The ICAS Bulletin Institute for China America Studies A Survey of Scholarship on U.S.-China Relations

March 15, 2023

What's Going On?

Tensions Escalate After U.S. Military Expansion in Asia-Pacific



Sailors assigned to the Los Angeles-class fast-attack submarine USS Asheville (SSN 758) salute the national ensign after arriving at Royal Australian Navy HMAS Stirling Naval Base on February 27, 2023. (Source: Courtesy photo by Australia Department of Defence)

On March 13, the U.S., the UK and Australia announced they would join forces to develop nuclear-powered submarines to counter China's military expansion in Asia-Pacific. Australia will acquire nuclear submarine technology with the help of the U.K. and the U.S.
China raised serious concerns and requested clarification from the U.S. following reports that Taiwan's leader Tsai Ing-wen plans to meet with U.S. House Speaker Kevin McCarthy during a transit in the United States.

- It has been confirmed that the U.S. House Speaker Kevin McCarthy and Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen will meet in California rather than in Taipei, reportedly due to concerns about China's military aggression as the U.S. increases contingency planning.

- U.S. intelligence chief Avril Haines said to lawmakers that China seeks to avoid escalating tensions with the U.S. and favors stable relations, despite its efforts to enhance its global economic and military power.

- U.S. officials questioned whether Chinese-made cranes at U.S. ports, including some used by the military, could potentially be used for surveillance or sabotage given that some cranes contain sophisticated sensors that could track information about shipment status.

Bilateral Tech and Financial Overhauls Amidst Changing Geopolitical Tensions



An image reflecting the concept of technology around the globe. (Source: GettyImages, Royalty Free)

U.S. Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo is considering a trip to China this spring to de-escalate tensions and engage with China to benefit the U.S. On March 8, China's Ministry of Commerce expressed openness to a visit from U.S. Secretary of Commerce Gina Raimondo, stating that trade ties are "very important" despite ongoing tensions.
China announced a major overhaul to strengthen its technological self-reliance and tighten its grip on financial regulation to align with Chinese President Xi Jinping's priorities and aim to counter U.S. technology restrictions and rising geopolitical tensions.

- On March 7, China's leader Xi Jinping called on the country's private sector to "fight" alongside the Communist Party, criticizing the U.S. for containing and suppressing China in an all-round way.

- Chinese solar companies reported U.S. solar panel imports resuming after gridlock, benefiting from clearer rules regarding the Uyghur Forced Labor Protection Act implementation.

- The Biden administration plans to issue an executive order to limit American investment in advanced technologies with national security applications to prevent China from acquiring military capabilities.



