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ICAS

Institute for China-America Studies

*"Committed to providing a fact-based window into the worldviews of both the United States and China to promote greater understanding between these two vital countries and societies."*



# ANNUAL REPORT

# 2024

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**ICAS**

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# - ABOUT US -



The Institute for China-America Studies (ICAS) is an independent think tank in Washington DC. ICAS focuses on the evolving dynamics in the U.S.-China relationship to promote greater collaboration and mutual understanding through sincere exchanges of fresh ideas, objective policy-oriented research, and fair assessments of this critical bilateral relationship.

Our research focuses on U.S.-China strategic relations, maritime security, economics, trade and technology relations, climate change policy, global governance, and other issues central to the bilateral relationship. Ultimately, we aim to provide a window into the worldviews of both the United States and China, and thereby serve as a vehicle to promote greater understanding between these two countries and societies.

ICAS is a 501(c)3 nonprofit organization.

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## OUR VALUES

1. We strive to introduce *fresh ideas* and *perspectives*
2. We embrace *collaborative pathways* in our projects and dialogue programs
3. We engage policy questions with *sincerity* and *frankness*
4. We commit to producing *objective* and *fact-based analyses*
5. We endeavor to provide *fair* and *balanced representation* of viewpoints
6. We aspire to *nurture future thought-leaders*
7. We are conscious of our duty to be *inclusive* and *diverse*

# - ICAS 2024 -

## By The Numbers

**71**

### ICAS Newsletter Issues

- 26 ICAS Bulletins
- 25 TnT Dispatches
- 12 MAP Handbills
- 8 BCCC Quarterlies

**80**

### Analytical Publications

- 1 Book
- 1 Report
- 8 Issue Briefs
- 52 Commentaries
- 12 MAP Spotlights
- 6 Blog Posts

**2,021**

### Total Communications Engagements

- 1,713 Tweets
- 144 LinkedIn Posts
- 31 WeChat Posts
- 14 New YouTube Videos
- 119 Mass Emails

**1,197**

### New Subscribers

**29**

### Events & Academic Engagements

- 15 ICAS Hosted/Co-Hosted Events
- 8 Academic Engagements
- 4 In-House Scholar Visits
- 1 Student Lecture
- 1 Celebration

**120**

### Media Appearances

# From Our Director

*Dr. Nong Hong*  
*Executive Director & Senior Fellow*

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the ICAS Board of Directors and Academic Advisors, I am delighted to present a summary of our work in 2024, a landmark year as we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Institute for China-America Studies.

This past year has been pivotal in U.S.-China relations, marked by both challenges and opportunities. The stabilization efforts following the 2023 San Francisco Summit have helped sustain high-level dialogues, yet deep strategic competition continues to shape the bilateral landscape. Against this backdrop, the 2024 U.S. presidential election and China's domestic economic adjustments have contributed to a cautious but pragmatic approach to engagement. Both nations face the critical task of managing tensions while identifying opportunities for cooperation in global governance, technology, trade, and climate change.

As ICAS enters its second decade, we remain committed to providing balanced, in-depth research to foster mutual understanding between the United States and China. In 2024, ICAS further strengthened its reputation as a leading voice in the Washington, DC policy community by expanding its research initiatives and public engagement.

The Maritime Affairs Program continued to provide insightful analysis on pressing issues such as Indo-Pacific security, the South China Sea, and Arctic geopolitics, with a special focus on emerging trends in international law of the sea and ocean governance. The Trade 'n Technology Program closely monitored the evolving dynamics of U.S.-China trade relations, supply chain resilience, and technological competition, offering timely analyses on semiconductor policies, digital trade, and industrial strategy. The Blue Carbon and Climate Change Program advanced discussions on sustainable development and global climate governance, contributing to policy recommendations for U.S.-China cooperation in decarbonization efforts.

Building on past successes, ICAS launched and expanded several major initiatives in 2024. The U.S.-China Legislative and Executive Actions Directory (L.E.A.D.) Project broadened its scope, providing real-time tracking and in-depth analysis of key policy decisions emerging from Washington and Beijing. The Expert Voices Initiative (EVI) continued to feature exclusive interviews with diplomats, scholars, and industry leaders, shedding light on critical issues shaping the U.S.-China relationship.

Looking ahead, the return of President Donald Trump to the White House introduces new dynamics to U.S.-China relations. While concerns over strategic rivalry, trade tensions, and technological decoupling remain, there are also potential opportunities for recalibrating engagement. As both countries navigate this evolving landscape, there is hope that pragmatic diplomacy and shared global challenges—such as economic stability, climate change, and regional security—will encourage constructive dialogue. ICAS will continue to provide balanced analysis to help policymakers, scholars, and the public make sense of these developments.

As we commemorate ICAS's 10th anniversary, we reaffirm our mission of fostering constructive dialogue and informed policymaking. The complexity of U.S.-China relations requires nuanced understanding and pragmatic solutions, and ICAS remains dedicated to serving as a bridge between these two global powers.

We sincerely appreciate your continued support and look forward to another decade of insightful research and meaningful engagement.



A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Nong Hong". The signature is fluid and cursive, written in a professional style.

ICAS staff and fellows have always valued researching and understanding critical issues, conflicts, and resolutions in maritime affairs. In 2021, ICAS officially developed and released the ICAS Maritime Affairs Program (MAP) to better gather, display, and debate both historic and newly developed maritime related issues, especially those that have the potential to impact U.S.-China relations. In 2024, ICAS MAP was able to expand its analytical library through ongoing releases of commentaries and MAP Spotlights, thereby providing timely reactions and perspectives to the widening range of issues being addressed in global maritime affairs.

