





The 7th International Forum on Security and Strategy

# NAVIGATING NEW PATHS IN A RESHAPING GLOBAL ORDER

March 19-21, 2025 Beijing, China



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# 1 Programme Overview

Theme: Navigating New Paths in a Reshaping Global Order

Organizer: Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University

(CISS)

**Sponsor:** China-United States Exchange Foundation (CUSEF)

# Wednesday, March 19, 2025

**18:30 Welcoming Dinner** (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor)

Thursday, March 20, 2025		
8:30-9:00	Registration (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)	
9:00-9:55	Opening Ceremony	
9:55-10:15	Group Photo & Coffee Break	
10:15-12:15	Session I: Global Order in Flux-Major Adjustments in Great Power Relations	
12:15-13:30	Buffet Lunch (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor) Lunch Speech	
13:30-15:00	Session II: Global Order in Flux-Economic Ties and Technological Breakthroughs	
15:00-15:20	Coffee Break	
15:20-17:50	Session III: China-U.S. Relations-A New Landscape	
18:30	Dinner (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor) Dinner Speech	

Friday, March 21, 2025		
9:00-10:30	Session IV: Asia-Pacific-Choices and Prospects	
10:30-10:50	Coffee Break	
10:50-12:20	Session V: Global Issues Amidst a Shifting Order- Impacts on Climate Change, Public Health, Nuclear Proliferation, and Beyond	
12:20-12:30	Closing Remarks	
12:30-13:30	Buffet Lunch (The Garden Court on the 1st floor)	
13:30-17:15	Session VI: Public Session-The Path Forward	
	13:30-14:15 TOPIC 1 Youth Perspectives: Voices of the Next Generation	
	<b>14:15-15:15 TOPIC 2</b> China-U.S. Relations: Is a "Grand Bargain" Possible?	
	<b>15:15-16:15 TOPIC 3</b> Asia-Pacific: Cooperation or Confrontation?	
	16:15-17:15 TOPIC 4 International Order: The Best or Worst of Times?	
17:15	End of Forum	

Friday, March 21, 2025		
9:00-11:30	CISS Young Leaders Workshop: Navigating Change, Shaping Future  As a key extension of the forum, this workshop will bring together seasoned experts and scholars in the field of international strategy and security for in-depth, face-to-face exchanges with emerging young leaders.	



2 Agenda

Wednesday, March 19 (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor)	
18:30	Welcoming Dinner
	Dinner Speech Moderator: DA Wei Welcome Remarks: Mme FU Ying Dinner Speech: JU Jiandong, Robert S. TYRER

Thursday, March 20 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)	
8:30-9:00	Registration
9:00-9:55	Opening Ceremony
	Moderator: DA Wei Welcome Remarks: GUO Yong Keynote Speech: LU Kang
9:55-10:20	Coffee Break and Group Photo
10:20-12:20	Session I: Global Order in Flux-Major Adjustments in Great Power Relations
	Are we entering a new global order? How do nations perceive ongoing shifts in the global order and their implications for domestic policies and national interests? What are the evolving dynamics and trajectories among major powers—including China, the United States, Russia, Europe, and the Global South—in this redefined landscape?

Thursday, March 20 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)		
	How might the prospects of the Ukraine conflict reshape international relations? What strategic frameworks should be adopted to address these systemic shifts effectively?	
	Moderator: DA Wei Leading Remarks (5 min per speaker): YAN Xuetong, Markus EDERER, Timofei BORDACHEV, CHEN Xiaogong, Zanny MINTON BEDDOES	
12:20-13:30	Buffet Lunch (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor) Lunch Speech Keynote Speech: Graham ALLISON	
13:30-15:00	Session II: Global Order in Flux-Economic Ties and Technological Breakthroughs	
	What transformations are unfolding in global economic relations? How do the tides of deglobalization and economic nationalism strain the global order, and what impacts do they exert on international security and national development trajectories? As technological advancements approach a potential singularity, what disruptive challenges do they pose to the global order, international relations, and domestic governance frameworks? What policy and collaborative strategies should be prioritized to navigate these intertwined economic and technological shifts?	
	Moderator: XIAO Qian Leading Remarks (5 min per speaker): HUANG Renwei, Craig ALLEN, Scott KENNEDY, Christopher THOMAS, LI Ruishen	
15:00-15:20	Coffee Break	



Thursday, March 20 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)		
15:20-17:50	Session III: China-U.S. Relations-A New Landscape	
	What is the current state of U.SChina relations? What are the plausible trajectories for their evolution in the coming years? Is there potential for a negotiated arrangement between the two nations? If so, what would define its scope, structure, and implementation roadmap? Where lie the most critical risk factors in bilateral relations over the near term? To foster a more stable equilibrium in U.SChina engagement, what multilateral and/or unilateral frameworks should be prioritized?	
	Moderator: AN Gang Leading Remarks (5 min per speaker): WANG Jisi, Stephen ORLINS, ZHANG Baijia, Susan A. THORNTON, Rick WATERS, Paul TRIOLO	
18:30	Dinner (Diplomat Hall on the 3rd floor) Dinner Speech Moderator: HUANG Dizhong Keynote Speech: SHAN Yehua	

Friday, March 21 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)		
9:00-10:30	Session IV: Asia-Pacific-Choices and Prospects	
	How do Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia perceive shifts in the global order? How might regional geopolitical dynamics evolve, particularly regarding hotspot issues? What strategic shifts and recalibrations can be anticipated in the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy? Will U.SChina competition in the Asia-Pacific region intensify or moderate in the near term?	

Friday, Marc	h 21 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)
	Is the region poised for fragmentation into rival blocs, or can it foster enhanced regional collaboration? What actionable policy recommendations should be prioritized to advance peace, stability, and sustainable development across the Asia-Pacific?
	Moderator: CHEN Qi Leading Remarks (5 min per speaker): ZHANG Tuosheng, Sang Hyun LEE, Yun SUN, Sue-Ann LEE, LIU Feng, Michael VATIKIOTIS, ZHU Feng
10:30-10:50	Coffee Break
10:50-12:20	Session V: Global Issues Amidst a Shifting Order- Impacts on Climate Change, Public Health, Nuclear Proliferation, and Beyond
	How do transformations in the global order influence the governance of critical global issues such as climate change and public health?  Will a viable "global" governance framework persist in this evolving landscape?  How will major powers recalibrate their policy postures to address these challenges?  What strategies can ensure effective multilateral responses to global crises in an era marked by deglobalization?
	Moderator: ZHOU Bo Leading Remarks (5 min per speaker): WU Shicun, Sheikh Tanjeb ISLAM, ZOU Ji, Steve HOWARD, Jennifer BOUEY, YAO Yunzhu
12:20-12:30	Closing Remarks Mme FU Ying
12:30-13:30	Buffet Lunch (The Garden Court on the 1st floor)



