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

December 20, 2023

# What's Going On?

# Global Ties in Flux Amid Shifting U.S.-China Relations



U.S. Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen speaks during a Financial Stability Oversight Council meeting on December 14, 2023, in Washington, D.C. (Source: Drew Angerer via Getty Images)

- According to a top U.S. official, China has stopped potentially dangerous military actions in the air and sea since the Xi-Biden meeting in San Francisco.
- U.S. Secretary of Treasury Janet Yellen announced that she would visit China in 2024. "A significant portion of the agenda will focus on discussing difficult areas of concern with my counterpart," Yellen said.
- U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for China Michael Chase and China's defense attaché Major General Liu Zhan of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, D.C. held talks after China halted military communications due to Chase's visit to Taiwan earlier this year.
- According to U.S. security officials, hackers affiliated with the Chinese military have infiltrated various U.S. entities to disrupt U.S. logistics in case of a U.S.-China conflict in the Pacific.
- The U.S. State Department spokesperson announced that they were monitoring a docking of a Chinese military vessel in a Cambodian naval base. "We have serious concerns about the PRC's plans for exclusive control over portions of Ream Naval Base," the spokesperson said.

### Various Commerce Events Highlight Conflicting Narratives



An aerial view of shipping containers. (Source: UnSplash)

- U.S. Secretary of Treasury Janet Yellen said former U.S. President Donald Trump's China trade policies "left America more vulnerable and more isolated in a competitive global economy."
- U.S. Trade Representative Katherine Tsai defended U.S. tariffs against China, stating that "tariffs are a part of the U.S.-China bilateral relationship."
- The U.S. Department of Commerce has removed the Chinese Ministry of Public Security's Institute of Forensic Science (IFS) from its blacklist "because it impeded getting China's cooperation on fentanyl."
- The Biden administration said it may allow Nvidia, a U.S.-based software company, to sell some artificial intelligence chips to China but will not allow it to include its most advanced chips in these sales.
- IMF's First Deputy Managing Director Gita Gopinath said that global fragmentation of the economy into U.S. and China blocs may trigger a "new Cold War."
- China's e-commerce platform Temu has exceeded Shein in sales in the U.S., with Temu's U.S. sales nearly tripling Shein's in November 2023.
- China's exports rose slightly in November, but not enough to reverse the current trade slump. Chinese exports rose 0.5% from a year ago, but overall trade has declined by 5%.



Associated News Sources:

"US Says China Curbs 'Dangerous' Military Acts After Xi Met Biden," Bloomberg, December 19 [Paywall] "Yellen to Visit China Again in 2024, Focusing on 'Difficult' Topics," Bloomberg, December 14 [Paywall] "US and China Defense Officials Are Talking Again," Newsweek, December 14

"China's cyber army is invading critical U.S. services," The Washington Post, December 11 [Paywall]
"US monitoring reports of Chinese warships at Cambodian base," Reuters, December 6

#### Associated News Sources:

"Janet Yellen says the Trump administration's China policies left the US more vulnerable," AP, December 14 "'There's no such thing as pure free trade': Katherine Tai defends China tariffs," Semafor, December 13 "China 'not willing' to cooperate on fentanyl crisis until institute was removed from blacklist, US official testifies," South China Morning Post, December 13 [Paywall] "US in talks with Nvidia about AI chip sales to China - Raimondo," Reuters, December 12 "IMF's Gopinath says economic fragmentation could cut global GDP by 7%," Reuters, December 11 "Temu Extends Lead Over Shein in US as Shoppers Embrace a Bargain," Bloomberg, December 7 [Paywall] "China's exports surprise with small growth — but not enough to shake off trade slump," CNBC, December 6

## U.S. Lawmakers Move Against Chinese Companies in Various Sectors



An image of the U.S. Capitol at night. (Source: Flickr, CC BY-NC 2.0 DEED)

- The U.S. Department of Commerce inquired into possibly limiting cloud service providers' access to China to place export controls on artificial intelligence at a House Foreign Affairs Committee panel.
- A House Committee on China has called for the possibility of increasing tariffs on Chinese goods by placing China's trade status into a new category.
- Various U.S. companies are lobbying to remove a law that banned most Chinese real estate investment in Florida, enacted by Governor Ron DeSantis.
- U.S. Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo announced that the U.S. will take the "strongest possible" action to protect its national security in response to Huawei's new smartphone and its tech breakthroughs.
- U.S. lawmakers requested information from the U.S. Justice Department and FDA on what actions they are taking to stop the proliferation of e-cigarettes from China.
- A House committee released a report blaming the Biden Administration for failure to enforce export controls against China.