 Taiwan by the end of the decade due to the high cost while expressing confidence in the U.S.'s ability to deter Beijing from attacking the island. On March 1, The U.S. approved a \$619 million sale of munitions for Taiwan's F-16 fighter jets, including anti-radiation and air-to-air missiles, aimed at enhancing Taiwan's defense capability amid rising tensions over the island's status. Three days later, China reportedly flew 17 J-10 and 4 J-16 fighter jets in the southwestern part of Taiwan's air-defense identification zone. On March 2, Mark Gallagher, head of the House Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party, warned during the panel's first meeting that the U.S. is running out of time to confront China. He emphasized the need for urgency, describing the competition with China as an "existential struggle" with fundamental freedoms at stake. Associated News Sources: "Biden Unveils Landmark Submarine Deal With Australia and Britain," The New York Times, March 13 [Paywall] "Taiwan Confirms President's U.S. Stopover," The Wall Street Journal, March 9 [Paywall] "China 'seriously concerned' by Taiwan president 'transit' plans amid reported US trip," Reuters, March 8 [Paywall] "China wants to avoid escalation with U.S. and favors stable relations, U.S. spy chief says," NBC News, March 8 "Paywall] "China Sends Fighter Jets Near Taiwan as US Approves Arms Sale," Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall] "China Sends Fighter Jets Near Taiwan as US Approves Arms Sale," Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall] 	 Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson Mao Ning indirectly blamed the U.S. for causing financial difficulties in developing countries such as Pakistan amid a war of words between the two countries over developing country debt. On March 2, the U.S. Commerce Department added 28 Chinese entities and individuals to its Entity List, citing potential national security risks, including alleged dealings with an Iranian electronics firm. A survey by the American Chamber of Commerce in China found that fewer U.S. companies view China as a top investment destination due to disruptions caused by China's strict anti-COVID measures and geopolitical tensions. It revealed U.S. companies' rising pessimism about their financial prospects in China, with over half stating negative profits last year. The U.S. has begun consultations with allied nations to discuss possible new sanctions on China if Beijing decides to provide military support to Russia. Associated News Sources: "China 'open' to visit by US commerce chief Gina Raimondo, trade ties 'very important' despite tensions," South China Morning Post, March 8 [Paywall] "China shakes up government to counter financial risks and US tech restrictions," CNBC News, March 8 "Xi linping hits out at US as he urges China's private firms to 'fight' alongside Communist Party," CNN News, March 7 "U.S. solar panel imports from China grow, alleviating gridlock, officials say," Reuters, March 6 [Paywall] "Biden expected to tighten rules on US investment in China," AP News, March 4 "U.S. Export Limits Target 28 Chinese Entities, Citing Alleged Ties to Iranian MiChina Blames US's 'Radical Fiscal Policy' for Poor Countries Debt Troubles Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall] "China Blames US's 'Radical Fiscal Policy' for EM Debt Troubles.," Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall] "China Blames US's 'Radical Fiscal Policy' for EM Debt Troubles.," Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall]<
	"Fewer American Companies See China as an Investment <u>Priority,"</u> The Wall Street Journal, March 1 [Paywall] "Exclusive: US seeks allies' backing for possible China sanctions over Ukraine war," Reuters, March 1 [Paywall]



Beijing's Two Sessions Comments on the U.S. and U.S.-China Relations



Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang answered questions from Chinese and foreign reporters on China's foreign policy and foreign relations on March 8, 2023. (Source: Chinese Foreign Ministry, Public Domain)

- U.S. National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan said that President Joe Biden plans to hold a phone call with President Xi Jinping after the Two Sessions gathering has concluded, though a date has yet to be set. The two have not spoken since November 2022.

- China's Ministry of Finance explained that the Chinese government is seeking to largely increase diplomatic and governmental budgets and hardening public stances with the United States.

- Chinese President Xi Jinping directly accused "Western countries led by the U.S." of "bringing unprecedented severe challenges to our country's development" in a rare explicit reference to the U.S.

- Major Chinese companies that were targeted by U.S. sanctions, particularly semiconductor and technology companies, were celebrated during the opening of the Two Sessions in Beijing.

- Chinese President Xi Jinping has called for private firms and large entities to maintain a united front against U.S. sanctions.

- Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang directly addressed the U.S. to "hit the brakes" as bilateral tensions continue to rise. Minister Qin Gang also asked the U.S. to explain its plan of the "destruction of Taiwan," adding pressure to the Taiwan question.

- Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang warned that the rising U.S.-China tensions risk blowing away any previous guardrails in the bilateral relationship, marking a new stage of heightened tensions.

Associated News Sources:

"Biden Expected to Have Call With China's Xi Jinping But No Date Set," Bloomberg, March 14 [Paywall] "China ups diplomatic offensive with drastic increase in budget – and hardened stance on US," CNN News, March 9 "China accuses U.S. of containment and warns of potential conflict," NPR News, March 7

Industrial Turmoil, Decoupling, Concerns and Competition Persist



The ByteDance logo is seen at the company's headquarters on January 6, 2022 in Shanghai, China. (Source: VCG/VCG via Getty Images)

U.S. Senator Marco Rubio introduced new legislation that seeks to cancel Ford Motor's deal to utilize technologies from Chinese battery company CATL.
12 U.S. Senators sponsored new bipartisan legislation, created by the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee, that would allow for the expansion of President Biden's ability to prohibit TikTok on a nationwide level; a legislation the President previously endorsed.

- U.S. Senator Josh Hawley has been in-contact with a former ByteDance employee who stated that TikTok overstates its separation from China-based Bytedance and utilizes software that is not fully secure.