Friday, March 21 (Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor)		
13:30-17:15	Session VI: Public Session-The Path Forward	
	This session will be open to Chinese and international media and live-streamed. Building on closed-door discussions, this session will focus on the future and actionable steps. After a day and a half of deliberations, what are your key conclusions and takeaways? How do you assess the prospects of the topics discussed? What concrete actions should we take to achieve a better future?	
	13:30–14:15 TOPIC 1 Youth Perspectives: Voices of the Next Generation Moderator: DA Wei Panelists: ZHAO Xiuye, NIU Qiyang, YIN Zihan, FAN Jingyue, BAI Xuhan	
	14:15–15:15 TOPIC 2 China-U.S. Relations: Is a "Grand Bargain" Possible? Moderator: XIAO Qian Panelists: Susan A. THORNTON, Michael VATIKIOTIS, ZHAO Minghao, YU Xiang, Yun SUN	
	15:15–16:15 TOPIC 3 Asia-Pacific: Cooperation or Confrontation? Moderator: CHEN Qi Panelists: HU Bo, Steve HOWARD, Sang Hyun LEE, ZHOU Bo, Sue-Ann LEE	
	16:15–17:15 TOPIC 4 International Order: The Best or Worst of Times? Moderator: DA Wei Panelists: ZHU Feng, Paul TRIOLO, Markus EDERER, LI Chen	
17:15	End of Forum	

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# **List of Participants**

# International Participants (In Alphabetical Order)

Craig ALLEN	Senior Counselor, The Cohen Group
Graham ALLISON	Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, Harvard University
Zanny MINTON BEDDOES	Editor-in-Chief, The Economist
Timofei BORDACHEV	Programme Director, the Valdai Discussion Club; Academic Supervisor, the Center for Comprehensive European and International Studies, the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE)
Jennifer BOUEY	Tang Chair Professor in China Policy Studies, RAND Corporation
Markus EDERER	Former European Union Ambassador to Russia and China
Steve HOWARD	Secretary-General, Global Foundation
Sheikh Tanjeb ISLAM	Head of Event Editorial, World Economic Forum
Scott KENNEDY	Senior Adviser and Director, China Business and Economics Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Sang Hyun LEE	Senior Research Fellow, Sejong Institute; board member, Institute of Nuclear Materials Management-Korea (INMM-K); board member, Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament
Sue-Ann LEE	Senior Fellow and Coordinator, Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme, ISEAS - Yusof Ishak Institute
Stephen ORLINS	President, National Committee on U.SChina Relations
Yun SUN	Director, China Program, Stimson Center



Christopher THOMAS	Founder of Integrated Insights, Board Director and Chair of the Audit Committee at Velodyne LIDAR, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations
Susan A. THORNTON	Senior Fellow, Paul Tsai China Center, Yale Law School; Director, Forum on Asia-Pacific Security, National Committee on American Foreign Policy; Former Acting Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, US Department of State
Paul TRIOLO	Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead, DGA Albright Stonebridge
Robert S. TYRER	Chief Executive Officer, The Cohen Group
Michael VATIKIOTIS	Senior Advisor and Asia Regional Director, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Rick WATERS	The Maurice R. Greenberg Director's Chair, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Director, Carnegie China

# Chinese Participants (In Alphabetical Order)

AN Gang	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Senior Editor for China's World Affairs Magazine
CHEN Qi	Deputy Director, CISS, Tsinghua University; Professor, School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University
CHEN Xiaogong	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; former Deputy Director, Central Foreign Affairs Office; former Deputy Commander, Air Force
DA Wei	Director of CISS; Professor, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University
DIAO Daming	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Professor, School of International Relations, Renmin University of China
DONG Ting	Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
FAN Jishe	Professor and Deputy Director General of the Institute for International Strategic Studies at Party School of the Central Committee of C.P.C. (National Academy of Governance)
FU Ying	Former Vice Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Former Ambassador to the UK
GUO Yong	Deputy Secretary of Party Committee and Professor, School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University
HUANG Dizhong	Vice Chairman and Secretary-General, Pacific International Exchange Foundation
HUANG Renwei	Academic Committee Member, CISS, Tsinghua University, Executive Director-General, Fudan Institute for Belt and Road and Global Governance
HU Bo	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Director of the Center for Maritime Strategy Studies and Research Professor at the Institute of Ocean Research, Peking University
JU Jiandong	Chair Professor of Finance, PBC School of Finance, Tsinghua University; Vice President, the National Institute of Financial Research; Chairman, the China Association of International Trade
LI Chen	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Associate Professor and Deputy Dean, School of International Studies at Renmin University of China



LI Ruishen	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Deputy Dean, Institute of Internet at Beijing Normal University
LIU Feng	Professor and Deputy Dean, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University
LU Kang	Vice Minister of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
NIU Qiyang	Predoc Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
SHAN Yehua	Deputy Secretary-General of China National Narcotics Control Commission, Deputy Director-General of Narcotics Control Bureau, Ministry of Public Security
SHI Yan	Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
SONG Bo	Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
WANG Congyue	Postdoc Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
WANG Jisi	Member of Academic Committee, CISS, Tsinghua University; Professor/ Founding president, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University
WEN Jing	Postdoc Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
WU Shicun	Member of Academic Committee, CISS, Tsinghua University; Founding President, National Institute for South China Sea Studies (NISCSS)
XIAO Qian	Deputy Director, CISS; Vice Dean of the Institute for Al International Governance (I-AIIG); Dean of Office of International Affairs, International Affairs, Tsinghua University
XU Jialun	Postdoc fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University and Chinese Academy of Engineering
YAO Yunzhu	Academic Committee Member, CISS, Tsinghua University; Senior Advisor, Secretariat of Beijing Xiangshan Forum; Director Emeritus of the Center for U.SChina Defense Relations at the Academy of Military Sciences
YAN Xuetong	Academic Committee Member, CISS, Tsinghua University; distinguished Professor of Tsinghua University; Honorary Dean of the Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University

YU Xiang	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Senior Research Fellow, China Construction Bank
ZHANG Baijia	Former Deputy Director, Party History Research Center, CPC Central Committee
ZHANG Tuosheng	Member of Academic Committee, CISS, Tsinghua University; Chief Research Fellow, Grandview Institution
ZHAO Minghao	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Professor and Deputy Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan University
ZHAO Xiuye	Predoc Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
ZHENG Xiyuan	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University
ZHOU Bo	Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University and China Forum expert
ZHU Feng	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; Professor and Dean, School of International Studies, Nanjing University
ZOU Ji	Nonresident Senior Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University; CEO and President, Energy Foundation China



# Young Leaders (In Alphabetical Order)

BAI Xuhan	Tsinghua University, Rixin College, Chinese language and literature, Undergraduate
CHEN Siying	Beijing Foreign Studies University, British Studies, Master
CHEUNG Yin Man	Tsinghua University, International Relations (Global Governance), Undergraduate
FAN Jiayuan	Peking University, Diplomatic Studies, Master
FAN Jingyue	Tsinghua University, Rixin College, History, Undergraduate
GONG Xiaoyu	China Foreign Affairs University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
HUANG Ying	Tsinghua University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
JIANG Shaocheng	University of Oxford, Oxford School of Global and Area Studies, Master
KANG Tian	Tsinghua University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
LI TszKin	Peking University, International Organization and International Public Policy, Undergraduate
LI Yijie	Tsinghua University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
LONG Taige	Tsinghua University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
YANG Jihong	Tsinghua University, International Relations, Ph.D. Candidate
YIN Zihan	Tsinghua University, Physics, Ph.D. Candidate
YU Yi	Tsinghua University, Japanese Language and Literature, Master
ZHANG Gongle	Tsinghua University, English Languages and Literatures, Undergraduate
ZHANG Lingyu	Communication University of China, Broadcast Announcing and Anchoring (English-Chinese Bilingual), Undergraduate