## Smart Device Technology Developments Dominate Tech Sphere



(Source: UnSplash)

- Chinese chipmaker ChangXin Memory Technologies (CXMT) has released a paper detailing its developments on advanced gate-all-around transistors despite U.S. sanctions.
- Chinese chip designer Brite Semiconductor has evaded U.S. sanctions, even receiving funding from various U.S. entities, including a U.S. venture capital firm backed by Wells Fargo.
- According to research firm TechInsights, Huawei's latest Mate 60 Pro smartphone indicates China's "significant progress" in radio-frequency chips.
- Apple is working with Chinese supplier BYD to move product development resources for its iPad to Vietnam, away from China.
- The Chinese arm of McDonald's will work with Huawei to develop an app for the next iteration of HarmonyOS, Huawei's new operating system.

#### Associated News Sources:

"Tech war: China memory chip maker CXMT may have made a breakthrough amid US sanctions, paper indicates," South China Morning Post, December 13



Associated News Sources:

"Lawmakers hear support for expanding authority to control China's access to AI tech through the cloud," Inside AI Policy, December 14

"House panel urges tougher trade rules for China, raising chance of more tariffs if Congress agrees," *AP*, December 12

"Real Estate Titans Battle DeSantis Over China Property Crackdown," Bloomberg, December 11 [Paywall]
"Raimondo Vows 'Strongest Possible' Action on Huawei's Chip Breakthrough," Bloomberg, December 11 [Paywall]
"Lawmakers seek action against Elf Bar and other fruity e-cigarettes imported from China," AP, December 8
"Lawmakers Press Biden Administration for Tougher Curbs on China Tech," The New York Times, December 8
[Paywall]

#### [Paywall]

"China chip firm powered by US tech and money avoids Biden's crackdown," Reuters, December 13
"Huawei Phone Shows China Is Replacing US Suppliers of 5G Tech," Bloomberg, December 10 [Paywall]
"Apple to move key iPad engineering resources to Vietnam-Nikkei," Reuters, December 8
"McDonald's China pushes development of native apps based on HarmonyOS, as adoption of Huawei's mobile operating system accelerates," South China Morning Post, December 7 [Paywall]

## Climate Initiatives Bring Countries Together



John Kerry, U.S. Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, and his Chinese counterpart Xie Zhenhua shake hands at the UNFCCC COP28 Climate Conference on December 13, 2023. (Source: Fadel Dawod via Getty Images)

- During discussions along the sidelines of the COP28 summit, the U.S. and China agreed to shift away from fossil fuels and towards clean energy. The summit highlighted that this shift should accelerate during this decade and become net-zero in greenhouse gas emissions by 2050.
- At the COP28 summit, China rejected signing a pledge to triple their renewable energy sources by 2030, citing a preexisting expansion in renewables.
- U.S. Special Presidential Envoy John Kerry and Xie Zhenhua, China's Special Representative for Climate Change Affairs, reportedly met privately during COP28 to negotiate a compromise.
- Xie told reporters on December 9 that COP28 negotiations would hinge upon his agreement with Kerry at the Sunnylands estate in California earlier in November on the sidelines of the APEC Summit.

#### Associated News Sources:

"Nations at COP28 Agree for First Time to Transition From Fossil Fuels," The Wall Street Journal, December 13

#### - In Other News -



(Source: Pexels)

"Map: 5.9-Magnitude Earthquake Strikes Northwestern China," The New York Times, December 19 [Paywall]
"China curtails 'dangerous' fighter jet manoeuvres after Xi-Biden summit," Financial Times, December 18 [Paywall]
"US concern over Mexico attracting Chinese electric vehicle factories," Financial Times, December 17 [Paywall]
"Merle Goldman, a Leading Expert on Communist China, Dies at 92," The New York Times, December 15 [Paywall]
"Pro-China YouTube Network Used A.I. to Malign U.S., Report Finds," The New York Times, December 14 [Paywall]
"Oops. Joe Biden mixes up Chinese leaders, refers to Deng Xiaoping instead of Xi Jinping," South China Morning Post, December 12 [Paywall]

<u>"Taiwanese Pilot Planned CH-47 Defection To China: Reports,"</u> *The Drive,* December 11

"China is hardening against dissent, rights groups say as they mark International Human Rights Day," AP, December 10

