



The ICAS Bulletin

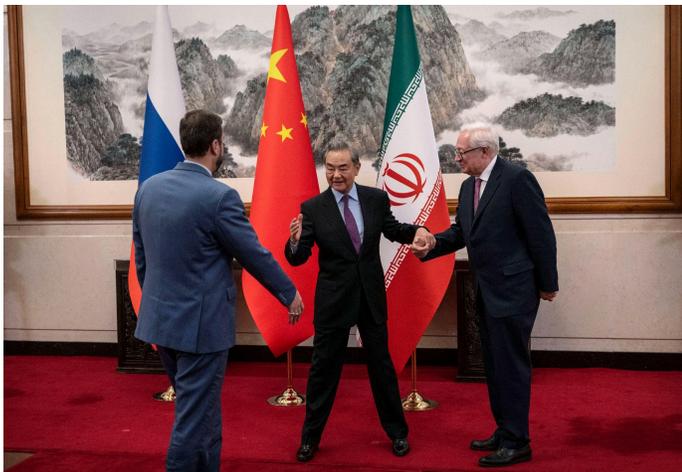
Institute for China America Studies

A Survey of Scholarship on U.S.-China Relations

July 02, 2025

What's Going On?

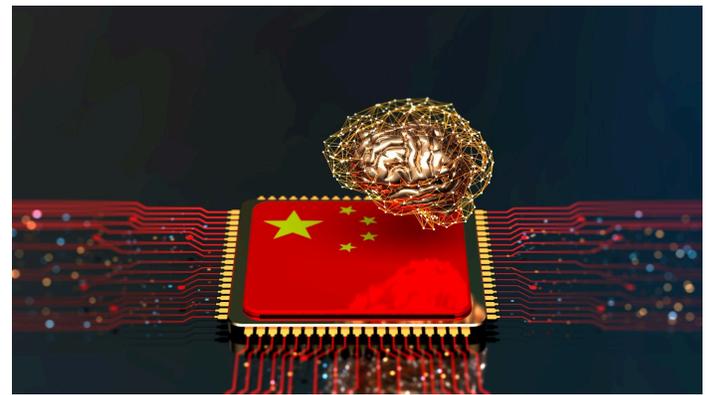
Middle East Tension & China's Diplomatic Posture



China's Foreign Minister Wang Yi (C) gestures as he welcomes Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Ryabkov (R) and Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Kazeem Gharibabadi before a meeting regarding the Iranian nuclear issue at the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse in Beijing on March 14, 2025. (Photo by -/POOL/AFP via Getty Images)

- After the U.S. conducted airstrikes on Iranian nuclear facilities, Iranian lawmakers discussed retaliatory steps, including the extraordinary possibility of closing the Strait of Hormuz.
- On June 22, U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio publicly urged China to diplomatically intervene and persuade Iran not to proceed with its threat. He labeled the potential closure as “economic suicide”, warning of disruptions to vital global oil trade routes and broader risks to the energy market.
- On June 22, China issued a formal condemnation of the U.S. strikes, calling them a breach of the UN Charter. China aligned with Russia and Pakistan at the UN Security Council in supporting a ceasefire resolution and urging a return to diplomatic dialogue.
- On June 23, Chinese authorities criticized what they

Strategic Minerals & Semiconductor Controls Deepen U.S. – China Tech Tensions



(Source: Getty Images, Royalty-Free)

- On June 20, The U.S. Commerce Department revoked export-control waivers previously granted to Samsung, SK Hynix, and TSMC, limiting their ability to import advanced chipmaking equipment into their facilities in China. These companies are among U.S. allies with supply chains rooted in China.
- On June 23, Huawei's new MateBook still depends on domestically produced 7nm chips—highlighting China's limited progress in replacing U.S.-restricted chipmaking technology.
- In retaliation for the export restrictions, China imposed six-month controls on rare-earth mineral exports to the U.S., directly affecting critical industries such as EV's, aerospace, and defense. The move revealed China's readiness to weaponize its dominance in strategic resources.
- That same day, Ford narrowly avoided halting production at its Chicago EV plant due to rare-earth magnet shortage, despite receiving a temporary license relief.
- On June 23, U.S. lawmakers introduced Foreign

saw as the eroding credibility of U.S. leadership in the region. Beijing warned that further U.S. military action could destabilize global markets, trigger unintended consequences, and heighten the risk of conflict in the already volatile Middle East.