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# **Participant Biographies**

### International Participants: (In Alphabetical Order)



# **Craig ALLEN**

July 2018.

serving from 2018-2024 as the President of the U.S.-China Business Council (USCBC), a private, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization representing over 200 American companies doing business in China. Prior to joining USCBC, Ambassador Allen had a long, distinguished career in US public service. He began his government career in 1985 at the Department of Commerce's International Trade Administration (ITA) as a Presidential Management Intern. From 1986 to 1988, he was an international economist in ITA's China Office. In 1988, Craig transferred to the American Institute in Taiwan, where he served as Director of the American Trade Center in Taipei. He held this position until 1992, when he returned to the Department of Commerce for a three-year posting at the US Embassy in Beijing as Commercial Attaché. In 1995, Craig was assigned to the US Embassy in Tokyo, where he served as a Commercial Attaché. In 1998, he was promoted to Deputy Senior Commercial Officer. In 1999, Craig became a member of the Senior Foreign Service. From 2000, Craig served a two-year tour at the National Center for APEC in Seattle. While there, he worked on the APEC Summits in Brunei, China, and Mexico. In 2002, it was back to Beijing, where Craig served as the Senior Commercial Officer. In Beijing, Craig was promoted to the Minister Counselor rank of the Senior Foreign Service. After a fouryear tour in South Africa, Craig became Deputy Assistant Secretary for Asia at the US Department of Commerce's International Trade Administration. He later became Deputy Assistant Secretary for China. Craig was sworn in as the United States ambassador to

Ambassador Craig Allen joined The Cohen Group in 2025 after

Craig received a bachelor's degree in Political Science and Asian Studies from the University of Michigan. He also holds a Master of Science in Foreign Service from Georgetown University.

Brunei Darussalam on December 19, 2014 and served there until



#### **Graham ALLISON**

Graham Allison is Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he has taught for five decades. Allison was the "Founding Dean" of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and until 2017, served as Director of its Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs which is ranked the "#1 University Affiliated Think Tank" in the world. Allison is a leading analyst of U.S. national security and defense policy with a special interest in nuclear weapons, terrorism, and decision-making.

His latest book, Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap? was published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt in May 2017 and quickly became a national bestseller. His 2013 book, Lee Kuan Yew: The Grand Master's Insights on China, the United States and the World (co-authored with Robert Blackwill), has been a bestseller in the U.S. and abroad. Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe, now in its third printing, was selected by the New York Times as one of the "100 most notable books of 2004." It presents a strategy for preventing nuclear terrorism organized under a doctrine of "Three Nos:" no loose nukes; no new nascent nukes; and no new nuclear weapons states. Dr. Allison's first book, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1971), was released in an updated and revised second edition (1999) and ranks among the all-time bestsellers with more than 450,000 copies in print.

As "Founding Dean" of the modern Kennedy School, under his leadership, from 1977 to 1989, a small, undefined program grew twenty-fold to become a major professional school of public policy and government.

As Assistant Secretary of Defense in the first Clinton Administration, Dr. Allison received the Defense Department's highest civilian award, the Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, for "reshaping relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan to reduce the former Soviet nuclear arsenal." This resulted in the safe return of more than 12,000 tactical nuclear weapons from the former Soviet republics and the complete elimination of more than 4,000 strategic nuclear warheads previously targeted at the United States and left in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus when the Soviet Union disappeared.

Dr. Allison was the organizer of the Commission on America's National Interests (1996 and 2000), a founding member of the Trilateral Commission, a Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, and has been a member of public committees and commissions, among them the Baker-Cutler DOE Task Force on Nonproliferation Programs with Russia, the IAEA's Commission of Eminent Persons, and the Commission on Prevention of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Proliferation, and Terrorism.



# **Zanny MINTON BEDDOES**

Zanny Minton Beddoes is the Editor-in-Chief of The Economist. She is a renowned global economics expert, sought-after for her authoritative perspectives on the world economy. She previously worked at the IMF, and as an adviser to the Minister of Finance in Poland.



#### **Timofei BORDACHEV**

Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Academic Supervisor of the Centre for Complex European and International Studies of the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Programme Director of the Valdai International Discussion Club. As the researcher specializes in Russian-European relations, foreign policy of the European Union, public-private relations in Europe, the European and international security, Eurasian economic integration. The author of the academic works published in Russia and abroad.

Author of the textbook on the theory of international relations "Actual Problems of International Relations and Foreign Policy in the XXI Century". He is also the author of the following three books: Europe, Russia and the Liberal World Order: International Relations after the Cold War \( \) \( \) (Iron Frame of Eurasia: Achievements, Problems and Prospects of Continental Connectivity \( \) \( \) \( \) BRICS and the Pandemic of Rivalry \( \) .



#### **Jennifer BOUEY**

Dr. Jennifer Bouev is the Chair of the Department of Global Health at Georgetown University. She is also the Tang Chair for China Policy Studies at RAND Corporation (a U.S. Think Tank) and a Pardee RAND graduate school professor. As an epidemiologist with training in clinical medicine and quantitative research, she has led multiple global research initiatives on the social determinants of health and geopolitical influence on global health. She recently published U.S.- China Collaboration on HIV/AIDS- Perspectives of Global Health Collaboration Amid Geopolitical Changes. Her research centers on understanding regional health collaborations for pandemic preparedness, health system strengthening after pandemic, and influence of U.S.-China competition on community and global development. Dr. Bouey's work has been published in scholarly journals such as the American Journal of Public Health. Health Affairs, and Emerging Infectious Disease and quoted often by mainstream media. During the COVID-19 pandemic, Dr. Bouey testified multiple times before the U.S. Congressional committees. She also serves on the advisory board for the Bush U.S.-China Relations Foundation, CSIS-Brookings Restart U.S.-China Collaboration Initiative, and Chinese American Health Services.



#### Markus EDERER

Markus Ederer was born in Germany in 1957. He graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Passau. Since October 2017, Ederer has served as the Ambassador of the European Union to Russia. From January 2014 to October 2017, he held the position of State Secretary at the German Federal Foreign Office. Between January 2011 and January 2014, he was the Ambassador of the European Union to China, based in Beijing. From December 2005 to December 2010, he served as Director of Policy Planning at the German Federal Foreign Office.

Ederer began his diplomatic career in 1990 as Private Secretary to Helmut Schäfer, then Minister of State at the German Federal Foreign Office. He subsequently worked at the German Embassy in Moscow, focusing on economic affairs. In 1993, he returned to Germany, joining the Press Department and later becoming Deputy Spokesperson of the German Federal Foreign Office. In 1999, he moved to Brussels as Chief of Cabinet to the Special Coordinator of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. By April 2002, he was appointed Director of Political/Economic Assessment at the German Federal Intelligence Service (BND).