- Chinese technology chip imports slowed by 27% by volume during January and February 2023.

- Nvidia Corp, Advanced Micro Devices Inc., and other large technology firms are investigating halting sails to Inspur Group Ltd. following Linspur's addition to a U.S. export blacklist.

- Chinese Vice-Premier Liu He told top-tech industry executives that China must maintain a united "whole nation" approach to semiconductor production, as U.S. export controls increase their effect on the industry.

The Biden administration announced new export restrictions for dozens of Chinese tech firms, adding 28 more to the Commerce Department's Entity List.
China's military industries are looking to begin building China's first constellation of low-Earth orbit (LEO) satellites this year, attempting to catch up to U.S. firm

Starlink. - According to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, China now has a "stunning lead" in 37 out of 44 critical and emerging technologies, as the U.S. and allied nations slip on global research output goals.

Associated	News	Sources:
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<u>"A former TikTok employee tells Congress the app is lying</u> <u>about Chinese spying,"</u> *The Washington Post*, March 10 [Paywall]

"Conflict with China is inevitable unless the U.S. changes	"Rubio takes aim at planned Ford US battery plant using
course, Beijing's new foreign minister warns," CNBC,	Chinese technology," Reuters, March 9 [Paywall]
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"About 100 Chinese Congress delegates chosen from	ban TikTok and other services," CNN News, March 8
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Morning Post, March 7 [Paywall]	months of 2023 as US sanctions bite," South China Morning
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<u>Conflict,"</u> Bloomberg, March 7 [Paywall]	Swift Passage," Bloomberg, March 7 [Paywall]
"China's Xi Jinping Takes Rare Direct Aim at U.S. in	"US Lawmakers Step Up Push to Ban TikTok With Bill
Speech," The Wall Street Journal, March 6 [Paywall]	This Week," Bloomberg, March 5 [Paywall]
"China Warns US Risks Catastrophe With Moves to	"China doubles down on 'whole nation' approach to chip
<u>'Contain' Beijing,"</u> Bloomberg, March 6 [Paywall]	self-sufficiency as US tightens export controls," South
	China Morning Post, March 3 [Paywall]
	"US Expands Crackdown On China With Export Ban on
	Inspur, BGL," Bloomberg, March 2 [Paywall]
	"China gears up to compete with SpaceX's Starlink this
	year," Reuters, March 2 [Paywall]
	"China leads US in global competition for key emerging
	technology, study says," Reuters, March 1 [Paywall]

Bilateral Efforts for Conflict Aversion



President Joe Biden greets German Chancellor Olaf Scholz on Friday, March 3, 2023, in the Oval Office of the White House. (Official White House Photo by Adam Schultz)

- Iran and Saudi Arabia have agreed to re-establish diplomatic relations and reopen state embassies following talks in Beijing, indicating a large shift from U.S. influence in the region.

- U.S. intelligence chief Avril Haines told lawmakers that the Chinese government is seeking to avoid further escalation of bilateral tensions and emphasized China's desire for a more stable relationship.

White House National Security spokesperson John Kirby told reporters that the U.S. does not see a future path of conflict with China, despite Chinese Foreign Minister Qin Gang's warning of possible conflict with Washington.
U.S. President Biden met with German Chancellor Olaf Scholz to discuss united measures to keep Western

- In Other News -



Chinese Passport Stamps (Source: Getty Images, Royalty Free)

"China is fully reopening to tourists after three years of border restrictions," CNN News, March 14 "Asian Startups' Confidence in U.S. Banking Wanes After SVB Panic," The Wall Street Journal, March 13 [Paywall] "China slams Manila again over closer US military ties, warns against 'drawing wolves into the house,'" South China Morning Post, March 12 [Paywall] "To Counter China, U.S. and Allies Seek to Make Militaries 'Interchangeable,'" The Wall Street Journal, March 12 [Paywall] "G-7 should form united front versus China: ex-U.S. trade official," Nikkei Asia, March 10 "Naniing university suspends lecturer after comments about imported food, US guns," Radio Free Asia, March 10 "U.S. House unanimously backs COVID origins information declassification," Reuters, March 10 [Paywall]



