society issues. She leads the Wilson Center's Global Choke Point Initiative which, together with Circle of Blue, has produced multimedia reports, films, and convening on water-energy-food confrontations in China, India, Mexico, South Africa, and the United States. Other major initiatives include: Cooperative Competitors: Building US-China Clean Energy Partnerships, From Farm to Chopsticks: Food Safety Challenges in China; and Storytelling is Serious Business, Workshops For Chinese Environmental Professionals. Jennifer also serves as editor of the Wilson Center's journal, the *China Environment Series* and most recently coauthored *China's Water-Energy-Food Roadmap*. She received a Ph.D. in Public Policy and Comparative Politics in 1997 from Indiana University, Bloomington.

Dr. WANG Dong is a professor at the School of International Studies, Peking University. Prof. Wang also serves as Deputy Director of the Office for Humanities and Social Sciences and Executive Director of the Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding (iGCU) at Peking University. He is a Standing Council Member of the Chinese Association of American Studies, Member of the Steering Committee of the East Asia Security Forum, Chinese Overseas Educated Scholars Association, International Advisory Committee Member of the Shanghai Academy of Area Studies and Global Governance, and Advisory Committee Member for the Carter Center-Global Times US-China Young Scholars Forum. His articles appear in leading academic journals and media outlets such as *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Diplomatic History*, *The Pacific Review*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Global Asia*, *The Diplomat*, and *The New York Times*. He was named a "Munich Young Leader" (2016) and a "Preeminent Young Scientist of Beijing" (2018). Wang received his bachelor's in law from Peking University, and M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

Dr. WANG Yong is the Director of the Center for International Political Economy, the Director of the Center for American Studies, and a professor at the School of International Studies at Peking University. He is an Academic Committee Member of the Center for International Strategic Research, a Professor at the CPC Party School of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, and the Leading Professor of a PKU training program for senior civil servants in Hong Kong SAR. He is also a Consultant for the Asian Development Bank, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (UK), and a member of the Global Agenda Committee of the Global Trade System of the

World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. His research areas include Sino-US relations, Sino-US economic relations, trade politics, regional cooperation, international economic relations, and international political economics. In 2008, he was selected for the "Program for New Century Excellent Talents" by the Ministry of Education of China.

Dr. XIE Tao is a professor and the dean of the School of International Relations and Diplomacy at Beijing Foreign Studies University. His research interests include US Congress, elections, public opinion, and China-US relations. He has published extensively in both Chinese and English. He holds a PhD in political science from Northwestern University (2007). He is the author of *US-China Relations: China Policy on Capitol Hill* (Routledge 2009) and *Living with the Dragon: How the American Public Views the Rise of China* (with Benjamin I. Page, Columbia University Press, 2010). He has also published several articles in the *Journal of Contemporary China*, including "In the Shadow of Strategic Rivalry: China, America, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank" (2019). He is an adjunct professor at the Australia-China Relations Institute, University of Technology Sydney.

Dr. Zha Daojiong is a Professor in the School of International Studies and Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development, Peking University. His areas of expertise include international political economy and China's international economic relations (particularly the fields of energy and natural resources), development aid, and the economic-political nexus in the Asia-Pacific region. He is a regular participant in Track II dialogues between China and the United States on issues ranging from trade and investments in public health. He also contributes opinion pieces in newspapers including *South China Morning Post*. Dr. Zha studied at the University of Hawaii and the East West Center, where he earned a Doctorate in Political Science.

Dr. ZHAO Kejin is Professor and Deputy Dean of School of Social Sciences at Tsinghua University. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations at Fudan University and worked at the Center for American Studies at Fudan University until 2009 when he moved to Tsinghua University as an associate Professor at Institute of International Studies. He has published more than 100 papers in academic journals and published books on such topics as the American studies, public diplomacy, and China's foreign policy. His current research focuses on global governance, public diplomacy, and China's foreign affairs.

Dr. ZHAO Mei is a senior fellow at the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). She is the managing editor of the *Chinese Journal of American Studies*, which is published jointly by the Chinese Association for American Studies and the Institute of American Studies, CASS. She is also a professor at the University of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. She has been a member of CPPCC since 2013.