Ederer holds a Doctorate in International Law from the University of Passau and a Master of Laws (LL.M.) from the University of Miami.



#### Steve HOWARD

As Founding Secretary General of the non-profit Global Foundation, Steve has led the necessary global push for the adoption of 'cooperative globalisation', a positive strategy for inclusive, 'win-win' economic development and a sustainable global economy. Many world leaders have personally participated in and endorsed this and related initiatives.

Through this collaborative and low-key approach, Steve has helped to shape global affairs with practical outcomes over 25 years.

He led the successful renaissance strategy for Melbourne, in Australia in the 1990's, including a national strategy for private sector investment in public infrastructure, now adopted as a business model, worldwide. He continues to provide strategic advice on complex global issues requiring resolution.

In 1998, he co-founded and has since led the Global Foundation. Steve is well-known in China for his contribution to China's global engagement over the past 20 years.

Highlights have included: his role in bringing China, the US and Australia together on global climate change policy; and more recently, his integral role in the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the first international institution led by China. He visits China regularly for high-level dialogues embracing security, international relations and multilateral economic development.

Steve completed his Degree in Social Science at Deakin University and the Senior Executive Program at London Business School, under a British Government scholarship. He was awarded the Chevalier of the Order of Merit for his contribution to France-Australia relations in 2004.



# **Sheikh Tanjeb ISLAM**

Tanjeb currently Heads the Forum's Event Editorial Team. In its current role, Tanjeb oversees the design, the development and the delivery of the programme for all Forum's institutional events. Previously to this role, Tanjeb headed the Government Affairs Team within the Forum's C4IR network. He joined the World Economic Forum as the Regional Lead in the Asia Regional Government Engagement Team and Global Leadership Fellow. Prior to the the Forum he worked as the Country Economist for Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan at the World Bank. He previously completed his Masters in Public Administration from Columbia University and also has a Masters in Economics from the University of Sydney.



#### **Scott KENNEDY**

Scott Kennedy is senior adviser and Trustee Chair in Chinese Business and Economics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). A leading authority on Chinese economic policy and U.S.-China commercial relations, Kennedy has been traveling to China for 35 years. His specific areas of expertise include industrial policy, technology innovation, business lobbying, U.S.-China commercial relations, and global governance. His articles have appeared in a wide array of policy, popular, and academic venues. including the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and China Quarterly. He is author of (with Wang Jisi) Breaking the Ice: The Role of Scholarly Exchange in Stabilizing U.S.-China Relations (CSIS, 2023), The Fat Tech Dragon: Benchmarking China's Innovation Drive (CSIS, 2017), and The Business of Lobbying in China (Harvard University Press, 2005); and editor of China's Uneven High-Tech Drive: Implications for the United States (CSIS, 2020) and Global Governance and China: The Dragon's Learning Curve (Routledge, 2018). From 2000 to 2014, Kennedy was a professor at Indiana University (IU), where he established the Research Center for Chinese Politics & Business and was the founding academic director of IU's China Office. Kennedy received a PhD in political science from George Washington University and his MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



# Sang Hyun LEE

Sang Hyun Lee is currently Senior Research Fellow of the Sejong Institute, board member of the Institute of Nuclear Materials Management-Korea (INMM-K), and board member of the Asia-Pacific Leadership Network (APLN) for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament. He served as a researcher at the Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, Director-General for Policy Planning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, a guest researcher at the Stockholm Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP) in Sweden, and a visiting researcher at the Stimson Center in Washington, DC.

His main research interests include international politics and security, Korea-U.S. relations, inter-Korean relations, nuclear security and nonproliferation, and East Asian security issues. His recent publications include: *Cyber Security: Politics, Governance and Conflict in Cyberspace* (co-translation, authored by Damien Van Puyvelde and Aaron F. Brantly, 2023), *Biden Administration's Foreign Policy and the Korean Peninsula* (2022, co-authored), *New Global Order and South Korea's Foreign Policy Strategy* (2021, co-authored), "Prospects for the Biden Administration's Foreign Policy" (2021), *South Korea's Foreign Policy in the Era of U.S.-China Strategic Competition* (2020, co-authored), and so on.

Sang Hyun Lee graduated from the Department of International Relations at Seoul National University in Korea and received a Ph.D. from Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the United States.



#### Sue-Ann LEE

Sue-Ann Lee is a Senior Fellow and Coordinator of the Regional Strategic and Political Studies Programme at the ISEAS—Yusof Ishak Institute, as well as the Editor of Fulcrum. She also leads the Media, Technology, and Society Programme, which examines how media technologies and platforms are leveraged to shape political perceptions, narratives, and behaviors.

Sue-Ann graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Political Science from the National University of Singapore and earned a Master in Public Policy from Harvard Kennedy School. Her research focuses on China's rise and its strategic implications, technology as an emerging arena of great power competition, Islamist politics, and the role of identity politics as a divisive force in political discourse.



# **Stephen ORLINS**

Stephen Orlins has been President of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations since 2005. Previously, he was Managing Director of Carlyle Asia and Chair of cable and internet provider Taiwan Broadband Communications; a senior advisor to leveraged buyout firm AEA Investors; Managing Director of Lehman Brothers; and President of Lehman Brothers Asia. From 1976 to 1979, he was an attorney-advisor in the Office of the Legal Advisor of the U.S. State Department's and helped establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Mr. Orlins graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College and earned a law degree from Harvard Law School. He speaks Mandarin Chinese fluently and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



#### Yun SUN

Yun Sun is a Senior Fellow and Co-Director of the East Asia Program and Director of the China Program at the Stimson Center. Her expertise is in Chinese foreign policy, U.S.-China relations and China's relations with neighboring countries and authoritarian regimes. From 2011 to early 2014, she was a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution, jointly appointed by the Foreign Policy Program and the Global Development Program, where she focused on Chinese national security decision-making processes and China-Africa relations. From 2008 to 2011, Yun was the China Analyst for the International Crisis Group based in Beijing, specializing on China's foreign policy towards conflict countries and the developing world. Prior to ICG, she worked on U.S.-Asia relations in Washington, DC for five years. Yun receives her PhD from Johns Hopkins University, her master's degree in international policy and practice from George Washington University, as well as an MA in Asia Pacific studies and a BA in international relations from Foreign Affairs College in Beijing.



# **Christopher THOMAS**

Chris Thomas is the founder of Integrated Insights, an advisory firm serving technology companies; a partner at Acorn River Capital; and a Board Director at the TMRW Foundation.

Chris spent ten years as a Managing Partner with McKinsey & Company, leading the Firm's Asia Semiconductor Practice. Chris served as General Manager of Intel China and held multiple executive roles at global headquarters. Chris began his career in the private equity team at The Blackstone Group. He has also served as a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Visiting Professor at Tsinghua University.

