



# ICAS

Institute for China-America Studies

## “Charting the Future: U.S.–China Relations in an Era of Global Realignment”



### ICAS 2025 Annual Conference





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## 2025 Annual Conference

As the world adjusts to the shifting dynamics of power, technology, and global governance, the relationship between the United States and China stands as the central axis of international affairs. The 2025 Annual Conference will convene leading scholars, policymakers, and experts to explore how the bilateral relationship is being reshaped by global realignment—and what lies ahead.

Held under the theme “Charting the Future: U.S.–China Relations in an Era of Global Realignment”, the conference will reflect on the aftermath of the U.S. 2024 presidential election, the mercurial first ten months of the Second Trump Administration, the evolution of China's global strategy, and the changing priorities of a multi-polar world. With intensifying challenges—ranging from technology decoupling and trade frictions to military tensions and climate crises—the future of U.S.–China engagement demands renewed analysis and dialogue.

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## Featured Speakers

### **INTRODUCTION**

9:00AM  
HONG NONG



### **OPENING REMARKS**

9:05AM  
WU SHICUN



### **KEYNOTE SPEECH**

9:15AM-9:55AM  
MINISTER & DCM  
QIU WENXING



**MODERATOR**  
GORDON HOULDEN



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## Featured Speakers

### **LUNCHEON SPEECH**

1:00–2:00PM

AMBASSADOR

DAVID BALTON



### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

2:00PM

HONG NONG





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## Panel I: U.S.–China Strategic Competition and Global Conflict

As the world enters a new phase of geopolitical uncertainty, the U.S.–China strategic rivalry increasingly intersects with global and regional crises—from the ongoing war in Ukraine and tensions between Israel and Iran, to shifting power dynamics in the Indo-Pacific and the Arctic. The Trump Administration’s National Defense Strategy doubles-down on the prioritization of the Indo-Pacific theater, even at the expense of a relative retrenchment from Europe. This panel will examine how the bilateral competition is being shaped by, and in turn shaping, the evolving global and regional security landscape as well as deterrence and stability in the Indo-Pacific region with a focus on the Taiwan Strait.

Key questions include: How is U.S.–China relations influencing third-party conflicts such as Russia–Ukraine and Israel–Iran? What are the risks of escalation or unintended entanglement? How do differing Chinese and American approaches to conflict mediation, arms sales, and diplomatic alliances affect regional balances of power? Will the prioritization of the China Challenge and efforts by the Trump administration to construct a Taiwan contingency-related war-fighting coalition in the Indo-Pacific aggravate or stabilize tensions in the Taiwan Strait?



**Michael Swaine**

Quincy Institute for  
Responsible Statecraft



**Huang Jing**

Shanghai International  
Studies University



**Robert Sutter**

George Washington  
University



**Moderator**

**Liu Yawei**

The Carter Center



**Yang Li**

Institute for  
China–Europe Studies



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## Panel II: Trade, Technology & the Future of Global Fragmentation

The U.S. and China are in the throes of a competition to dominate the technologies of tomorrow, as well as furnish industrial resilience and self-sufficiency at home. Both have laid out expansive approaches on AI. On the industrial resilience and reshoring front, the Trump Administration has persecuted a tariff war like no other in the annals of recent history and seeks to decouple China-linked supply chains in a number of strategic products. For its part, China is racing up the advanced manufacturing technology ladder to furnish self-sufficiency in core technologies at home, even as it seeks to diversify its export markets. Both are engaged in a high-wire bilateral negotiation to preserve their trading relationship and stabilize overall political ties.

Key questions include: How are both countries redesigning their industrial and innovation strategies in critical sectors like semiconductors, large capacity batteries, and AI? How does the Trump Administration's approach on AI policy both at home and abroad, differ from that of the Biden administration? Will competition over technologies and critical resources, including the deployment of export controls, spur innovation or fracture global frameworks and supply chains? To what extent is U.S.–China economic decoupling irreversible, and what would a new equilibrium look like? How are third-party countries and firms navigating the growing complexity of compliance, supply chain risks, and dual-use technologies? What role can multilateral frameworks or regional trade agreements play in stabilizing trade flows and technology cooperation?