- The Chinese Foreign Ministry reiterated calls for all parties to show restraint, specifically urging Iran to refrain from extreme retaliation—such as closing the Strait of Hormuz—that could spark a broader international crisis.

- As of June 25, the Strait of Hormuz remains open. Despite the Iranian parliamentary approval to close the strait, no official action has been taken. Oil markets have stabilized, and China has limited its public involvement to standard diplomatic statements, avoiding deeper engagement.

Associated News References:

[“U.S. Urges China To Dissuade Iran From Closing Strait Of Hormuz,” Reuters, June 22](#)

[“China Slams U.S. Strikes As Violation Of International Law,” The Daily Guardian, June 22](#)

[“China Urges Support for Iran-Israel Cease-Fire Resolution,” Wall Street Journal, June 23](#)

[“Rubio Warns Of Global Oil Disruption Over Hormuz Closure,” The Hill, June 23](#)

[“China Voices Concern About Impact of Conflict On Shipping,” Wall Street Journal, June 23](#)

[“U.S. Asks China To Stop Iran From Closing Strait Of Hormuz,” BBC News, June 23](#)

[“With Much To Lose, China Sat On Israel-Iran War’s Sidelines As U.S. Flexed,” Washington Post, June 24](#)

[“The Market Is Getting Back to Ignoring Iran,” Bloomberg, June 25](#)

Pollution Fee Act, proposing a carbon-based border tariff primarily targeting Chinese-made goods. Though framed as an environmental initiative, the proposed tax is viewed by some as an additional tool in the U.S. industrial competition strategy.

- On June 26, the U.S. and China reached a partial agreement to restart rare-earth exports, offering some relief. However the licensing process remains slow. U.S. rare-earth imports are still 75% below normal levels and China continues to block military-grade material.

- On June 27, China announced a \$50 billion expansion of its Big Fund III to accelerate domestic chip developments, focusing on lithography and EDA tools, to reduce reliance on Western technology.

Associated News Sources:

[“U.S. May Target Samsung, Hynix, Tsmc Operation In China. Sources Say,” Reuters, June 20](#)

[“U.S. Prepares Action Targeting Allies’ Chip Plants In China,” The Wall Street Journal, June 20](#)

[“Ford Still Scrambling To Get Rare-Earth Magnets,” The Wall Street Journal, June 23](#)

[“A Carbon Tariff Is The Right Way To Confront China On Trade,” The Washington Post, June 23](#)

[“Huawei’s New Laptop Uses Older China-Made Chip, U.S. Curbs Stall Smic,” Reuters, June 23](#)

[“U.S. Reaches Deal With China To Speed-Up Rare Earth Shipments. White House Says,” The Guardian, June 27](#)

[“China’s Rare Earths Are Flowing Again. But Not Freely,” The Economic Times, June 29](#)

NATO Summit Reinforces U.S – Led Security Alignment Amid Rising China Concerns



Secretary Marco Rubio attends a plenary session of the NATO Heads of State and Government summit in The Hague, Netherlands, June 25, 2025. (Source via Flickr/U.S. Government Work)

- At a June 25 press conference, NATO-Secretary-General Mark Rutte stated the alliance had “no alternative” but to enhance defense readiness to “the massive build-up of the military in China”.
- During the summit, U.S. officials emphasized expanding NATO’s partnerships with Indo-Pacific countries, such as Japan, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, to address growing concerns over Chinese influence in maritime security, cyber infrastructure, and supply chains. This is part of Washington’s continued efforts to internationalize the “China challenge”.
- On the sidelines of the summit, NATO held a Defense Industry Forum focused on expanding European defense production and easing transatlantic trade barriers. These efforts were seen as part of a broader effort to strengthen allied military -industrial capacity.