Chris received an MBA and MA in Political Science from Stanford University; and a Bachelor of Science in Economics, summa cum laude, from the Wharton School.



### **Susan A. THORNTON**

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#### **Paul TRIOLO**

Paul Triolo is Senior Vice President for China and Technology Policy Lead at DGA ASG, where he is also a Partner. He advises clients in technology, financial services, and other sectors as they navigate complex political and regulatory matters in the U.S., China, the European Union, India, and around the world.

At DGA ASG, Mr. Triolo works closely with some of the world's leading companies on AI and semiconductor policy, helping then track regulatory issues globally, developing long-term strategies on thought leadership, and structure themselves internally to engage with regulators, particularly in the EU, the U.S., and China. He currently is client lead for several large and medium-sized AI clients, including companies that are developing AI IP and for firms in key industry verticals which deploy AI applications across their business operations. He has participated in Track 2 dialogues with China related to the digital economy, including issues related to semiconductors, export controls, AI, and data governance.

A recognized expert in global technology policy, Mr. Triolo was most recently founder, Practice Head, and Managing Director of the Geo-Technology practice at Eurasia Group. At Eurasia Group he worked frequently and closely with financial services clients, including pension funds, hedge funds, and sovereign wealth funds around the world on technology policy issues. Previously, Mr. Triolo 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 a broad set of technology-related issues. At the beginning of his career, he worked as an engineer for a semiconductor testing firm in Silicon Valley.

Mr. Triolo is frequently quoted on technology policy issues in media outlets including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Economist, the South China Morning Post, and others. He speaks regularly at conferences and has authored many journal articles and book chapters on global technology policy and Chinarelated issues. He has also served as a senior advisor to the Paulson Institute and as senior associate with the Trustee Chair in Chinese Business and Economics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

He received an M.A. in International Relations from the Catholic University and a B.A. in Electrical Engineering from Penn State University.

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#### Robert S. TYRER

Mr. Robert Tyrer is one of the founders of the Cohen Group and currently serves as the CEO. A core member of the company's management, he actively promotes economic and trade exchanges between China and the United States and helps multinational clients to enter the Chinese market and conduct business.

Prior to joining The Cohen Group, Mr. Tyrer served as the Chief of Staff to the Secretary of Defense from 1997–2001, providing strategic advice and daily counsel to then Defense Secretary William Cohen on all aspects of national security policy and helped oversee the daily worldwide operations of the Pentagon. As a key advisor, he participated in the discussions with foreign political, military, and business leaders in over 40 capitals and maintained strong ties with them throughout his tenure.

In addition, he was the Secretary's primary liaison with senior White House officials and cabinet counterparts, playing a key Pentagon role in presidential initiatives and policies. He received the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service for his accomplishments.

Before entering the Pentagon, Mr. Tyrer served 21 years on Capitol Hill in virtually every capacity a congressional staff member can play, becoming a highly sought after political, media, and campaign adviser throughout Washington. He also managed the legislative work of numerous committees and subcommittees the Senator chaired in addition to a staff of nearly 100 dispersed in nine offices. Mr. Tyrer graduated from the University of Maine. He is a Senior Advisor at the CSIS and serves as board directors for several listed companies.





#### Michael VATIKIOTIS

Michael Vatikiotis is Senior Advisor at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, a Swiss-based Private Foundation. He works on promoting dialogue and conflict resolution in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Formerly a BBC Correspondent and editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review, Vatikiotis has been a writer, broadcaster and journalist in Asia for almost forty years. He has written three books on the politics of Southeast Asia, including "Blood and Silk: Power and Conflict in Modern Southeast Asia" (2017) With family origins in the Middle East, he has lived in Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand as well as Hong Kong. His latest book "Lives Between the Lines: A Journey in Search of the Lost Levant" (2022) explores the origins of his family in the Middle East. He is a regular broadcaster and contributor to the opinion page of several newspapers. Vatikiotis is a graduate of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, earned his doctorate, which was on Thailand, from Oxford University, and was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Maryland. He is a member of the Asia Society's International Council. He speaks the Thai and Indonesian languages fluently.



#### **Rick WATERS**

Rick Waters is the Maurice R. Greenberg Director's Chair at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Director of Carnegie China, a Singapore-based research center devoted to understanding regional perspectives on China.

Waters joined Carnegie after a 27-year career culminating as the U.S. State Department's top China policy official, overseeing the creation of the Office of China Coordination, informally known as the China House, and concurrently serving as deputy assistant secretary of state for China and Taiwan. He also held multiple roles at the U.S. embassy in Beijing — including during the period between the accidental U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade (1999) and the Hainan Island incident (2001). After retiring from government service, Rick served as Managing Director for Northeast Asia at the Eurasia Group, a global geopolitical risk practice, and as a non-resident fellow at the Asia Society's Center for China Analysis.

Fluent in Mandarin and Spanish, Mr. Waters also speaks (rusty) Arabic and worked for more than a decade on Middle East issues, including as director for Israel, Palestine, Egypt, and Jordan at the National Security Council under George W. Bush and as political counselor in Jerusalem and Islamabad. Mr. Waters holds Bachelors and Masters degrees from the Georgetown University Walsh School of Foreign Service.



### Chinese Participants: (In Alphabetical Order)



# **AN Gang**

An Gang is a fellow at CISS, Tsinghua University; Senior Editor for *China World Affairs Magazine*.

He graduated from Beijing Foreign Studies University. He had 18 years' working experience in China's diplomatic service. His research area mainly cover the China-U.S. relation, Korean Peninsular issues and China's neighboring diplomacy.



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# **CHEN Xiaogong**

Member of Academic Committee, CISS; former Deputy Director of the Central Foreign Affairs Office, former Deputy Commander of the Air Force, retired Air Force Lieutenant General. He graduated from Jilin University and the Chinese People's Liberation Army Military Academy. In 1998, he served as the Attaché of the Chinese Embassy in Egypt. In 2000, he was the Defense Attaché at the Chinese Embassy in the United States. In 2003, he became the Deputy Director of the Central Foreign Affairs Office. In 2006, he was appointed as the Director of the General Staff Department of Military Intelligence. In 2007, he served as the Assistant to the Chief of the General Staff. In 2009, he was appointed as the Deputy Commander of the Air Force. He is also a national people's congress deputy of the 11th and 12th sessions.



#### **DA Wei**

Da Wei is the Director of CISS and a professor in the Department of International Relations. He has long been engaged in research and teaching in the fields of international relations and international security, with a focus on U.S. foreign and security strategy, as well as China-U.S. relations.

Before joining Tsinghua University, Da Wei worked at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations for over 20 years, serving as the director of the American Studies Institute, among other positions. From 2017 to 2020, he was the Assistant President at the University of International Relations, where he also concurrently served as the director of the Department of International Politics.

Professor Da Wei has published dozens of academic papers in prominent domestic and international journals, including *World Economics and Politics*, *Journal of American Studies*, *Diplomatic Review*, and *Contemporary International Relations*. He has also authored hundreds of policy research reports. He has been a visiting scholar at the Atlantic Council and Johns Hopkins University in the United States. Currently, he serves as the Deputy Secretary-General of the China Association of American Studies and the President of its Youth Branch.