The goal of this program is to inform and stimulate open, fact-based, intellectual discussion on an array of topics including but not limited to international law of the sea, maritime security, fisheries, shipping, oil and natural gas management, and marine environment protection to ultimately identify potential issues for cooperation and productive engagement.

## Maritime Issue Trackers

The ICAS Maritime Issue Trackers project is an online, collaborative platform designed to encourage intellectual exchange on maritime developments and issues around the world. The longest-running project at ICAS, it currently features trackers for three regions:

*Polar (Arctic & Antarctic)*

*East China Sea*

*South China Sea*

The ICAS Team is looking forward to updating current maps as time allows as a part of our commitment to ensuring that the public, researchers, and policymakers have easy access to information on these critical regions.

## MAP Publications

MAP publications focus on analyzing and understanding the evolving and long-standing multinational interactions uniquely found in the maritime realm. MAP publications can range in size from blog posts and commentaries to full-length books and our monthly maritime newsletter, the MAP Handbill.

## MAP Events

Hosted periodically throughout the year, ICAS MAP events promote the free and equal exchange of ideas on maritime affairs and international law, especially as they relate to U.S.-China relations. The format of maritime-related events that the ICAS team hosts or co-hosts — and participate in as experts themselves — can range from public roundtables to multinational conferences and private dialogues between field experts.

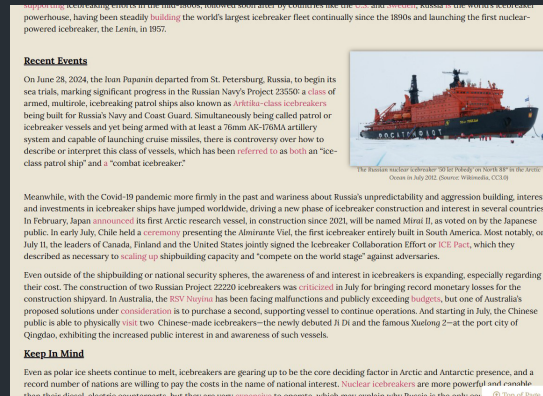
## MAP Media

ICAS MAP Program media projects include but are not limited to short-form blog posts, Expert Voice Initiative (EVI) interviews, and Twitter campaigns. We welcome anyone curious about this field to follow us on Twitter/X and explore our #ICASMAP and #MAPWave campaigns.

## MAP Handbill

Released the last Tuesday of every month, the MAP Handbill is a specialized newsletter that highlights major news stories, research products, analyses, and events occurring in or with regard to the global maritime domain during the past month.

Each issue also includes a Spotlight: a short-form written background and analysis of a specific issue related to maritime affairs, which changes with each issue. The goal of the Spotlight is to help our readers quickly and accurately understand the basic background of a vital topic in maritime affairs and how that topic relates to ongoing developments today.



### 2024 MAP Handbill Spotlight topics:

- Deep-Sea Mining*
- Offshore Drilling*
- Unmanned Underwater Vehicles*
- Hainan*
- Baltic Sea*
- ITLOS*
- Icebreakers*
- The Nord Stream Pipelines*
- IUU Fishing*
- U.S. Ambassador-at-Large for Arctic Affairs*
- Port of Chancay*
- J-35A Stealth Fighter*



*Like all ICAS newsletters, the MAP Handbill is also released as quarterly collections and a singular, annual volume at the end of the year.*

## Selected Publications

**COMMENTARY**

**Nong Hong**  
February 13

As Red Sea shipping attacks continue, pressure grows for China to act

**COMMENTARY**

**Spy cranes or not, the U.S. will come after China's shipping industry**

**Yilun Zhang**  
March 13

**COMMENTARY**

**Jessica Martin**  
July 25

The U.S. DOD's 2024 Arctic Strategy is a welcome respite from fatalistic views on China

**COMMENTARY**

**Reflection from the 2024 Arctic Circle Assembly: Charting the Future of Arctic**

**Nong Hong**  
October 22

A regular feature of the ICAS Trade 'n Technology (TnT) Program is the TnT Dispatch—a newsletter curated and released every other Friday with the most recent news and legislative developments on trade and technology issues.

In 2021, ICAS established the ICAS Trade 'n Technology (TnT) Program, which chronicles and analyzes the evolving dynamics of U.S.-China trade and technology affairs as they occur. Topics of interest range from private sector technology developments and trends in multinational trade to domestic legislation, diplomatic engagements, and global governance involving the intersection of trade and technology. In 2024, ICAS was able to pair its TnT Program research with its L.E.A.D. Project to go further in-depth on how global trade and technology issues are interwoven with the changing landscape of U.S. domestic politics.

The goal of this program is to provide well-rounded, timely products on issues involving U.S.-China trade and technology developments and expand public dialogue surrounding this critical and contentious topic.

## TnT Dispatch

Released every other Friday, the TnT Dispatch is a curated newsletter built to inform readers of notable, recent developments in U.S.-China trade and technology ties. The content of the Dispatch typically includes 2-3 themed news sections highlighting ongoing trends in U.S.-China trade and technology issues and, if applicable, a summary list of major related issues and actions that have taken place on U.S. Capitol Hill in recent weeks. Each of these sections finish with a succinct and direct expert analysis of trends to keep an eye on and a list of sources.

## TnT Publications

In addition to the TnT Dispatch, ICAS scholars release a variety of publications throughout the year of varying length and content to best inform and update the audience on key issues. TnT issue briefs are in-depth, short-form analyses of important topical issue areas in U.S.-China trade and technology ties. Other publications include more in-depth, far-reaching reports and smaller, more timely publications like commentaries and summaries of events involving expert speakers.