Associated News Sources:

- [“No Room For Beijing: Nato Declaration Without China Reference,” Table Media, June 24](#)
- [“No Alternative To Higher Defense Spending Amid Russian Threat. Nato’s Rutte Says,” Reuters, June 25](#)
- [“Trump Says Nato Defense Spend Rising To 5% Of Gdp Is “Big Win” For U.S. And West,” BBC, June 25](#)
- [“Trump Says Whether He’ll Commit To Nato Mutual Defense Guarantee Depends On Your Definition,” AP News, June 25](#)
- [“Trump Gets A Big Win On Nato-But Key Questions Over The Alliance Remain,” CNN, June 25](#)

Summer Davos Underscores China’s Push For Tech Collaboration and Economic Diplomacy



Chinese Premier Li Qiang attends the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum / Benedikt von Loebell/ Source via Flickr)

- From June 24-26, the World Economic Forum’s “Summer Davos” in Tianjin brought together over 1,700 leaders from +90 countries.
- Chinese Premier Li Qiang pledged in his keynote speech that China would become a “mega-sized” consumption power and championed global cooperation in AI, climate tech, and manufacturing modernization.
- China’s DeepSeek AI and Unitree Robotics drew praise from international participants, reinforcing perceptions of China’s rising tech capabilities amid intensifying U.S.-China competition. Premier Li underscored China’s technological development is intended to be inclusive and globally shared; he emphasized Beijing’s commitment to “openness and interoperability” in areas such as AI-powered agriculture, EVs, and low-altitude aviation.
- At the forum, geopolitical risks, especially the Iran-Israel conflict, were dominant concerns. Amid this backdrop, Chinese officials projected stability, arguing that China remains committed to globalization and mutual prosperity.
- WEF President Borge Brende cautioned that in the absence of renewed cooperation, U.S. tariffs, inflationary pressures, and fragmented global value chains have already stifled investor confidence. Chinese leaders argued that multilateral innovation and collaboration are the only sustainable path forward in an increasingly fragmented economic landscape.

Associated News Sources:

[“Four Fundamental Questions The Nato Summit Did Not Answer,” Atlantic Council, June 27](#)

[“Turmoil And Trade Wars Dominate China’s Summer Davos,” BBC News, June 24](#)
[“Summer Davos Concludes With Focus On China’s Critical Role Globally,” Global Times, June 25](#)
[“China’s Premier Vows To Open Its Doors Wider’ To Trade And Tech Industry,” Financial Times, June 25 \[Paywall\]](#)
[“China Summer Davos Offers Rare Despite From Trade War,” Financial Times, June 25 \[Paywall\]](#)
[“Premier Liqiang’s Opening At Summer Davos,” World Economic Forum, June 26](#)
[“China Becomes Bright Spot An Uncertain Time: SCMP’s Summer Davos Highlights,” South China Morning Post, June 27](#)
[“2025 Summer Davos Underscores Global Cooperation With China In Emerging And Future Industries,” China Focus, June 30](#)
[“Top Openai Talent In China Joins Meta As Zuckerberg Bolsters Ai Team,” South China Morning Post, June 30](#)
[“Chinese Chipmakers Sophgo Adapts Compute Card For Deepseek Amid Beijing’s Self-Reliance Push,” South China Morning Post, June 30](#)

AIIB Meeting Underscores China’s Expanding Financial Reach Amid U.S. – China Systemic Competition



Chinese Premier Li Qiang attends and delivers a speech at the opening ceremony of the 10th Annual Meeting of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank AIIB Board of Governors in Beijing (Photo by Liu Bin/Xinhua via Getty Images)

- From June 24-26, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) held its 10th Annual Meeting in Beijing, marking a decade since its founding by China as a multilateral development bank. The AIIB has become a key tool in China’s effort to reshape the global financial order.