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Diao Daming is a Professor and Ph.D. Supervisor at the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China, where he also serves as the Chair of the Department of Diplomacy. He is the Deputy Director of the Center for American Studies at Renmin University and a Specially Appointed Research Fellow at the National Academy of Development and Strategy at Renmin University. Previously, he served as the Assistant Director of the Center for U.S.-China Relations at Tsinghua University (2010–2015) and an Assistant Research Fellow at the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2012–2017). Professor Diao's research focuses on U.S. politics and foreign policy, U.S.-China relations, and comparative politics. At Renmin University, he teaches undergraduate and graduate courses, including "Introduction to U.S. Politics" (Undergraduate), "Major Controversial Issues in U.S. Politics" (Graduate), "Special Topics on the U.S. Congress" (Graduate), and "Introduction to U.S.-China Relations" (Undergraduate). He is also a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) at Tsinghua University and serves as an editorial board member for the journal International Political Science.



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Dong Ting is a fellow of CISS at Tsinghua University. She holds a Ph.D. from the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations and was a Boya Postdoctoral Fellow at the School of International Studies, Peking University. Her primary research areas focus on non-traditional security, with a specialization in specific fields such as technology, energy, and the maritime domain from a geopolitical perspective. She offers a graduate-level English course on Science, Technology, and International Relations at the School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University. She is the author of *The Logic of U.S. Maritime Strategy in the Asia-Pacific* and has published numerous academic papers in core Chinese and international journals. She has led several national and ministry-commissioned research projects and participated in several major national social science fund projects and international cooperation projects.



#### **FAN Jishe**

Professor Fan Jishe is the Deputy Director General of the Institute for International Strategic Studies at Party School of the Central Committee of C.P.C. (National Academy of Governance). He was senior fellow at the Institute of American Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences until 2019, where he served as Director for Strategic Studies, Deputy Director of the Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation Studies, and founding Executive Editor-in-Chief of the guarterly journal of Contemporary American Review. His academic interests mainly include American foreign policy, China-U.S. strategic security relationship, and nuclear strategy and nonproliferation issues. He has recently authored and edited five books. Professor Fan obtained his Ph.D. from the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 2004 and was visiting research fellow at Harvard University, Stanford University, and the Monterey Institute of International Studies.



# **FU Ying**

Fu Ying had long engaged in Asian and European affairs. She served as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2009 to 2013, and Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee of China's NPC from 2013 to 2023. Fu Ying founded the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) at Tsinghua University in 2018. She was an adjunct professor of Tsinghua University.





# **GUO Yong**

Dr. GUO Yong, holds a PhD in management and serves as Vice Chair of the Tsinghua University Council. He is a professor of the School of Public Administration (SPPM).

Dr. GUO Yong obtained his Bachelor's Degree in Engineering, Master's Degree in Management from Tsinghua University. He served as secretary of the Youth League Committee of Tsinghua University, the Dean of Student Affairs, among other roles, and secretary of the Party Committee of the SPPM at Tsinghua University. Now he is serving as Deputy Secretary of the Party Committee of Tsinghua University.



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Huang Dizhong is the Vice Chairman of the China-United States Exchange Foundation. From 2006 to 2023, he served as a special assistant to Mr. Tung Chee-hwa in Hong Kong, assisting him in establishing the China-U.S. Exchange Foundation (Hong Kong and Beijing). Previously, he worked as a diplomat for an extended period, serving in the Department of Soviet and Eastern European Affairs and the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, as well as in the Chinese Embassies and Consulates in Tanzania, the United States, and Australia. He graduated from Xiamen University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.



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Huang Renwei is currently the principal researcher of major national social science projects, such as "Triple System of Global Governance" and "The Community of Shared Future for Mankind and Global Governance." He has also been involved in research on topics like "The Path of China's Peaceful Rise."

His works include The Independent and Peaceful Foreign Policy, The Time and Space of China's Rise, New Theory of National Sovereignty, The Report on China's International Status, Frontier Issues in Economic Development, and The Historical Choices of China's Peaceful Development Path, as well as numerous papers and research reports.



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Hu Bo is a nonresident Senior Fellow of CISS, Tsinghua University, the Director of the Center for Maritime Strategy Studies at Peking University, and a Research Professor of the School of International Relations. He also serves as a director of the Pacific Society of China and is the head of the South China Sea Strategic Situation Probing Initiative (SCSPI). He has long been engaged in research on maritime strategy and policy, international security, and related fields. He has published over 40 academic papers in domestic and international core journals such as World Economics and Politics, International Observations, Foreign Affairs Review, and The Journal of Chinese Political Science. He has authored several academic books on maritime issues, including China's Maritime Power in 2049 (2015), China's Maritime Power in the Post-Mahan Era (2018), and Chinese Maritime Power in the 21st Century (Routledge, 2019).





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He was the Dean of International School of Business Administration, Shanghai University of Finance and Economics from 2014 to 2017. He was a resident scholar in International Monetary Fund and consulted for World Bank and other policy organizations. He focused his research on International Trade, International Finance and Industrial Organization, and the main teaching courses are Advanced International Trade and Finance. His work has been published in *American Economic* Review, Journal of International Economics, Journal of Monetary Economics, American Economic Journal and other journals. He received 2016 Pushan Award for Excellent Papers on International Economics ,2020 Ministry of Education 8th award for outstanding scientific research in economics and 2021 Excellent teacher in Beijing University by Beijing Municipal Education Commission, In 2023, the achievements of Ju Jiandong's team were selected as one of Tsinghua University's most notable highlights of the year, garnering significant attention from faculty and students. His course, "China-US Trade Dispute and Globalization Re-Architecture" not only made it into the second batch of "National First-Class Undergraduate Courses," but was also awarded "Tsinghua University Distinguished Course", "High-Quality Undergraduate Course at Universities in Beijing".



#### LI Chen

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Liu Feng is the Associate Dean of School of Social Science and Professor at the Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University, China. His current research focuses on international relations theory, international security, and international relations in East Asia. He has been a visiting scholar at University of Groningen (2014) and University of California, San Diego (2014-2015). He is also the Co-Editor-in-Chief of the *Chinese Journal of International Politics* and serves on the editorial boards of several academic journals. He is the author or co-editor of several books, including *Alliance Politics: Theories and Practices; US Military Intervention and International Order; International System and Domestic Politics*; and *The Logic of Balancing*. He has authored more than 100 journal articles and book chapters.



## **LU Kang**

Mr. Lu Kang, born in May 1968, native of Taixing, Jiangsu Province, member of the Communist Party of China (CPC) since April 1992, Master of Public Policy.

Lu Kang joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) in August 1992. Since then, he has worked at the Department of International Organizations and Conferences, the Department of Arms Control and Disarmament, the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, and the Information Department of the MFA. and has served as Deputy Director-General of the Department of International Organizations and Conferences, Deputy Director-General and Director-General of the Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, as well as Director-General of the Information Department. He has also worked in diplomatic missions, including the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, the Chinese Embassy in Ireland, and the Chinese Embassy in the United States of America as its Minister. In August 2021, Mr. Lu Kang was appointed Chinese Ambassador to Indonesia. He assumed office as Vice Minister of the International Department of the CPC Central Committee in March 2024.