## TnT Events

Hosted periodically throughout the year, TnT events promote the free exchange of ideas on U.S.-China trade and technology ties. To support this goal of free exchange of ideas, most TnT events are open to the public, are viewable online both during and after the event takes place, and are typically conducted in the form of a panel discussion where relevant experts—from both the U.S. and other nations—share their analyses and then discuss a series of interactive, timely questions on the issue. We look forward to adding more TnT events in 2025.

## TnT Media

ICAS TnT Program media projects include but are not limited to short-form periodicals, Expert Voice Initiative (EVI) interviews, and Twitter campaigns. We welcome anyone curious about this field to follow us on Twitter/X and explore our #ICASTnT and #TnTFlash campaigns.

### U.S. Aims to Take a Full Bite of ByteDance's TikTok

**In One Sentence**

- On March 13, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed a bill (352-65) that would lead to a nationwide ban on TikTok if its Chinese owner ByteDance does not divest the U.S. assets of the app within six months.
- The bill now moves to the Senate where a counterpart text does not exist and where the bill's future remains uncertain.
- House Select Committee on the Chinese Communist Party Chair Mike Gallagher (R-WI), one of the bill's authors, said ByteDance's full divestiture of TikTok is the "only path" for its continued operations in the U.S.
- After the bill passed the House, the White House reiterated its own support for the bill, telegraphing its desire to see TikTok split from its China-based parent company.
- Former Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin has announced plans to build an investor group to acquire TikTok should it become available on the market.

**Mark the Essentials**

- Senate Democratic leader Chuck Schumer (D-NY) has not yet committed to bringing the bill up for a vote, while some senators fear that a slower committee-based process could allow TikTok's lobbying to neutralize the push for the ban in the upper chamber.
- TikTok, a Singapore-based company with over 170 million American users, is the full subsidiary of the Chinese technology firm ByteDance, which has frequently come under scrutiny since the Trump administration for its connections to the Chinese Communist Party.
- Rep. Mike Gallagher contended that the bill is not a ban on TikTok while noting that the forced sale of TikTok "absolutely could" happen before the United States' presidential election this November.
- Speaking on behalf of the Biden administration, White House national security communications advisor John Kirby said "we don't want to see a ban on TikTok" and suggested that the purpose of divestiture was to address the concerns about "data security and what ByteDance and what the Chinese Communist Party can do with the information they can glean off of America's use of the application." President Biden had earlier said that he would sign the bill in its current form if it arrives on his desk.
- In response, China's Ministry of Commerce asked the U.S. to "respect the principles of a market economy and fair competition [and] stop unjustly suppressing foreign companies" while describing the U.S. actions as "the logic of a bandit."
- The Chinese government is reported to have signaled to ByteDance that it will not allow a forced sale of TikTok and would rather have the app be banned in the United States.

**Keeping an Eye On:**

- We've seen this movie before. On August 14, 2020, President Trump issued an Executive Order instructing ByteDance to divest all interests and rights in the U.S. operations of its video-sharing app TikTok within 90 days and, upon divestment, destroy all user data whatsoever located ByteDance that back in court that the order violated TikTok's First Amendment expressive rights, its Fifth Amendment due process protections as well as the First Amendment's "Taking Clause" and amounted to an overbroad and unjustified claim of authority. The court sided with ByteDance. By restricting the transmission of personal communications and informational materials, items covered under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act's (IEEPA) Berman Amendment, President Trump had exceeded his authority under the IEEPA and violated the First Amendment rights of TikTok and its users. Relatively, on August 28, 2020, China's Commerce Ministry updated its list of "forbidden and restricted technology exports" to include "personalized information recommendation services based on data analysis"—in effect, meaning that ByteDance would need government approval (which would not be forthcoming) to effectuate a divestiture. For added measure, China enacted a new Export Control Law two months later on October 19, 2020, which permitted recourse to "reciprocal measures" if another country abuses export controls to endanger national security or national interests. In sum, the White House's divestiture order was nullified and the app in any case was not allowed to go on sale. The upshot of this failure though was the spawning of a creative localized data stewardship arrangement that ensured that practically all of TikTok's U.S. data was walled off and would reside within the U.S. tech company Oracle's cloud, and that Oracle would serve as TikTok's local data controller—and in addition to a CFIUS-settled oversight board—its auditor for verifying its recommendation algorithm. Three and a half years on, the players have changed this time around but the storyline remains the same. Instead of the White House, it is Congress taking the lead via the *Protecting Americans from Adversary Controlled Applications Act*, which passed the House by a 352-65 margin and is now under consideration in the Senate. And rather than depend on the President's IEEPA authority in the service of national security (which the courts ruled he did not enjoy on informational materials), a legislative workaround is sought to be effected that would authorize the Justice Department to enforce a ban on the app, failing its divestiture. Relatively, the *RESTRICT Act* of March 2023 had also sought to sidestep IEEPA's informational materials exception and modernize the president's international economic authorities for the digital era by granting the Commerce Department the authority to block ICT apps from "untrusted" vendors in the name of national security. Neither bill, however, engages the essential legal crux of the matter—that being, that courts across the land and all the way up to the Supreme Court have ruled that mere invocation of a national security threat based on supposition or guesswork is insufficient to justify the curtailment of First Amendment rights. The threat must be real, and a proposed ban an unavoidable option to address this threat. TikTok must be shown to have