- In Other News -



(Source: Getty Images, Royalty-Free)

[“U.S. Prices On China-Made Goods Sold Via Amazon Rise Faster Than Inflation, Analysis Shows,” Reuters, June 30](#)
[“Former Amb. Nicholas Burns: Don’t Think The U.S. And China Are Close To A Comprehensive Trade Deal,” CNBC, June 30](#)
[“China Urges U.S. To Uphold Multilateral Trade Rules And Reciprocal Tariff Negotiations,” CGTN, June 28](#)
[“China Emerges As Top Iranian Oil Buyer Despite U.S. Sanctions; Shadow Fleet Sustains Trade,” CNBC, June 27](#)
[“Lutnick Says U.S.–China Trade Truce Signed, 10 Deals Imminent,” MSN, June 27](#)
[“Wang Yi urges U.S. to work with China on issue of mutual perception,” CGTN, June 26](#)

- Chinese Premier Li Qiang emphasized in his keynote speech that infrastructure should serve as a “bridge, not a barrier”, a veiled reference to the U.S.’s increasing use of economic tools like sanctions, investment restrictions, and export controls.

- China’s Finance Minister Lan Fo’an also called for expanding cross-border financing through the AIIB, warning that global development aid is “drying up.” The U.S. has taken large steps towards scaling back infrastructure financing in the Global South while redirecting resources toward strategic decoupling.

- The election of Zou Jiayi as the AIIB’s new president and first female leader further highlights China’s growing institutional control and soft power strategy to project credibility, gender inclusivity, and technocratic leadership within global development institutions.

-The meeting came just days before U.S. officials made renewed calls to reduce reliance on Chinese minerals, AI chips, and supply chains, signaling how institutions like AIIB are now central in the broader U.S.-China contests over rules-based leadership in global finance and development.

Associated News Sources:

[“What Can We Expect From The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank Meeting This Week?”](#), Euro News, June 23

[“China Urges Aiib To Step Up Cross-Border Development Funding, Says Global Aid Drying Up,”](#) Reuters, June 24

[“China’s Zou Jiayi Named Next AIIB President,”](#) Reuters, June 24

[“AIIB First Decade Marks As A Path Of Multilateral, Sustainable Development,”](#) Xinhua, June 24

[“China To Work With AIIB Members Promote Connectivity, Sustainable Development Across Asia: Fm,”](#) Global Times, June 24

[“China’s Consumptions Push Will Support Global Growth, Premier Li Says,”](#) Reuters, June 26

[“Opening Ceremony Of The 10th Annual Meeting Of Aiib Held In Beijing,”](#) People’s Daily Online, June 27

What Are We Reading? ↓

- *Foreign Affairs:* [“An Industrial Policy With American Characteristics,”](#) by Damien Ma and Lizzi C. Lee, (July 1)
- *The New York Times:* [“America And China Are Becoming More Likely Every Day,”](#) by Jacob Dreyer, (July 1)
- *Bloomberg:* [“China Shows Off Tech Resilience In Face Of Trump Export Controls,”](#) (June 30)
- *Bloomberg:* [“China’s Private Factory Gauge Rebounds After U.S. Trade Truce,”](#) (June 30)
- *South China Morning Post:* [“Why China Sees U.S. Trade Deals With Partners As A Threat-And How It Could React,”](#) by Ralphs Jennings, (June 30)
- *Bloomberg:* [“Chinese Robot Startup Reaps Rewards After High Profile Race,”](#) (June 29)