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He has been a visiting scholar or visiting professor at the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom, the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Michigan, Claremont McKenna College, and Princeton University in the United States.



## **WEN Jing**

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She has worked in mainstream international news media for nearly six years, successively serving as an editor-in-chief and host of international commentary programs. She has interviewed numerous political figures and over a hundred authoritative scholars from both China and abroad. She has visited more than 40 countries, including the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Japan, South Korea, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Lebanon, for news reporting and field research. In July 2017 and July 2018, she traveled to the Middle East twice to conduct interviews and research on the refugee issue.

She has published multiple academic papers and international commentaries and has been frequently interviewed by media outlets such as CCTV, China News Service, Beijing News, Shenzhen Media Group, and Hubei TV.





#### **WU Shicun**

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Dr. Wu has 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. His recent books include: The Origin and Development of the Nansha Disputes: A Study on the History of South China Sea Issue from a Country-Specific Perspective (Zhonghua Book Company, 2022), Hainan Free Trade Port: A Global Perspective (Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2021), The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Challenges and Opportunities for Asia and Europe (Routledge, 2019), South China Sea Law fare: Post-Arbitration Policy Options and Future Prospects (South China Sea Think Tank / Taiwan Center for Security Studies, 2017), Arbitration Concerning the South China Sea: Philippines versus China (Ashgate, 2016), UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and the South China Sea (Ashgate, 2015), Non-Traditional Security Issues and the South China Sea-Shaping a New Framework for Cooperation (Ashgate, 2014), Recent Developments in the South China Sea Dispute: The Prospect of a Joint Development Regime (Routledge, 2014), Solving Disputes for Regional Cooperation and Development in the South China Sea: A Chinese perspective (Chandos Publishing, 2013). Dr Wu has published widely in academic journals and been the subject of frequent media interviews as a senior commentator on South China Sea, regional security issues, the Belt & Road Initiative and the development of Hainan Free Trade Port



#### **XIAO Qian**

Xiao Qian is the Dean of Office of International Affairs, Tsinghua University. She is also the Vice Dean of the Institute for Al International Governance (I-AIIG) and Deputy Director of the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) at Tsinghua University. From 2003 to 2014, she served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Chinese Embassies in Russia and in the UK as Third Secretary, Second Secretary and First Secretary successively. She joined the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) in 2015, where she contributed to parliamentary engagement and work related to the NPC Spokesperson's Office. In January 2019, Ms. Xiao joined Tsinghua University and helped to establish CISS and I-AIIG. She follows closely to China-US relations and attended China-US Strategic and Security Dialogue, China-US Track II Dialogue, and China-US Dialogue on AI and International Security and etc. She was one of the key organizers for the International Forum and Al Cooperation and Governance of Tsinghua University. She also initiated to launch CISS Youth Program, and Tsinghua Student Association of International and Strategic Studies.



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## **YAN Xuetong**

Yan Xuetong is the Honorary President of the Institute for International Relations, Tsinghua University and a university distinguished professor. He was named as one of world's Top 100 public intellectuals by U.S. journal Foreign Policy in 2008 and honored as a foreign member of Russia Academy of Science in 2019. He received Themistocles Award by University of Piraeus, Greece in 2022 for building the IR theory of moral realism. He has been annually listed in Most Cited Chinese Researchers by Elsevier since 2014. Some of his books were translated in to English, Russian, Japanese, Korean, Hindi, Farsi and Albanian.



#### **YAO Yunzhu**

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Yao joined the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in 1970 and held various positions, including squad leader, staff officer, translator, instructor, researcher, deputy director, and director of research divisions, and director of research center. In 1988, she had her Master's degree in English Language and Literature from the PLA Institute of Foreign Languages in Luoyang. In 1998, she received her Ph.D. in Military Science from the Academy of Military Science. She spent time as a visiting scholar at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1995-1996), an Eisenhower Foundation exchange scholar in the United States (1999), and a visiting scholar at Harvard University (2009-2010). From 2003 to 2007, she served as a member of the Tenth National People's Congress. From 2007 to 2012, she served as a member to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Her research focuses on security affairs in the Asia-Pacific region, with particular attention to the Korean Peninsula, Sino-US military relations, nuclear strategy and policy, and international arms control and disarmament. She has published numerous books, translations, academic papers, and articles.



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Has published over 300 academic papers and commentaries in leading journals such as *Economic Review, Contemporary International Relations, Academic Research, The Contemporary World, Studies on American Issues, International Studies, International Information, China Strategic Review, and Modern Commercial Bank Review, as well as in prominent media outlets including ThePaper.cn, Caixin, the Valdai Discussion Club website, People's Daily, Economic Daily, Outlook, Tsinghua Financial Review, Fudan Financial Review, Caixin Magazine, China Reform, World Affairs, Global Times, 21st Century Business Herald, The Banker, and Beijing News.* 

Author of several books, including *Observations on the U.S. and European Economies in the Post-Crisis Era.* Has led or contributed to significant research projects commissioned by the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Science and Technology, Cyberspace Administration of China, National Energy Administration, and China Development Bank. Works and perspectives have been widely republished and cited by outlets such as *People's Daily*, Xinhua News Agency, *Half-Month Talk*, People's Daily Online, Phoenix Network, China Daily Network, China Economic Network, Hong Kong's *Ta Kung Pao, Asia Weekly, and South China Morning Post*, Singapore's *Lianhe Zaobao*, and the U.S.'s *Washington Post*.



## ZHANG Baijia

Zhang Baijia is a historian of History of Chinese CPC and China's foreign affairs. He was Vice-Director of Party History Research Centre attached to The Central Committee of CPC, and elected as Representative of the 11th National Congress and Member of the Legal Committee of the National People's Congress from 2008 to 2013, Member of the Academic Committee of the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Member of the Academic Committee of the China Foundation for International Strategic Studies. He has published many books and articles, such as Research on the Fundamental Thread of China's Diplomacy in 20th Century, Through History, Analyzing the Changes in China and the United States -- Some Current Thoughts on the Relationship Between the Two Countries, History of Reform and Opening Up in China, the Path of the CPC: Revolution, Construction and Reform.



## **ZHANG Tuosheng**

Member of Academic Committee, CISS, Tsinghua University; Chief Research Fellow, Grandview Institution. ZHANG Tuosheng is also a council member of the Chinese Arms Control and Disarmament Association, a member of the Academic Committee of the Institute of Peaceful Development, CASS, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Academy of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University, and a member of the Academic Committee of Institute for Global Cooperation and Understanding, Peking University. He earned his master degree from Central Party School of the Communist Party of China in 1986. After 1979, he was a lecturer at the PLA Military Collage, a research fellow in the Institute of Strategic Studies of PLA National Defense University, and the deputy defense attache at the Chinese Embassy in the UK. From 1992-2024 he worked in the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies and successively serve as the Director of the Research Department, the Director of the Center of Foreign Policy Studies, the Chairman of the Academic Committee and a Senior Research Fellow, CFISS. His main research interests are China-US relations, China-Japan relations, Asia-Pacific security, security crisis management and China's foreign policy. He has authored or co-authored lots of research publications including papers, reports and books.