### Examples of 2024 TnT Dispatch Topics:

- Tech and Trade Competition Rolls On, Congress Demands More* [January 26]
- U.S. Derisks Trade with China, Advances Trade Ties with Taiwan* [February 9]
- Katherine Tai Readdresses America's Trade Direction* [February 23]
- White House Rolls Out New Cyber 'Desinicization' Measures* [March 8]
- Battle for Electric Vehicle Supply Chain Localization Heats Up* [April 5]
- Stability or "Downward Spiral": Blinken's Tough Trip to China* [May 3]
- G7 Italy: Tough Stance on China Economic Policy and its Ties to Russia* [June 28]
- The EU's Provisional China EV Tariffs (Continued)* [July 12]
- Unpacking J.D. Vance's Stance on China Trade and Technology* [July 26]
- As U.S.-China Relations Stabilize, Wide Differences over Trade Remain* [September 6]
- USTR Finalizes Sweeping Tariff Increases on Chinese Imports* [September 20]
- EU's China EV Tariff Saga: Definitive Tariffs Imposed; Now What?* [November 1]
- The Biden Administration's Final Push to Decouple from China* [December 13]

## Selected Publications

BLOG POST

Event Summary: Secretary Raimondo:  
An Update on CHIPS Act Implementation, CSIS

Ao Gu  
March 1

COMMENTARY

Yilun Zhang  
June 26

To Win the EV Race, Washington Must Abandon  
the Overcapacity Talks... and Do More

COMMENTARY

Plenum priorities that could  
reshape China's economic future

Sourabh Gupta  
June 28

COMMENTARY

Sourabh Gupta  
December 17

Trade wars are neither good nor easy to win



# ICAS BLUE CARBON & CLIMATE CHANGE PROGRAM

Newly established in early 2022, the ICAS Blue Carbon and Climate Change (BCCC) Program explores new policy pathways for sustainably developing the blue carbon economy and combating climate change through open dialogue and policy research. In 2024, ICAS was able to polish its BCCC Quarterly newsletter, providing its in-depth knowledge in both English and Chinese.

The goal of this program is to establish a platform for academic exchange between experts around the world to produce tangible policy recommendations for countries to follow together. Most prominently, the program endeavors to find new pathways for multilateral engagement and mediation in areas of competition to promote mutually beneficial cooperation on climate change where possible.

## BCCC Quarterly

Released the first week of every new quarter, the BCCC Quarterly is a magazine-style newsletter that records the most important trends and developments regarding blue carbon and climate change policies and regulations in China, the U.S., and other regions, as well as international regimes, such as under the United Nations framework. It also includes two special sections — the 'Theme of the Quarter' and the 'Blue Carbon Country Profile' — that aim to bring a fresh and applicable element to each issue.

The ICAS Team also produces a concentrated Chinese language version of this product to disseminate to an Asian audience so that both sides have access to our research.

## BCCC Research

Working in a field that is yet young, the BCCC Program Team releases commentaries, issue briefs, and other analytical publications that explore the complexities and emerging news in the field of blue carbon.

## BCCC Events

Hosted periodically throughout the year, ICAS Blue Carbon & Climate Change (BCCC) events promote the free and equal exchange of ideas on policy pathways for sustainably developing the blue carbon economy and combatting climate change, especially as they relate to or involve the United States, China, and other regions.

## BCCC Media

ICAS BCCC Program media projects include but are not limited to short-form periodicals, Expert Voice Initiative (EVI) interviews, and Twitter campaigns. We welcome anyone curious about this field to follow us on Twitter/X and explore our #ICASBCCC and #BCCCGrove campaigns.

## BCCC Quarterly

### - Theme of the Quarter -

Despite the quiet evolution of the blue carbon field, there are identifiable trends of interest during any given three month period. Thus, every quarter the ICAS Team identifies and summarizes a major trend or long-term topic of interest relevant to the most recent quarter, culminating in the release of the BCCC Quarterly.

In addition to collections of relevant news summaries, government actions and statements, and scientific research activities, the theme includes an analytical commentary from our researchers on how this theme relates to other present-day developments, policy interests, climate change and environment concerns, and implications for the blue carbon field.

- 2024 Q1: Renewable Energy Storage
- 2024 Q2: AI's Role in Mending Climate Change
- 2024 Q3: Infrastructure and Climate Change
- 2024 Q4: Mixed Results in Climate Cooperation

### - Blue Carbon Country Profile -

Given that 'blue carbon' is a relatively new subject to both scientists and policymakers, it is the goal of the BCCC Program to provide a collective view on how individual nations are recognizing, analyzing, and applying blue carbon at all levels of the government, through cross-border and international engagements, and in private sector and non-profit activities.

This profile is also intended to identify places that are in need of particular attention. The profile concludes with issues that interested parties should pay attention to in the coming months and years, including areas that need improvement, potentials worth exploring as well as possibilities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in both policymaking and scientific exploration.

- 2024 Q1: India
- 2024 Q2: Brazil
- 2024 Q3: Japan
- 2024 Q4: Saudi Arabia



## Selected Publications

COMMENTARY

Emission Control Areas in the Mediterranean and their implications for the South China Sea

Nong Hong  
January 11

COMMENTARY

Zhangchen Wang  
March 29

The dynamic transition to clean hydrogen requires temporary compromises

COMMENTARY

A Landmark Advisory Opinion: ITLOS Strengthens Legal Framework for Climate Action

Nong Hong  
May 28

COMMENTARY

Zhangchen Wang  
July 16

U.S. Proposed Carbon Border Tax: Protectionism Disguised as Environmental Policy



# EVENTS & ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENTS

Interacting With & Growing Alongside Experts From Around the World



## ACADEMIC ENGAGEMENTS

Aside from participating as an event host or sponsor, ICAS scholars have also contributed their expertise on U.S.-China relations and maritime studies at forums both inside and outside the United States.