"China won't win trust of Japan and South Korea: Kurt Campbell." Nikkei Asia, December 8 [Paywall] "UAE's top AI group vows to phase out Chinese hardware to appease US," Financial Times, December 7 [Paywall]

"China Scores a Big Win in Race with US for Influence on



[Paywall]

"India, China Break Ranks at COP28 on Target for

Renewables," Voice of America, December 13

"The Chinese and American Climate Negotiators Pushing for a Deal," The Wall Street Journal, December 10 [Paywall]

"China's Veteran Climate Chief Works With US to Clinch

COP28 Deal," Bloomberg, December 10 [Paywall]

the Moon," Bloomberg, December 7 [Paywall]

# What Are We Reading?



- The Wall Street Journal: "America Had 'Quiet Quitting.' In China, Young People Are 'Letting It Rot.'" by Shen Lu (December 18, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wire China: "Janka Oertel on the End of the China Illusion" by Andrew Peaple (December 17, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wall Street Journal: "Why the U.S.-China Relationship Isn't as Predictable as It Sometimes Seems" by Jeffrey Waaserstrom (December 16, 2023) [Paywall]
- CNBC: "How the escalating U.S.-China tech war could hurt American companies" by Jeff Huang (December 15, 2023)
- Foreign Policy: "Does America Have an Endgame on China?" by Zack Cooper (December 15, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: "U.S. Military Returns to the Jungle, Training for a Very Different Threat" by Damien Cave (December 15, 2023) [Paywall]
- Australian Strategic Policy Institute: "Biden's trade policy U-turn bodes ill for Indo-Pacific security" by David Uren (December 14, 2023)
- Barron's: "Temu Parent Pinduoduo Dethroned Alibaba as King of Chinese E-Commerce. What's Next." by Tanner Brown (December 13, 2023) [Paywall]
- Center for Strategic and International Studies: <u>"Scared Strait: Understanding the Economic and Financial Impacts of a Taiwan Crisis"</u> by Jude Blanchette Gerard DiPippo and Christopher B. Johnstone (December 13, 2023)
- Politico: "Long list of excuses': Why the US and Chinese militaries still aren't talking" by Laura Seligman and Phelim Kane (December 13, 2023)
- South China Morning Post: <u>"Amid US-China rivalry, Chinese parents' dragon dreams for their children need an adjustment"</u> by April Zhang (December 13, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wall Street Journal: "Why Biden's EV Tax Credit Could Become Hard to Claim" by Scott Patterson and Andrew Duehren (December 13, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wall Street Journal: "Why Everyone Wants to Be Vietnam's Friend" by Jon Emont (December 13, 2023) [Paywall]
- Center for a New American Security: "The Big One" by Andrew Krepinevich, Jr. (December 12, 2023)
- The Washington Post: "Biden just lowered the pressure on China's latest human rights violations" by Josh Rogin (December 12, 2023) [Paywall]
- Bloomberg: "When Push Comes to Shove, Amazon Does Cut Prices" by Dave Lee (December 11, 2023)
   [Paywall]
- Center for a New American Security: <u>"Remembering a Titan: The Complex Legacy of Henry Kissinger with David Sanger and Stephen Sestanovich"</u> by Andrea Kendall-Taylor, Jim Townsend, David Sanger and Stephen Sestanovich (December 11, 2023)
- The New York Times: "What It Feels Like to Be the Target of China's Water Cannons" by Camille Elemia (December 11, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Wire China: "Gregory Allen on the U.S.-China Tech Rivalry" by Eliot Chen (December 10, 2023) [Paywall]
- South China Morning Post: "Made-in-China still dominates US holiday sales, but do Americans even care?" by Ralph Jennings (December 10, 2023) [Paywall]



- Foreign Policy: "The Climate Envoys Who Could" by Lili Pike (December 8, 2023) [Paywall]
- South China Morning Post: "Why China's yuan may stay weak in 2024, regardless of any US Fed interest rate cuts" by Amanda Lee (December 8, 2023) [Paywall]
- The Economist: "Henry Kissinger, a statesman beyond reproach, in China at least" (December 7, 2023) [Paywall]
- Bloomberg: "How China Cleaned Its Filthy Air While India Continues to Choke" by Dan Strumpf (December 7, 2023) [Paywall]
- Politico: "A China brawl looms for House Republicans" by Zachary Warmbrodt (December 7, 2023)
- CNN: "The first Chinese warships have docked at a newly expanded Cambodian naval base. Should the US be worried?" by Nectar Gan (December 6, 2023)
- The New York Times: "Kissinger Was Right About China, and He Still Is" by David Daokui Li (December 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- The New York Times: "The Clock is Ticking on Improving China-U.S. Relations, Experts Say" by Leslie Wayne (December 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- Financial Times: <u>"Sorry America, China has a bigger economy than you"</u> by Chris Giles (December 6, 2023) [Paywall]
- Center for Strategic & International Studies: <u>"Beyond Taiwan and De-risking: Allied Strategies for Addressing the China Challenge"</u> by Victor Cha (December 6, 2023)