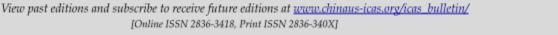
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Russia.	but Lack 'Smoking Gun'," The New York Times, March 8
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- U.S. Treasury Department Deputy Assistant Secretary	"U.S. to lift covid testing requirements on travelers from
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	Enemy," Gallup, March 6
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"Iran and Saudi Arabia agree to restore relations," Al	firm linked to spy balloon program," NBC, March 6
Jazeera, March 10	<u>"Shein's Lead Under Fire as Chinese-Owned App Tops US</u>
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<u>"White House says it sees no change in US-China</u>	Times, March 1 [Paywall]
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"Biden Meets With German Chancellor Amid Concerns	
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<u>"US expects calls, engagements with China in coming</u>	
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What Are We Reading?

- The Straits Times: <u>"Xi's direct rebuke of US signals that China is braced for rockier relations</u>" by Benjamin Kang Lim (March 14, 2023)
- South China Morning Post: <u>"Silicon Valley Bank's collapse hastens unravelling of long-standing ties between US venture capital and China's technology start-ups</u> by Zhou Xin (March 14, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Hill: <u>"Is the US having an 'East of Suez' moment?"</u> by Robert A. Manning (March 13, 2023)
- Center for Strategic & International Studies: <u>"A Policy Agenda for Strategic Competition with China"</u> by Jude Blanchette (March 13, 2023)
- The Washington Post: <u>"China and Australia are starting to get along. Will AUKUS torpedo it?"</u> by Michael E. Miller (March 12, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wall Street Journal: "<u>How Beijing Boxed America Out of the South China Sea</u>" by Niharika Mandhana (March 11, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: <u>"China's Role in Iran-Saudi Arabia Deal Shows Xi's Global Goals"</u> by David Pierson (March 11, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: <u>"Who Benefits From Confrontation With China?"</u> by The Editorial Board (March 11, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Economist: "How to avoid war over Taiwan" by The Economist (March 9, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Washington Post: "China is pushing America's Asian allies together" by Josh Rogin (March 9, 2023) [Paywall]
- The China Project: "<u>New House committee on China: Concerns and caution, but not all doom and gloom</u>" by Robert Rust (March 9, 2023)
- The Information: "<u>TikTok's Plan to Stay in the U.S. Could Pose a Threat—to U.S. Tech Companies</u>" by Matt Perault (March 9, 2023) [Paywall]
- Financial Times: <u>"China is right about US containment"</u> by Edward Luce (March 8, 2023) [Paywall]