### Discussing Political Polarization in America with Vlogger Marcus Ruiz Evans

April 24 (Virtual) | Hosted by Vlogger Marcus Ruiz Evans

### The Global Implications of the Post-COVID China Supply Shock

July 6 (Virtual) | Hosted by World Salon

### ICAS Staff Conducts Academic Visit in Greater Boston

July 7-12 (Boston, MA) | Hosted by Harvard Kennedy School & Massachusetts Institute of Technology

### 14th Annual South China Sea Conference

July 11 (Hybrid; Washington, DC) | Hosted by Center for Strategic & International Studies

### Global Dialogue series on "Sino-US Youth People-to-People Exchange"

July 18 (Hybrid; Beijing, China) | Hosted by Center for China and Globalization, Alliance of Global Talent Organizations, & Global Young Leaders Dialogue

### Bai Xian Asia Institute Summer Program 2024

August 24 (Hybrid; Shanghai, China) | Hosted by Bai Xian Asia Institute & Shanghai Jiao Tong University

### Symposium on Global Maritime Cooperation and Ocean Governance 2024

November 25-26 (Hybrid; Sanya, China) | Hosted by National Institute for South China Sea Studies, Huayang Center for Maritime Cooperation and Ocean Governance, China Ocean Development Foundation, & Hainan Free Trade Port Research Institute

### CIGI's Third Annual Workshop on Digital Governance in China

December 17 (Virtual) | Hosted by Centre for International Governance Innovation

### ICAS Events Partners in 2024

- National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCS)
- The China Institute, University of Alberta
- Institute for China-Europe Studies
- Beijing Club for International Dialogue
- National Committee on U.S.-China Relations
- The Carter Center

Recordings of all public ICAS events are published on the ICAS website and the YouTube page. The ICAS Team also live-tweets key quotes during public events. Stay informed and join in the conversation online!

### Renewing the U.S.-China Science and Technology Agreement. Can S&T Cooperation Coexist with Technology Decoupling?

February 20 | Virtual

Hosted by the ICAS Trade 'n Technology Program, this virtual public event gathered together Dr. Denis Simon and Dr. Caroline Wagner to discuss the U.S.-China Science and Technology Agreement, in the context of the ongoing negotiations to renew that agreement. Washington and Beijing, they concurred, have their work cut out with regard to negotiating an improved STA – both, at a political and policy level.

### 14th Track II Dialogue on Maritime Affairs & International Law

July 31 | Virtual

### The United States and China's Global Maritime Relations: Inevitable Competition or Feasible Collaboration?

April 18 | Washington, DC (Hybrid)

Hosted by the ICAS Maritime Affairs Program in partnership with The China Institute, University of Alberta, this hybrid book talk and panel discussion explored the U.S.-China maritime relationship within the global context, investigating six key maritime regions. After Dr. Nong Hong gave introductory remarks, three panelists provided their own key perspectives.

### Chinese Scholars Discuss Taiwan and Cross-Strait Relations with ICAS Scholars

June 6 | Washington, DC

### U.S.-China and Trade Frictions: How Much Worse Will It Get?

June 13 | Virtual

### The Return of Donald Trump and its Implications for U.S.-China Relations

November 18 | Virtual

# - 2024 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

# & ICAS 10<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY -

## Trump 2.0: Will U.S.-China Relations Prosper, Suffer or Muddle Through?

On December 12, ICAS organized its 2024 Annual Conference, coinciding with the 10th anniversary of ICAS' founding, in full in-person format at the Georgetown Marriott Hotel in downtown Washington, D.C. Dr. Hong Nong, Executive Director of ICAS, opened the conference and Dr. Wu Shicun, Chairman of ICAS' Advisory Board, delivered the introductory remarks. In his heartfelt message, Dr. Wu spoke of the need for pragmatism as well as a recognition of shared responsibility in U.S.-China relations, given that both countries are indispensable to combating global challenges – be it the fight against climate change, stabilizing the global economy or addressing regional conflicts.

With the stage thus set, the conference followed comprising of a Keynote address, a Luncheon Speech, and four specialized panels. Each panel featured four leading U.S. and Chinese experts in U.S.-China relations who shared their unique outlooks on the progression of U.S.-China relations and what the next year may hold.



Dr. Nong Hong, ICAS Executive Director and Senior Fellow, opening the 2024 Annual Conference

Full recordings and detailed summary of the ICAS 2024 Annual Conference can be found on the ICAS website and YouTube page. We thank our speakers and audience for their lively and insightful engagement!



Dr. Wu Shicun, Chairman of the ICAS Advisory Board, delivering opening remarks



### Keynote

Opening remarks were followed by keynote remarks delivered by Mr. Qiu Wenxing, Minister at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the U.S. The session was moderated by Professor Gordon Houlden, an ex-senior Canadian diplomat and Director Emeritus of The China Institute at the University of Alberta, Canada.

## Panel I: Geopolitics & Security



The first panel featured four senior U.S. and Chinese academic and think-tank specialists who spoke of the elements of competition, as well as the underlying drivers of rivalry, in Sino-American relations. The panelists concurred that the need for trust-building was paramount to avoid the shadow of war.

## Panel II: Science & Technology

Trade and technology decoupling resides at the heart of the new U.S.-China rivalry. The four expert panelists were quick to point out that it was not all doom-and-gloom, though, also observing that both sides would be well-served by comprehensively documenting the benefits of bilateral S&T cooperation over the past four decades.