Dr. Suisheng Zhao is a Professor and Director of the Center for China-US Cooperation at Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. He is the founder and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary China* and the author and editor of more than two dozen of books, including *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Chinese Nationalism*. His forthcoming book is titled *The Dragon Roars Back: Transformational Leaders and Dynamics of Chinese Foreign Policy* (Stanford University Press). A Post-Doctoral Campbell National Fellow at Hoover Institution of Stanford University, he received his Ph.D. degree in political science from the University of California-San Diego, M.A. degree in Sociology from the University of Missouri, and B.A. and M.A. degrees in economics from Peking University.

Dr. ZHOU Qi is a full professor and the Director of Institute of Global Governance and Development, Tongji University. She holds a Ph.D. from School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University in the US, and a B.A. and M.A. from Fudan University. She was senior researcher (full professor) and the Director of Department of American Politics at the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in Beijing, and the Executive Director of National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University. She is now also the Vice President of Pacific Society of China (PSC). Zhou Qi taught at Pomona College as Frank M. Johnson Visiting Professor (1998-99), has been twice a visiting scholar at Harvard University (1990-1991, 2001-2002), and a visiting fellow at Brookings Institution (Dec. 2013-Feb. 2014). Her fields of research are US domestic and foreign policy, and international relations. She has published 11 books, over 100 academic articles, and more than 170 other articles. Five of her books have been awarded the “Excellent Scientific Research Products” prize by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 2006, 2010, 2013, 2018 and 2021.

Dr. ZHU Feng is the Executive Director of the China Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea and the Director of the Institute of International Relations at Nanjing University. He consults independently for the Chinese government and the private sector, and comments frequently on television, radio, and in the print media on Chinese foreign affairs and security policy. Zhu also writes extensively on regional security in East Asia, the nuclear issue in North Korea, and China-US military and diplomatic relations. He is the author or editor of: *International Relations Theory and East Asian Security* (2007); *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and Future of International Politics* (co-edited with Professor Robert S. Ross, 2008); *China-Japan Security Cooperation and Defense Communication: the Past, Present, and Future* (co-edited with Prof. Akiyama Asahiro, 2011); and *America, China and the Struggle for the World Order* (co-edited with Prof. G. John Ikenberry and Prof. Wang Jisi, 2015).

Dr. ZOU Xiaolong is an Associate Professor and Assistant to the Dean at the School of International and Public Affairs, and a Researcher at the Institute of National Development and Security Studies at Jilin University. Dr. Zou is also a visiting scholar at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) in Japan and the Institute of Applied Material Flow Management (IfaS), Trier University of Applied Sciences in Germany. Dr. Zou obtained his Ph.D. in Asia-Pacific Studies from Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. His research interests include public policy (urban sustainability and renewable energy), global environment, and climate governance. He has published a number of academic papers in international peer-reviewed journals such as *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *China, Natural Resources Forum*, and *International Studies*.

APPENDIX B: AMERICAN STUDIES NETWORK CONFERENCES IN CHINA

- 2022:** [*Nixon and China Plus 50: Reflections on Five Decades of US-China Relations*](#) – China Foreign Affairs University
- 2018:** [*The Impact of Education Exchange on US-China Relations: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*](#) – East China Normal University
- 2017:** [*US-China Relations after the 2016 Elections: Trump, Congress and the Issues*](#) – Sichuan University
- 2016:** [*American Studies Network Weekend*](#) – Beijing Foreign Studies University
- 2015:** [*Locality and Transnationality: New Approaches to Understanding US-China Relations*](#) – Peking University
- 2014:** [*Culture and US Relations with China and World*](#) – Zhejiang University
- 2013:** [*Transnational Currents of US-China Relations: The 10th Anniversary of the American Studies Network in China*](#) – Hong Kong University
- 2012:** [*America: 2012 Elections and Beyond*](#) – Beijing Foreign Studies University
- 2011:** [*US Soft Power and Social Equality*](#) – Northeast Normal University
- 2010:** [*The US in Crisis: Financial or Cultural?*](#) – Jiangnan University
- 2009:** [*The Obama Phenomenon: Reassessing our Understanding of America*](#) – Beijing Foreign Studies University
- 2008:** [*America in the Era of Globalization*](#) – Sichuan University
- 2007:** [*The US After September 11: Changes and Continuities*](#) – Beijing Foreign Studies University
- 2006:** [*Bridging the Sino-American Divide*](#) – University of Hong Kong
- 2005:** [*The United States in Times of War and Peace*](#) – Yunnan University
- 2004:** [*First Annual Meeting*](#) – Fudan University



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