# What's Happening Around Town?



#### - Past Events -

- The Perils of Corporate Engagement with China December 18 hosted by Hudson Institute
- A conversation with US Ambassador to China R. <u>Nicholas Burns on US-China relations</u>
   December 15 hosted by Brookings
- <u>Taiwan Elections in 2024: Who is Running and What to Expect</u>
  - December 15 hosted by Asia Society
- Virtual Event | No Winners in This Game:
   Assessing the U.S. Playbook for Sanctioning China
  - December 15 hosted by Center for a New American Security
- Balancing Act: Managing European Dependencies on China for Climate Technologies
  - December 14 hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Beyond the SCIF: Countering Chinese Influence Operations on American Soil
  - December 11 hosted by Hudson Institute
- Book Event Leftover Women: The Resurgence of Gender Inequality in China
   December 8 hosted by Center for Strategic and International Studies
- China's underground historians and their battle for the future
  - December 7 hosted by Atlantic Council

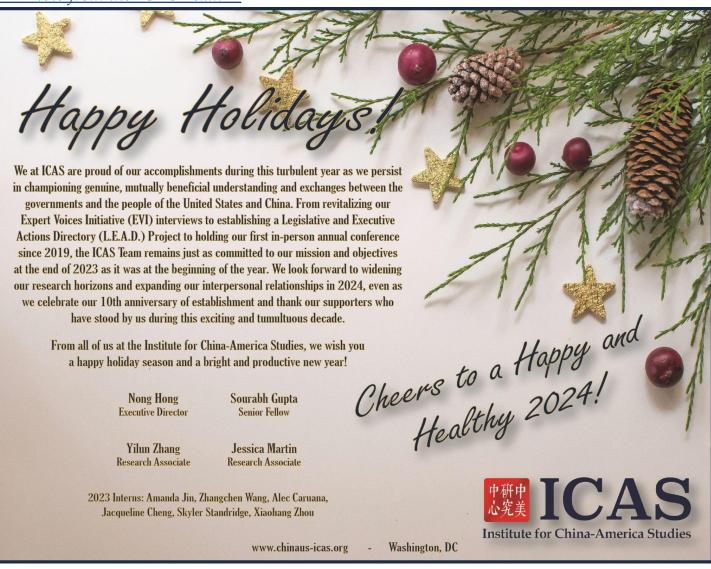
#### - Upcoming Events -

- Countering Beijing's economic coercion in the Indo-Pacific
  - December 20 hosted by Atlantic Council
- <u>Building Economic Resilience and Security in the Indo-Pacific Post G7 Hiroshima Summit</u>
   January 10 by Asia Society
- Indo-Pacific Forecast 2024
   January 16 hosted by Center for Strategic & International Studies
- The Global Political Sociology of U.S.-China Rivalry
  - January 17 hosted by Georgetown University
- Armchair Discussion with Pranay Vaddi
   January 18 hosted by Center for Strategic & International Studies
- The Importance of US-China Science and <u>Technology Cooperation</u>
   January 18 hosted by U.S.-China Business Council
- Asia Spotlight: 2024
   January 25 hosted by Asia Society



# What ICAS Is Up To

---A Note from the ICAS Team---



## ---ICAS Academic Engagement---



# Visit by National Institute for South China Sea Studies Scholars with ICAS Staff

December 14, 2023

On Thursday, December 14, 2023, three scholars from the National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) visited ICAS and discussed a variety of current topics in U.S.-China relations with ICAS researchers. The NISCSS delegation was led by Mr. Wang Sheng (President, NISCSS), who was accompanied by Dr. Ding Duo (Deputy Director, Research Center for Oceans Law and Policy, NISCSS) and Dr. Hu Xin (Assistant Research Fellow, Research Center for Maritime Economy, NISCSS).

**Learn More** 



## ---ICAS Upcoming Book Release---

US-China Global Maritime Relations (Routledge, 2024)

By Nong Hong

Release Date: January 1, 2024

This book explores the U.S.-China global maritime relationship, examining the development and implementation of the maritime strategies of both the United States and China.