- South China Morning Post: <u>"US-China relations have strayed far off course</u>" by Xu Xiaobing (March 8, 2023) [Paywall]
- South China Morning Post: "Domestic politics, China loom large on Biden's steep path to re-election" by James David Spellman (March 8, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: <u>"Chinese Companies Are Doing Risky Business in the Caribbean"</u> by Peter Coy (March 8, 2023) [Paywall]
- *NBC News*: <u>"China has become a tough target for U.S. spies</u>" by Dan De Luce (March 8, 2023)
- U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission: <u>"China's Paper on Ukraine and Next Steps for Xi's</u> <u>Global Security Initiative"</u> by the USCC (March 7, 2023)
- The New York Times Magazine: <u>"The Daring Ruse That Exposed China's Campaign to Steal American Secrets</u>" by Yudhijit Bhattacharjee (March 7, 2023) [Paywall]
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- Nikkei Asia: <u>"U.S. translation project opens window on China's ambitions, fears</u>" by Ken Moriyasu (March 7, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: <u>"The Daring Ruse That Exposed China's Campaign to Steal American Secrets"</u> by Yudhijit Bhattacharjee (March 7, 2023) [Paywall]
- Atlantic Council: <u>"Beauty and the beast: Implications of the US-China tech war on climate and energy</u>" by Jennifer Lee (March 6, 2023)
- AP News: "US sees China propaganda efforts becoming more like Russia's" by Nomaan Merchant, Matthew Lee (March 6, 2023)
- Politico: <u>"What Nigeria's election means for U.S.-China rivalry"</u> by Lawrence Ukenye, Matt Berg, Alexander Ward (March 6, 2023)
- The Wall Street Journal: <u>"The U.S. Is Not Yet Ready for the Era of 'Great Power' Conflict"</u> by Micheal R. Gordon (March 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Washington Post: "Democrats and Republicans agree on China. That's a problem." by Max Boot (March 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- MSNBC: <u>"Rep. Judy Chu: I am a target of the right's new McCarthyism</u>" by Judy Chu (March 6, 2023)
- Financial Times: "China has a fateful choice to make on Ukraine" by Gideon Rachman (March 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- *Reuters:* <u>"China's chip sector needs more than state money to dull impact of US restrictions"</u> by Josh Horwitz (March 5, 2023) [Paywall]
- *Reuters*: "<u>Analysis: As China ages, investors bet they can beat retirement home stigma</u>" by Farah Master and Casey Hall (March 3, 2023) [Paywall]
- The China Project: <u>"What to expect from this year's Two Sessions"</u> by Duncan Bartlett (March 3, 2023)
- Axios: <u>"U.S. seeks fresh ways to crack down on Chinese tech industry.</u>" by Ina Fried (March 2, 2023)
- South China Morning Post: "US and China can show world leadership by safeguarding military AI" by Paul Scharre (March 2, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Economist: "Why aren't China and America more afraid of a war?" (March 2, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Washington Post: "Washington has succumbed to dangerous groupthink on China" (March 2, 2023) [Paywall]
- Science: <u>"Lawmakers offer contrasting views on how to compete with China in science</u>" by Jeffery Mervis (March 2, 2023)
- Financial Times: "America and the China lab leak theory" by Edward Luce (March 1, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Washington Post: "<u>The House China committee is off to a promising start</u>" by The Editorial Board (March 1, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Washington Post: "Biden's best tool for halting a slide in U.S.-China relations? His phone." by David Ignatius (March 1, 2023) [Paywall]
- *Bloomberg*: "<u>Gina Raimondo Becomes China Player in a Job Where Her Predecessor Used to Nap</u>" by Jenny Leonard and Eric Martin (March 1, 2023) [Paywall]
- Foreign Affairs: "Behind Enemy Lines" by Jane Perlez (February 28, 2023) [Paywall]
- Foreign Affairs: "China's Hidden Tech Revolution" by Dan Wang (February 28, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Economist: "How America plans to break China's grip on African minerals" by The Economist (February 28 2023) [Paywall]





What's Happening Around Town?

<u>- Past Events -</u>	<u>- Upcoming Events -</u>
 Deterring a Cross-Strait Conflict: Beijing's Assessment of Evolving U.S. Strategy March 6 hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies Is America's China Policy Too Hawkish? March 6 hosted by <i>Foreign Policy</i> Opportunities for Enhanced Near-term U.SChina Climate Action: The Food System March 7 hosted by Wilson Center A country in flux: Recent and future policy shifts in China March 10 by Brookings Assignment China: A Conversation with Mike Chinoy March 9 hosted by East-West Center A country in flux: Recent and future policy shifts in China March 10 hosted by East-West Center 	 Japan's Real Estate Crisis and Implications for China March 15 hosted by Harvard Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies Taiwan and Its Partners Beyond the Silicon Shield March 17 hosted by Wilson Center China's New Government Takes Over: Takeaways from China's Annual Legislative Session March 21 hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies Hearing on "China's Global Influence and Interference Activities" March 23 hosted by The U.SChina Economic and Security Review Commission Assessing the Economic and Financial Dynamics of a Cross-Strait Crisis March 29 hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies

What ICAS Is Up To

---ICAS Issue Brief---

The New Marcos Administration By Jessica Martin March 9, 2023



Key Takeaways:

• Since President Ferdinand "Bongbong" Marcos Jr.'s inauguration in June 2022, the Philippines' new administration appears to have been open and direct in its heavy encouragement of bilateral partnerships and emphasis on self-defense. Marcos Jr. is already working towards a clear, new vision for the Philippines in the wake of the preceding administration's about-face reputation.