- *The New York Times*: "[Can We See Our Future In China's Cameras?](#)," by Megan K. Stack (June 28)
- *Washington Post*: "[As Trump Touts Tariff Deal, China Pitches Itself As Global Trade Leader](#)," by Christian Shepherd, (June 27)
- CSIS: "[Can Washington Counter Beijing Without Repeating Cold War Mistakes](#)," by Andrew Friedman, (June 26)
- *Rand*: "[China's Evolving Industrial Policy For AI](#)," by Kyle Chan et al., (June 26)
- *World Economic Forum*: "[Tracking Tariffs: Key Moments In The U.S.-China Trade Dispute](#)," (June 25)
- *Foreign Affairs*: "[How China Wins](#)," by Julia Gewirtz, (June 24)
- *Foreign Affairs*: "[Southeast Asia Is Starting To Choose](#)," by Yuen Foong Khong and Joseph Chinyong Liow, (June 24)
- *Foreign Affairs*: "[Strategic Of Prioritization](#)," by Jennifer Lind and Daryl G. Press, (June 24)
- *South China Morning Post*: "[China's Yuan Set To Benefit As Central Banks Report Doubts About U.S. Dollar](#)," by Sylvia Mia, (June 24)
- *South China Morning Post*: "[Summer Davos Panel Mulls Secret Sauce Of U.S. Economy Did China Crack The Recipe](#)," by Frank Chen, (June 24)
- *Washington Post*: "[With Much To Lose, China Sat On Israel-Iran War's Sidelines As U.S. Flexed](#)," by Katrina Northrop and Lyric Li, (June 24)
- CSIS: "[How Nato Can Support The United States In Asia](#)" by Iseli Brandy and Daniel Byman (June 23)
- *Global Times*: "[Aiiib's Devt. Co-Op Should Be Free From Political Interference Of Certain Countries](#)," by Wang Yi, (June 23)
- *The New York Times*: "[China Says The U.S. Damages Its Own Credibility By Striking Iran](#)," by David Pierson and Berry Wang (June 23)
- *The Diplomat*: "[China-U.S. Cooperation Could Halt The Next Middle East War](#)," by Mathew Jie Sheng Yeo (June 21)
- *Brooking Institution*: "[China's Transshipment Of Goods To The Us](#)," by Robin Brooks (June 20)
- *The Hill*: "[Chinese Leaders Have A Long History Of Strategic Deception](#)," by Mathis Bitton and George Yearn, (June 19)
- *War on the Rocks*: "[America's Middle East Trap Is China's Strategic Windfall](#)," by Adham Sahloul, (June 18)

What's Happening Around Town?

- Past Events -

- [What Do Strikes on Iran Mean for China, Russia, and North Korea?](#) June 30 hosted by CSIS
- [The Realities Of An Invasion Of Taiwan](#) June 26 hosted by Stimson Center
- [Expert Perspectives From The 22nd IISS Shangri-La Dialogue](#) June 26 hosted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
- [Enhancing Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation](#) June 24 hosted by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
- [The Need for Speed: Transforming Defense Procurement for a Dangerous World](#) June 24 hosted by Hudson Institute

- Upcoming Events -

- [One Year Of Labour: Is The Government Right In Europe, The U.S., And China?](#) July 2 hosted by Chatham House
- [Can Multinationals Win in China? Lessons from Apple's Experience](#) July 2 hosted by CSIS
- [Bangladesh's Foreign Policy and US, China and India in a Fluid Indo-Pacific](#) July 2 hosted by the East-West Center
- [China's New London "Super Embassy": Soft Power Hub Or Security Risk?](#) July 8 hosted by CSIS
- [State of the global economy: Navigating a New Era Of Heightened Uncertainty](#) July 10 hosted by the Brookings Institution

- [From Production Lines to Front Lines: Revitalizing the U.S. Defense Industrial Base for Future Great Power Conflict](#) June 24 hosted by CNAS
- [Addressing China's Growing Influence in Colombia](#) June 20 hosted by Atlantic Council
- [Trump, Tariffs, and the Economic Outlook](#) June 18 hosted by American Enterprise Institute
- [GALA 2025](#) June 18 hosted by U.S.-China Business Council