**Paul Triolo**

DGA-Albright  
Stonebridge Group



**Zhou Mi**

Chinese Academy of  
International Trade and  
Economic Cooperation



**Denis Simon**

Alliance of  
Global Talent  
Organizations



**Moderator  
Sourabh Gupta**

Institute for  
China-America  
Studies



**Kei Koizumi**

Ex-Office of  
Science and  
Technology Policy



**Hong Nong** is Executive Director of the Institute for China-America Studies and a leading scholar on ocean governance, maritime security, and international dispute settlement. She holds a Ph.D. in international law and international relations from the University of Alberta and has held fellowships at institutions including ITLOS, the University of Virginia, and the Max Planck Institute. Her research focuses on the law of the sea, non-traditional security, and Asia-Arctic maritime governance. Hong's recent books include *U.S.-China Global Maritime Relations* (2024) and *China's Role in the Arctic* (2020).



**Wu Shicun** (Opening Remarks) is chairman of Huayang Institute for Research on Maritime Cooperation and Ocean Governance, chairman of the board of directors at China-Southeast Asia Research Center on the South China Sea, founding president of China's National Institute for South China Sea Studies., vice president of the China Institute for Free Trade Ports Studies, member of Academic Committee of Center for International Security and Strategy at Tsinghua University, and adjunct professor of Nanjing, Shanghai Jiao Tong, and Xiamen University. With a PhD in history, his research interests cover the history and geography of the South China Sea, maritime delimitation, maritime economy, international relations, and regional security strategy.



**Gordon Houlden** (Moderator) is Director Emeritus of the China Institute at the University of Alberta and a former Canadian diplomat with more than two decades of experience on Chinese affairs. Over his 30-year career in the Foreign Service, he held postings in Beijing, Hong Kong, Havana, Warsaw, and Taipei, and served as Director General of the East Asian Bureau at Global Affairs Canada. He studied at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the National Defence College, and previously taught at the University of Calgary and Carleton University.



**Qiu Wenxing** (Keynote Speaker) is Minister & Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the U.S. He has a distinguished career within China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, starting as an Attaché and Third Secretary at the Embassy of the People's Republic Of China in the Commonwealth of Australia. Then, he took on progressive roles as Third Secretary, Deputy Division Director, Division Director, and Counselor in the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs and the Department of International Organizations and Conferences before advancing to the position of Deputy Director-General of the former. He has served at the Embassy of China since 2024.



**Liu Yawei** (Moderator) is the senior advisor on China at The Carter Center and an adjunct professor of political science at Emory University. An expert on U.S.–China relations and Chinese grassroots democracy, he has written extensively on China’s political development and directs the Center’s China Focus, including its U.S.–China Perception Monitor. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and has over 25 years of experience with the Carter Center’s election observation missions.



**Michael D. Swaine** is a Senior Fellow at the Quincy Institute’s East Asia Program and a leading American expert on Chinese security studies. He previously spent nearly two decades at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and earlier worked at RAND. He has authored numerous works on U.S.–China relations, including *America’s Challenge: Engaging a Rising China in the Twenty-First Century*. Swaine holds a Ph.D. in government from Harvard University and a B.A. from George Washington University.



**Robert Sutter** is the Professor of Practice of International Affairs at the Elliott School of George Washington University, where he previously directed the undergraduate program. A former U.S. government official, he served as National Intelligence Officer for East Asia, director of the Congressional Research Service’s Foreign Affairs Division, and China division director at the State Department. He is the author of over twenty books, including *U.S.–China Relations: Perilous Past, Uncertain Present* and *Congress and China Policy*. Sutter earned his Ph.D. in history and East Asian languages from Harvard University.



**Huang Jing** is a distinguished professor at Shanghai International Studies University and Director of the Institute for American and Pacific Studies. A leading scholar of international strategic studies, his work focuses on U.S.–Asia-Pacific relations, great power politics, and comparative regional governance. He previously served as a professor and Director of the Asia and Globalization Institute at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, and as a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. Huang holds a Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University, an M.A. in History from Fudan University, and a B.A. in English from Sichuan University.



**Yang Li** is the Executive Director of the Institute for China-Europe Studies. He is a graduate of Wuhan University with a Master's Degree in Public International Law. He became a diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, working in the Dept. of Treaties & Law and the Dept. of Boundary & Ocean Affairs. His overseas posts included China's Embassy in the Republic of Guyana and China's Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York. He also worked with the National Institute for South China Sea Studies, Haikou, China. His main research areas include international relations, international law, law of the sea, ocean governance, and maritime issues.



**Sourabh Gupta** (Moderator) is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for China-America Studies, specializing in U.S.–China trade and technology relations, Asia-Pacific economic regionalism, and maritime law. With over two decades of Washington-based experience, he has written widely on international law and great power dynamics in the Asia-Pacific. He previously worked at Samuels International Associates and is a member of the U.S. Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific. Gupta holds master's degrees from Georgetown University and Syracuse University, and a bachelor's degree from the University of Mumbai.