## Luncheon Speech



The morning session was followed by a luncheon dialogue featuring Mr. Stephen Orlins, President of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and Ms. Amy Celico, an ex-U.S. diplomat and Partner at the Albright Stonebridge Group. They emphasized that every opportunity to educate or understand the other side should be grasped by both sides.

# - 2024 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

# & ICAS 10<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY -

## Panel III: Third Parties' Views on U.S.-China Relations

The third panel featured four non-U.S. and non-Chinese policy specialists from Southeast and Northeast Asia, Europe, and Latin America who discussed third countries' views of the U.S.-China relationship. The panelists concurred that the various third countries and regions would much prefer that they did not have to choose between the U.S. and China.



## Panel IV: People-to-People Exchanges

The final panel featured four seasoned professionals who discussed the role of people-to-people exchanges as a ballast to the U.S.-China relationship. Given their different political systems, it is only understandable that the two countries see political and policy matters rather differently. As such, exchanges and communication are critical.



## 6th "U.S.-China Plus" Roundtable

On December 13, the 6th "U.S.-China Plus" Roundtable was held at the ICAS office in Washington DC. Inaugurated in 2019 as the "China-U.S.-Canada" Trilateral Roundtable, 2024 marked the first time that the roundtable discussion was expanded beyond its original scope to include more third-party countries' perspectives in order to inspire creative and pragmatic policy recommendations to promote peace, stability, and cooperation between the United States and China.

The roundtable consisted of three panels, collectively involving 20 speakers:

- *Panel I: The New Economic Nationalism: Assessing the Consequences of U.S.-China Derisking*
- *Panel II: Geopolitical Hotspots and Implications for U.S.-China Bilateral Ties*
- *Panel III: Paths to Coexistence: Is Climate Still an Area of U.S.-China Cooperation?*



In November 2014, ICAS was established with a bold vision: to foster dialogue, promote understanding, and offer insightful, policy-relevant research on one of the world's most critical bilateral relationships. As we celebrated this milestone in 2024, we take great pride in the progress we have achieved and the strides we continue to make. Our efforts have sought to enrich discussions, bridge diverse perspectives, and contribute meaningfully to addressing global challenges in an increasingly interconnected world.



ICAS Executive Director Dr. Nong Hong and ICAS staff following an interview with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in 2015, shortly after the founding of the Institute for China-America Studies.



Participants of the 7th Maritime Track II Dialogue in Provincetown, Massachusetts in July 2018. This ongoing closed-door dialogue is co-hosted by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, National Institute for South China Sea Studies, and ICAS.



Ambassador Cui Tiankai, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, extending greetings alongside Dr. Wu Shicun at the ICAS 2017 Annual Conference.



Speakers of the ICAS 2024 Annual Conference, which took place in December 2024 shortly after ICAS celebrated the 10th anniversary of its founding.

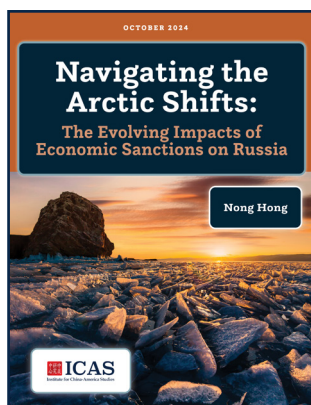
Over the past 10 years, the U.S.-China relationship has undergone profound transformation, swinging between cooperation and competition. In these evolving dynamics, the need for informed engagement, grounded in rigorous analysis, has become more evident than ever. From maritime security to trade, technology, climate, and beyond, ICAS remains committed to providing a platform for thoughtful, balanced discourse.

As the United States, China and the world at large enters a decade of both uncertainties and possibilities, we reaffirm our commitment to the important work that lies ahead within this most important bilateral relationship.

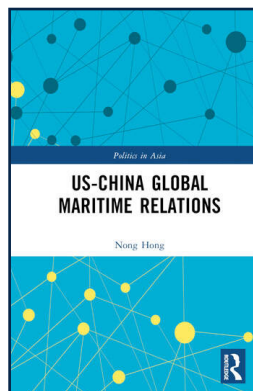
# PUBLICATIONS

Disseminating Our Analytical Perspectives

## BOOKS, REPORTS & JOURNAL ARTICLES



**Book by Nong Hong:**  
*US-China Global Maritime Relations*  
(Routledge, 2024)



### Report by Nong Hong:

*Navigating the Arctic Shifts: The Evolving Impacts of Economic Sanctions on Russia*

October 2024

## SELECTED ISSUE BRIEFS, COMMENTARIES & BLOG POSTS

Denis Simon	January 13 Guest Opinion: Forging new bridges of understanding between U.S., China
Sourabh Gupta	February 26 Trump a symptom, not cause of U.S. polarization
Jessica Martin	March 4 Building Blocs in Space Diplomacy: China's Methodology in Collecting Partnerships for Outer Space and the Evolving U.S. Response
Hong Nong	March 17 How Ukraine war and sanctions on Russia put Arctic cooperation on ice
Yilun Zhang	April 26 Biden's New Trade Row with China is more than just Election Gimmicks
Amanda Jin	June 18 White House's Headless Trade Policy Will Induce Congress-Hooked Protectionism
Ao Gu	July 16 Excluding China from the global AI development is a wrong game to play
Zhangchen Wang	September 30 Building Sustainable Charging Infrastructure for Electric Vehicle Requires Aligned Planning
Sourabh Gupta	December 5 Harris or Trump: The US' broad brushstrokes on China and Beijing's preferred choice
Nong Hong	November 26 How the West can navigate Sino-Russian cooperation in the Arctic

## U.S.-China Legislative and Executive Actions Directory (L.E.A.D.) Project

- Tracking Critical Developments in U.S.-China Relations, and On China, Within the Beltway -

In May 2023, the ICAS Team launched the L.E.A.D. Project to track and summarize trending critical issues and developments on China, emanating from both the White House and Capitol Hill. The goal of this project is to closely track the key issues and developments on China within the Beltway for scholars and policymakers, and thereby provide a framework for the better understanding of this critical and consequential bilateral relationship.