- [C.V. Starr & Co. Annual Lecture on China: Reassigning U.S.-China Relations](#) July 10 hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations
- [Shifting Currents: U.S.-China Economic Policy In Transition](#) July 29 hosted by Asia Society

What ICAS Is Up To

---ICAS Expert Voice Initiative---

The Global Trade in Tension Series: Germany with Thomas König

June 27, 2025

On June 27, ICAS initiated a special segment of its Expert Voices Initiative (EVI) series, The Global Trade in Tension Series: Germany, with Thomas König, China Director at the German Chamber of Commerce (DIHK). The discussion explored the evolving landscape of EU-China trade relations, examining opportunities for cooperation, areas of strategic hesitation, and the broader reassessment of Germany and the EU's China strategies. Mr. König also reflected on the EU's position in the US-China-EU trilateral dynamic in light of ongoing geopolitical and economic tensions.

The full recording of the interview will be released shortly, stay tuned.



---ICAS Commentary---



Trading War For Golf

Rian Knighton
June 24, 2025

In late May this year, Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Minh Chinh and son of U.S. President Eric Trump met and brokered a deal for three eighteen hole golf courses just outside of Hanoi. Eric Trump also floated the idea of building an illustrious skyscraper in a follow up meeting in Ho Chi Minh City, promising to visit the country often.

Despite Vietnam's unique property laws, the Vietnamese government and local authorities moved to fast-track the approval for the project with real estate firm Kinhbac City.

As the July 8th tariff implementation deadline approaches, the Trump administration has made demands of Vietnam such as decoupling from Chinese tech and reducing the amount of goods reportedly being shipped from China to Vietnam and then exported as 'Made in Vietnam' to avoid being slapped with tariffs. Negotiations have been described as "tough" by Vietnamese constituents concerned over the demands. It's clear why Vietnam might make exceptions to their rules for the Trump family enterprises – government officials want a better trade deal than the one they're facing...

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---MAP Tracking Ocean Governance Series---

Charting the Blue Future: Reflections on the 2025 UN Ocean Conference in France

*Nong Hong
June 24, 2025*

Held from June 9 to 13, 2025, in Nice, France, the Third United Nations Ocean Conference (UNOC3) convened at a critical juncture for global ocean governance. Facing mounting pressure from climate change, rampant overfishing, accelerating biodiversity loss, and the emerging challenges of deep-sea mining, the conference brought together world leaders, scientists, civil society, and the private sector. Under the unifying theme of "Accelerating action and mobilizing all actors to conserve and sustainably use the ocean," and jointly hosted by France and Costa Rica, this pivotal event sought to renew political momentum for fully implementing Sustainable Development Goal 14 (Life Below Water) and accelerate the ratification and enforcement of newly adopted international frameworks. The urgency was palpable, especially as the 2024 Sustainable Development Goals Report revealed that only 16% of the SDG targets are on track for achievement by 2030—while SDG 14 is among the goals showing the least progress...



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---MAP Commentary---

Russia's Arctic Bet: Can Asia Deliver on NSR Ambitions?

*Nong Hong
June 19, 2025*



Russia's ambitions to expand the global utilization of the Northern Sea Route (NSR) have re-emerged in global discourse with Rosatom forecasting a 50% rise of foreign vessel traffic through its Arctic corridor. The announcement, made despite ongoing Western sanctions and regional instability caused by the war in Ukraine, reflects Moscow's strategic bid to recast the Arctic as a new maritime frontier dominated by Russian infrastructure and legal control. With climate change gradually opening northern waters and China, India, and other Asian powers eyeing polar routes for faster Asia-Europe trade, the NSR seems poised for a new era. Yet, critical questions remain:

Can Russia truly turn the NSR into a viable global shipping lane? And if so, at what cost? While the NSR offers potential savings in distance and fuel, its operational, political, legal, and environmental challenges are far from being addressed. Russia's unilateralist strategy risks turning this strategic corridor into a geopolitical fault line rather than a connective artery...