- While Manila's diplomatic moves—many of which have already strengthened Philippine-U.S. relations—may not significantly alter Philippine-China relations, they are already impacting U.S.-China bilateral relations.
- Between years of built up suspicions and verbal battles, the health of the U.S.-China relationship may very well be at its 'sourest' point ever; a fact that may persist as the U.S. renews and enhances its security cooperation with one of China's neighbors.
- Although a foreign diplomatic plan already appears to be underway, the Marcos administration is still settling in. If 'Step 1' in Marcos' plan is to reestablish trust in Manila on the global stage, then what is 'Step 2' and beyond? Regardless, the world can expect to continue to see Manila's foreign ministry in action for months, if not years, to come.

Link to Full Post

----ICAS MAP Co-sponsored Event----

Roles of Asian Observers in Arctic Governance: Adapting to a Changing Arctic Council April 13, 2023 9:30-11:00am EDT (GMT+4)

What does the suspension of the Arctic Council meetings mean for Arctic Council observers? Will Norway, who will take over the chairmanship in May 2023, make any progress to break through the current ties? Will the debate on the concept of an "Arctic Council 2.0" gain support among non-Arctic states who have a deep interest in Arctic governance? Will non-Arctic countries such as China, Japan, South Korea, India, and Singapore — which have growing Arctic interests and have contributed much to Arctic research —welcome the opportunity for them to establish a more solid role in this region's affairs? How will the observers adapt to a changing Arctic Council?

On Thursday, April 13, 2023, join the ICAS Maritime Affairs Program and University of Alberta China Institute in a joint virtual discussion on these vital questions. The full list of scholars, providing perspectives from the five Asian observers of the Arctic Council—China, Japan, South Korea, India, and Singapore—will be released soon.

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---ICAS In the News---

On **Friday, March 3, 2023**, Senior Fellow **Sourabh Gupta** <u>discussed</u> the Ukraine conflict and U.S.-German relations on CGTN America's The Heat.

- "China in 2023 is going to be the motor for economic growth in the global economy. Therefore, it will fall on China's shoulders to support global growth and in a fairly substantial way, and the best way to support that is for China to grow well. I know this government has set a growth target of 5% but I think it's been a bit modest, I think China can and should easily reach 6%."



"A new turning point in China's development, and China still has at least 25 or 30 years of very significant growth and very
significant transformation. Therefore, if I had to select a word for the future it would be tantalizing."

On **Thursday, March 2, 2023**, Senior Fellow **Sourabh Gupta** was <u>quoted</u> in a China Daily article on U.S.-China relations alongside the Two Sessions meetings.

- "I'm expecting growth somewhere in the range at or above 6 percent minimum, and so that's a good enough number., but I think China should really strive to look at a 7 or 8 percent target if that's possible. The main area of growth of course will be in the area of consumption, because the consumers are going to come out and spend again. It's the government's role to support consumption in the economy, and support economic growth without exacerbating some existing legacy imbalances that are there in the economy."
- "There is no economic recession for China anytime in the near future."

On **Friday, March 3, 2023**, Senior Fellow **Sourabh Gupta** <u>discussed</u> the Ukraine conflict and U.S.-German relations on CGTN America's The Heat.

- "I would say that initially perhaps to escalate the war, but I think it's ultimately about strategies to end the war. I think that the Western powers are looking for an end to the hostilities by the end of this summer frankly, and that's why there is an urgency in arming the Ukrainians, although not arming them with things like airplanes, F-16s, etc. So the goal here is to give the Ukranians another chance in terms of their right to self-defense to move the front lines. We'll see whether the front lines move at all and thereafter come up with something which would lead to a secession of hostilities."

On **Thursday, March 2, 2023**, Senior Fellow **Sourabh Gupta** was <u>quoted</u> in a China Daily article on U.S.-China relations alongside the Two Sessions meetings.

- "The first step toward making a constructive relationship is to stabilize that relationship,"
- "in the broader US-China relationship, they want to add stability to it, and I should think China welcomes it".
- "So, coming out of the two sessions, I foresee China placing, not overriding importance to the US relationship, but significant importance in stabilizing the US relationship. And I think that will be a good thing.