The **Executive Actions Directory** tracks and analyzes major developments in U.S.-China relations and on China originating from within the U.S. executive branch.

Each release also includes a detailed chronology listing major events, actions and happenings in and by the Executive Branch of the U.S. government regarding China.

Executive Actions project briefs are originally published in Pacific Forum's *Comparative Connections*, a triannual e-journal of bilateral relations in the Indo-Pacific.

The **Legislative Actions Directory** summarizes the major China-focused bills on Capitol Hill and their purposes.

Each release also combines legislative actions with hearings and press releases to identify major trends and themes in areas where the U.S.-China bilateral relationship is concerned.

Legislative Actions project briefs aim to provide a cohesive insight into the various legislation and record critical congressional personnel's remarks on China during hearings and press conferences to provide more information on the U.S. Congress, an increasingly significant actor in the U.S.-China bilateral relationship.

Meanwhile, **L.E.A.D. Notes**, in a blog post format, summarize major speeches, events, and hearings with the goal of tracking the pronouncements and views of officials who stand at the forefront of, and play a significant role in, shaping U.S.-China relations.

### 2024 Executive Project Briefs

[Sourabh Gupta]

**September - December:** Biden-Xi Woodside Summit and the Slow Rehabilitation of US-PRC Ties

**January - April:** Ties Stabilize While Negative Undercurrents Deepen

**May - November:** Trump's Return Scrambles Outlook

### 2024 Legislative Project Briefs

[Yilun Zhang, Ao Gu & Amanda Jin]

**September - December:** Congress Settled on Structural Approach to Compete with China

**January - April:** Passive Decoupling Targets Shipping, Emerging Tech and Green Industries

**May - September:** 118th Congress Pushing for Further Decoupling with China during the "China Week" as Election Approaches

Explore the full ICAS publications archives and other special projects at [chinaus-icas.org](http://chinaus-icas.org)

# EXPERT VOICES INITIATIVE

*Focused Interviews on U.S.-China Relations*

The Expert Voices Initiative is a series of on-camera, sit-down interviews with leading global scholars on important issues in the U.S.-China bilateral relationship. In 2024, ICAS continued planning and producing EVI interviews to provide a wider array of perspectives.



**A VARIETY OF OPINIONS** The series seeks to elicit candid opinions from experts across a range of topics, extending from economics, trade, and soft power initiatives to security, politics and foreign policy.



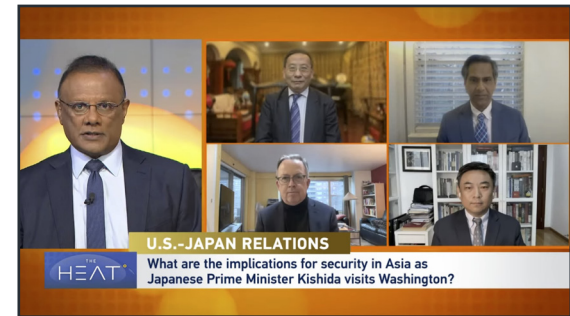
**IN-DEPTH PERSPECTIVES** Our goal is to provide for a global audience in-depth expert views from various national perspectives on a topical issue of significance in U.S.-China relations.

# - IN THE MEDIA -

*Contributing to the Public Conversation*

ICAS scholars regularly contribute to a range of U.S., Chinese, and international written and televised media outlets, providing insights and analysis on maritime security, strategic stability, U.S.-China and multinational relations, Asia-Pacific economics and trade, as well as global governance issues. Examples from 2024 include:

- China Review News Agency*
- CGTN America*
- China Daily*
- GDToday*
- Global Times*
- Guancha*
- Inside US Trade*
- Nature*
- Pekingology*
- People's Daily*
- PhoenixTV*
- Politico*
- Radio Free Asia*
- Scripps News*
- South China Morning Post*
- Sputnik International*
- The Wall Street Journal*
- TRT World*
- United Daily News Economic Daily*
- University World News*
- Voice of America*
- Xinhua News*
- Yahoo*



## April 16 · South China Morning Post

"In a year of election polemics, I suspect the Chinese side would like to keep communications channels open and the conversation going...And with a new Taiwanese president soon to be sworn in, the US would prefer less than more drama in the strait. The South China Sea is already lit up enough."

*Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta commenting on the rare phone call held between the U.S. and Chinese defense chiefs*

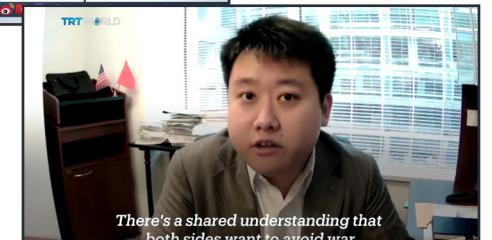
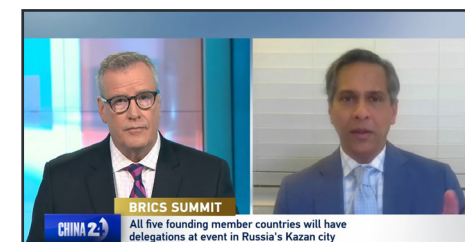
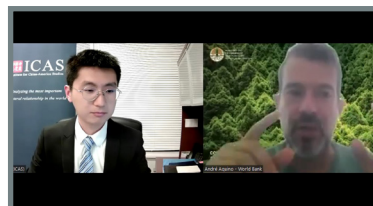
## Wu Shicun on China's Perspective on U.S.-China Relations

March 15, 2024

This virtual EVI interview with Dr. Wu Shicun, Chairman of the ICAS Academic Advisory Board, covered the current state of the U.S.-China bilateral relationship and examined the value of people-to-people exchanges following the joint vision of the San Francisco Summit between President Xi Jinping and President Joe Biden, among other topics.