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---TnT Commentary---

Trump's London "Deal" is just another Curtain Drop

*Yilun Zhang
June 18, 2025*

President Trump took to Truth Social with typical bravado after the latest U.S.–China trade talks in London: "OUR DEAL WITH CHINA IS DONE... THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER!" If that sounded like a curtain call, it was only fitting for a presidency that prefers applause lines to substantive policy.

But while Trump may have declared "deal done," Beijing, characteristically cautious, said nothing of the sort. The official Chinese readout described the outcome as a "framework consensus in principle" and called for continued institutional dialogue. Not exactly the language of finality.

This divergence in tone isn't new—but it is telling. Beijing framed the London round as a procedural beginning, a way to stabilize a dangerously shaky relationship. Washington, on the other hand, offered no official statement beyond Trump's Truth Social feed, suggesting—once again—that it sees engagement with China not as a process, but as a publicity stunt...



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---ICAS In the News---



On Thursday, June 26, 2025, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta was [quoted](#) by the *South China Morning Post* on the fragile U.S.-China trade truce and the broader geopolitical landscape following high-level talks in London.

- “The blow-up in the Middle East will not materially add to the already aggravated state of US-China ties. It will be limited to loud rhetoric.”
- “In Geneva, they put together the train, which left the station. Before it became a train wreck, they managed to put the train back on the rails.”
- “It’s a fresh start, but expectations should remain modest. The pause offers room to reset, not resolve, the broader tensions.”
- “They’ll try to have good relationships with Trump so they can be sure he doesn’t go off his rocker on Taiwan. He can go off his rocker on market access.”

On Monday, June 23, 2025, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta was [quoted](#) extensively by the *South China Morning Post* in an article on the U.S.-China trade relations during President Trump’s second term and the implications of the recent trade truce reached in London.

- “The London framework marked a notable easing of tensions, reflecting mutual interest in reaching a deal.”
- “Trump views China as the centerpiece of his broader trade agenda—no other market matches its scale..”
- “Given his tendency to prioritize urgent domestic issues, sustained diplomatic engagement may prove difficult. The outcome of trade talks will largely shape the direction of overall bilateral relations.”
- “Beijing should consider the upcoming APEC summit as a key opportunity to move the trade agenda forward.”

On Sunday, June 22, 2025, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta was [quoted](#) by *China Daily News* in coverage of the U.S. airstrikes on three Iranian nuclear facilities and their geopolitical consequences.

- “Trump is likely aiming for a quick ‘win’ with minimal military effort, hoping to showcase strength without prolonged involvement. .”
- “The strikes will almost certainly exacerbate regional instability and roil oil and gas markets, with ripple effects across the global economy.”
- “Such military action risks widening the conflict and could further strain U.S. relations with Iran, the Islamic world, and key global powers.”

On Monday, June 16, 2025, Senior Fellow Sourabh Gupta was [interviewed](#) by CGTN to discuss the China-Central Asia Summit and broader geopolitical dynamics in the region.

- "Iran's proximity to Central Asia raises concerns about regional spillover from the Iran-Israel conflict. While the situation remains volatile, there's cautious optimism that diplomacy will prevent further escalation.."
- "China's ties with Central Asia are built on strategic partnerships, settled borders, and growing economic cooperation. Kazakhstan, in particular, is emerging as a key partner in green mineral processing and value-added industries."
- "China is also advancing security cooperation in the region—particularly in law enforcement and cybersecurity—through mechanisms like the China-Central Asia Summit and the SCO. These efforts reflect a deepening presence, especially as U.S. engagement in the region remains minimal."