Delving into the U.S.-China maritime relationship within the global context, the book investigates six key maritime regions: the South China Sea, the Northeast Asia waters (the East China Sea, the Yellow Sea), the Indian Ocean, the South Pacific Ocean, as well as the Arctic and Antarctic regions. Its observations form a comprehensive exploration of these regions and their significance in shaping the dynamics between the two nations, and this analysis reveals that an expanded view is necessary to discover and clearly display the role that these maritime regions currently—and could potentially—play in overarching U.S.-China relations.

Examining both the ongoing conflicts and opportunities for cooperation in the global maritime domain between the United States and China, this book will be a valuable resource to students and scholars of international relations, Chinese and U.S. politics, strategic studies, and maritime studies.



US-CHINA GLOBAL MARITIME RELATIONS



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#### ---ICAS Academic Engagement---

ICAS Staff Participate in Several Academic Exchanges in the State of Washington

December 11-12, 2023





From December 11-12, 2023, ICAS Executive Director Dr. Nong Hong engaged in academic discussions with various institutions in the State of Washington, which were facilitated through the invitation extended by the China Ocean Institute. Dr. Tabitha Grace Mallory (Founder and CEO of the China Ocean Institute and Affiliate Professor of the University of Washington Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies), Mr. Wang Sheng (President of China National Institute for South China Sea Studies–NISCSS), Dr. Ding Duo (Deputy Director, Research Center for Oceans Law and Policy, NISCSS), Dr. Hu Xin (Assistant Research Fellow, Research Center for Maritime Economy, NISCSS) and Ms. Amanda Jin (Part-Time Research Assistant, ICAS) also participated in the group visits and exchanges...

Read the Full Visit Summary

## ---ICAS Academic Engagement---

Visit by ROK MND officers with ICAS staff
December 7, 2023

On Thursday, December 7, 2023, a small delegation from the Republic of Korea Ministry of Defense visited with ICAS



Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta and Research Associate Jessica Martin to discuss current events at the ICAS office in Washington, D.C. The discussion covered topics including perspectives on the general state of U.S.-China relations, the dynamic changes occurring in outer space relations and their potential security implications, the upcoming elections in Taiwan and the United States, and potential methods to achieve stability at the multinational level.

#### **Learn More**

#### ---ICAS Blog Post---

Event Summary: Beyond the SCIF: Countering Chinese Influence Operations on American Soil, Hudson Institute

By Jacqueline Cheng

December 13, 2023

On December 11, 2023, the Hudson Institute held an event regarding the threat of Chinese intelligence operations against the United States. Furthermore, this event is part of a series that the Hudson Institute is hosting on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI), titled "Beyond the SCIF." The goal of this event is to analyze how China increasingly threatens the U.S. through intelligence activities which seek to influence lawmakers and public opinion to make them more favorable to China. Thus, the need arises for the U.S. to protect itself against China through various means.

Representative Mike Waltz (FL-6), a member of HPSCI moderated the panel, which included Hudson Institute senior fellows John Lee and Miles Yu, and Craig Singleton, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies...

#### Link to Full Post

#### ---ICAS In the News---





On Saturday, December 16, 2023, ICAS Distinguished Fellow Denis Simon <u>talked</u> about the rise of Chinese universities in an interview on *CGTN*.

- "China right now has reached a level of development more rapidly than people would have expected. One, China has strengthened its ambition and commitment about science and technology...second, it has a very large talent pool these days."
- "President Xi Jinping has constantly reinforced the idea that China must remain internationally engaged."

On Thursday, December 14, 2023, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta was <u>quoted</u> in *South China Morning Post* on the US and potential support for Taiwan's inclusion as observer at the World Health Assembly.

- "The US has no illusion that it can get what it wants here...it knows it's going to fail, but [the State Department] sees a little momentum in trying to at least get the Western world behind it. And that itself was sufficient in its view."
- "[The US] expects to succeed in creating a larger group of countries which would champion this observership request."

On Thursday, December 14, 2023, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta <u>discussed</u> Chinese President Xi Jinping's state visit to Vietnam on CGTN America's *China 24*.

- "The biggest takeaway is [the visit's] comprehensiveness...usually these state visits are about deepening political relations trade connectivity...I think this one stood out in terms of the comprehensiveness of engagement of the Chinese president across the political spectrum in Vietnam and beyond."
- "Vietnam-China relations have a very good potential going forward and I'm hoping that there will be a lot of trade and investment links between the two countries."