2024 ANNUAL REPORT



2024 ANNUAL REPORT

All EVI interviews can be found at [chinaus-icas.org](http://chinaus-icas.org) or on the ICAS YouTube channel

# - GET CONNECTED - - ICAS INTERNSHIPS -

*Inviting & Enabling All to Join the Discussion*

*Engaging & Encouraging the Next Generation*



ICAS continues to be fully committed to keeping up with technological shifts in a rapidly changing society, freely sharing academic research to make it more accessible while engaging with professionals, the media, and the general public where possible. After re-designing and optimizing its website, the ICAS Team has continued to work to improve its public relations and online connections with the hope of providing our viewers

with a clearer, fresher, and more engaging experience online with the Institute and the work the ICAS Team produces. In 2025 we will continue to strive to expand and improve the Institutes' website operations, ease of audience participation in events, and visibility across platforms as the Team aims to dynamically engage with the public on these vital, pervasive and ever-changing issues in U.S.-China relations.



The Institute for China-America Studies prides itself on preparing young and emerging professionals for their future careers in international relations, security studies, economics and trade, energy and the environment, and more. The ICAS Internship Program provides its interns with numerous professional development experiences including but not limited to authoring or co-authoring analytical written pieces of varying sizes, assisting hands-on with events, and engaging in projects unique to their interests. It is the hope of the ICAS staff that its interns will gain an appreciation for the importance of promoting U.S.-China relations through balanced and fact-driven methodologies as they grow into their future careers.

## Find Us Online & Stay Informed



[www.chinaus-icas.org](http://www.chinaus-icas.org)



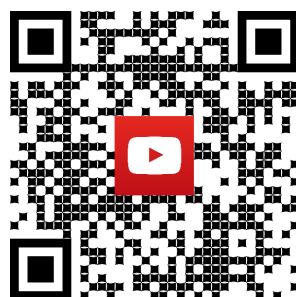
Twitter/X  
@ICASdc



LinkedIn



WeChat



YouTube

Thank you to each of our interns for making 2024 such a successful and memorable year!



Amanda Jin



Zhangchen Wang



Ao Gu



Wyatt Huang



Qiyuan Duan



Shelby Xu

Follow us on social media or email [icas@chinaus-icas.org](mailto:icas@chinaus-icas.org) to hear about new openings!

# - ICAS STAFF -

The ICAS Team is comprised of four full-time staff members in our Washington, DC office, in addition to a number of non-resident fellows and interns. Our scholars come from a diverse set of backgrounds, with professional experience in China, the United States, Canada, Asia and Europe. Our research covers maritime security, economics, trade and advanced technology relations, strategic competition, global governance, blue carbon and climate change, and other issues central to the U.S.-China bilateral relationship.



## -NONG HONG-

Executive Director & Senior Fellow  
Head, MAP Program  
Head, BCCC Program



## -SOURABH GUPTA-

Resident Senior Fellow  
Head, TnT Program



## -YILUN ZHANG-

Research Associate & Administrative Officer  
Manager, TnT Program



## -JESSICA MARTIN-

Research Associate & Communications Officer  
Manager, MAP Program



**-DENIS SIMON-**  
Distinguished Fellow  
(Non-Resident)



**-KEYUAN ZOU-**  
Senior Fellow  
(Non-Resident)



**-DING DUO-**  
Fellow  
(Non-Resident)



**-YAN YAN-**  
Fellow  
(Non-Resident)

# - ADVISORY BOARD -

The ICAS Advisory Board provides invaluable guidance for our day-to-day operations. All esteemed scholars in their field, the work of our board members closely coincides with ICAS' research portfolio and complements the work of our scholars. Their advice enables ICAS to stay on top of the latest developments in the fields of maritime security, economics and trade, climate change, and strategic stability. We are grateful for their commitment and dedication toward improving the most important bilateral relationship in the world.



## -SHICUN WU-

Chairman of the Board  
China-Southeast Asia Research Center on the South China Sea



## -GORDON HOULDEN-

Director Emeritus  
China Institute, University of Alberta



## -YAWEI LIU-

Senior Advisor on China  
The Carter Center



## -JUSUF WANANDI-

Senior Fellow & Cofounder  
Centre for Strategic and International Studies



## -YONGNIAN ZHENG-

Dean  
Global and Contemporary China Advanced Institute,  
Chinese University of Hong Kong (Shenzhen)



## -FENG ZHU-

Director  
China Center for Collaborative Studies of South China Sea,  
Nanjing University

The Institute for China-America Studies (ICAS) is an independent think tank in Washington D.C. ICAS focuses on the evolving dynamics in the U.S.-China relationship to promote greater collaboration and mutual understanding through sincere exchanges of fresh ideas, objective policy-oriented research, and fair assessments of this critical bilateral relationship.

We aim to provide a window into the worldviews of both the United States and China, and thereby serve as a vehicle to promote greater understanding between these two countries and societies.



**ICAS**

Institute for China-America Studies

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