**Denis Simon** is an expert on international business, education, and technology affairs. He has over four decades of experience studying innovation and talent strategy in contemporary China. Currently, he is Visiting Professor within the Asian Pacific Studies Institute at Duke University. From 2015–2022, he served as Professor at Duke University's Fuqua School of Business and Executive Vice Chancellor of Duke Kunshan University in China from 2015–2020. He was a founding member of the Experts Group of the US-China Innovation Dialogue (2008–2016). From 1995–2000, he was general manager of Andersen Consulting (Accenture) in Beijing. He was founding president of Monitor Group China in 2001–2002. He earned his PhD & MA from UC Berkeley and his BA from SUNY New Paltz.



**Paul Triolo** is a Partner at DGA-Albright Stonebridge Group. As a member of the firm's China practice and Technology Policy Lead, he advises clients in technology, financial services and other sectors, helping them track regulatory issues globally, develop long-term strategies on thought leadership, and engage with regulators. Most recently, he was founder, Practice Head, and Managing Director of the Geo-Technology practice at Eurasia Group. He spent more than 25 years in senior positions in the U.S. government, analyzing China's rise as a technology power and advising senior policymakers on technology-related issues.



**Kei Koizumi** is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a leading expert on U.S. science and technology policy. From 2021 to 2025, he served in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy as Special Assistant to the President and Principal Deputy Director for Science, Society, and Policy, where he helped lead implementation of the CHIPS and Science Act and record levels of federal R&D investment. He previously held senior roles at OSTP during the Obama Administration and at AAAS. Koizumi earned his M.A. from George Washington University and his B.A. from Boston University.



**Zhou Mi** is Deputy Director of the Institute of American and Oceania Studies at Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation, specializing in outward investment, trade in services, and international agreements. With over a decade of research experience, he has led or contributed to more than 200 projects supporting Chinese government agencies, local authorities, international organizations, and enterprises. He has published a book, co-edited volumes, and written over 500 articles on international trade and cooperation. Zhou has held visiting scholar positions at Stanford University and the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, and received his postdoctoral training at Fudan University.



**David Balton** (Luncheon Speaker) is a Senior Fellow with the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center Arctic Initiative and a former U.S. Ambassador for Oceans and Fisheries. He served as Executive Director of the U.S. Arctic Executive Steering Committee during the Biden Administration and previously oversaw U.S. Ocean and Fisheries Policy at the State Department. Balton has led international negotiations on maritime cooperation, including key Arctic Council agreements. He also served as chair of the Senior Arctic Officials during the U.S. Chairmanship of the Arctic Council (2015–2017).



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## About

The Institute for China-America Studies (ICAS) is an independent, 501(c) non-profit 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.

The ICAS Team produces and shares our research through various forms of publications, media appearances, academic engagements, in-depth video interviews, and podcast discussions. At present, ICAS has three programs, each of which tracks and analyzes a different aspect of U.S.-China relations through regular newsletters, policy oriented projects, and events.

In addition to its focus on Maritime Affairs, Trade and Technology, and Blue Carbon & Climate Change, ICAS also has dedicated special projects, including the L.E.A.D. (Legislative and Executive Analysis Directories).



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## Co-hosts



Located in the Jiangdong New District of Haikou City, the National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS) specializes in research on issues of the South China Sea. After nearly 20 years, the NISCSS has formed a systematic scope of research, including strategy, geopolitics, neighboring countries policies, international law, peaceful settlement of the Spratly Islands dispute, resource development, environmental protection, and the strategies, institutions, and mechanisms for developing maritime economy and the building of the Maritime Silk Road in the 21st century.



The Carter Center remains committed to preserving the legacy of President Carter and Deng Xiaoping's historic decision to normalize diplomatic relations while adapting to the demands of the 21st century. This requires navigating a bilateral relationship fraught with global crisis, ideological divergence, human rights crises, nationalist tension, and the looming threat of conflict in the Taiwan Strait. Through its research, workshops, and online engagement initiatives, the China Focus at The Carter Center fosters greater dialogue, exchange, and critical reflection on the past, present, and future of U.S.-China relations.



The Institute for China-Europe Studies (ICES) is a Brussels-based think tank seeking to foster better mutual understanding between China and Europe by supporting academic research in a broad range of fields of potential cooperation including but not limited to business, trade, international law, ocean management, and global governance.

The ICES Vision is to achieve improved cross-cultural communication and understanding in a fast changing world. To achieve its objectives, ICES organizes academic events and exhibitions, publishes research papers and reports, as well as supports academic exchanges to promote the free flow of ideas and people between China and Europe.



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