## **ZHAO Minghao**

Zhao Minghao is Senior Fellow at the Institute of International Studies, Fudan University; Member of China National Committee, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP); Nonresident Scholar at the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University; Adjunct Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University.

His research focuses on Chinese foreign policy, China-U.S. relations, and Asia-Pacific security. He is author of Strategic Restraint: Is New-type Sino-U.S. Relationship Possible. His new book on the Belt & Road Initiative and China's connectivity-oriented global diplomacy is forthcoming. He has authored over 40 peer-reviewed scholarly articles and chapters in books. His opinion pieces have been featured in People's Daily, China Daily, New York Times, Project Syndicate among other prominent outlets. Prior to joining Fudan in 2019, he served as a senior fellow and deputy director for strategic studies at China Center for Contemporary World Studies, the in-house think tank of International Department of the CPC's Central Committee (IDCPC). He has been awarded the IDCPC Prize for Excellence in Policy Research. He received a Ph.D. in International Relations, a M.A. in Diplomatic History, and a B.A. in Art Studies from Peking University.



## **ZHAO** Xiuye

Zhao Xiuye is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, with a concentration in global governance. Mr. Zhao has many years of work experience at the subnational level in the United States from his work experience at the State Legislative Leaders Foundation. Previously he worked at the John L. Thornton China Center at the Brookings Institution and has published several articles on U.S.-China relations at Brookings. Mr. Zhao has a master's degree in international Affairs from the George Washington University.





## **ZHENG** Xiyuan

Non-resident Fellow at the Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS), Tsinghua University. He earned his Bachelor of Science degree from the Department of Chemistry at Lanzhou University and a Master's degree from the School of International Relations at Peking University. He was also a visiting scholar at the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University in the United States.

Prior to joining the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, he worked in local government in Gansu Province and in the State Administration of Commodity Prices. Over the years, he has held various key positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Deputy Consul at the Chinese Consulate General in New York, Deputy Chief of Mission and Political Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy in Greece, Counsellor in the Policy Planning Department, Consul General in Mumbai, and Consul General in Manchester.



#### **ZHOU Bo**

Senior Colonel Zhou Bo (retired) started his military service in 1979. He served in different posts in Guangzhou Air Force Regional Command. From 1993 he worked successively as staff officer, Deputy Director General of West Asia and Africa Bureau and then Deputy Director General of General Planning Bureau of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Ministry of National Defense of China, Chinese Defense Attaché to the Republic of Namibia and Director of the Centre for Security Cooperation in the Office for International Military Cooperation, Ministry of National Defense. He is now a senior fellow of Center for International Security and Strategy Tsinghua University.

Zhou Bo has published more than 180 essays and opinions, such as in Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Diplomat, Financial Times, The Economist (by invitation), The Australian, Die Zeit, South China Morning Post, Strait Times, China~US Focus and China Daily, etc. He had interviews with BBC, NBC, CNBC, Euronews, Al Jazeera, Time, The Economist, Financial Times, ABC (Australia), Reuters, Euronews, Der Spiegel, Channel NewsAsia (Singapore), Russia Today,NHK, Radio France, Arte,and CGTN. He speaks as a PLA delegate at Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore and at Munich Security conference. He is supervisor to foreign post-graduate officers at PLA National Defense University.

Zhou Bo is an under-graduate of Air Force Engineering College and a postgraduate of St Edmund College of Cambridge University (Mphill in International Relations). He was a visiting fellow to the Land Warfare Studies Centre of the Australian Army in 1999. He has attended various courses in Harvard University, Westminster University, PLA National Defense University, PLA University of Science and Technology for the National Defense and PLA Army Command College (Shijiazhuang).





## **ZHU Feng**

Zhu Feng is currently a Non-resident Fellow, CISS, Tsinghua University and China Forum Expert, and Dean of School of International Studies, Nanjing University. He is also Director of Center for Collaborative Studies of the South China Sea, Nanjing University. Prof. Zhu once served as Professor of Peking University's School of International Studies and was the Deputy Director of the Institute of International and Strategic Studies at Peking University. He published prolifically on regional security in East Asia, the Marin Security in the West Pacific, China-US military and diplomatic relations. Prof. Zhu Feng is currently Vice President of the China Institute of International Relations, Vice President of the National Association of American Studies, Vice President of the National Association of Japan Studies. Professor Zhu has served as a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, Harvard University's Fitzherbert Research Center, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Tulane University in the United Kingdom, and the University of Wellington in New Zealand, among other internationally renowned academic institutions. As a leading Chinese security expert, Professor Zhu's recent books includes America, China and the Struggle for the World Order (co-edited with Prof. G. John Ikenbery and Prof. Wang jisi, MacMillan, 2015), International Relations Theory and East Asian Security (2007), China's Ascent: Power, Security, and Future of International politics (co-edited with Professor Robert S. Ross, Cornell University Press 2008).



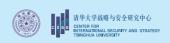
#### **ZOU Ji**

Mr. Zou Ji is the Chief Executive Officer and President of the Energy Foundation in China.

Mr. Zou Ji is a highly respected and influential figure in the fields of economic development, energy, environment and climate change strategy and policy. Mr. Zou Ji is a former Deputy Director of the National Center for Climate Change Strategy and International Cooperation of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), where he was involved in research on China's low-carbon development strategies and policies, international negotiations and cooperation on climate change, and has accumulated extensive experience at the international, national and local levels. From 2000 to 2009 and from 2012 to 2015, he participated in the UN climate negotiations as a member of the Chinese government delegation, especially in the Paris Agreement negotiations, which contributed to China's participation in the global governance of climate change, and in 2013-14, he represented China as a member of the UN Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing (ICESDF), and from 2003 to 2014, he contributed to the assessment and report writing of the IPCC, either as a lead author or as a lead coordinating author. He has been actively involved in the promotion of Chinese and international policy research. Mr. Zou Ji has been actively promoting exchanges between China and the international policy research and academic community, and has participated as a core expert in organizing strategy and policy dialogues between Chinese and foreign official and private think tanks.

Mr. Zou Ji has served as Associate Dean, Professor and Doctoral Supervisor of the School of Environment at Renmin University of China, and as Distinguished Professor of the School of Economics and Management at Harbin Institute of Technology (Shenzhen), where he has devoted a great deal of effort to the training of talents and academic research in the field of environment, energy and development.

From 2009-2012, Mr. Zou Ji served as the first Chief Representative of WRI China, leading the organization's pioneering work in the areas of climate change, clean energy, sustainable and livable cities. Mr. Zou Ji has a multidisciplinary educational background. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Environmental Engineering from Tsinghua University, a Master's degree in Technical Economics, and a PhD in Environmental and Resource Economics from Renmin University of China, and has completed academic collaborations as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University and the London School of Economics and Political Science.



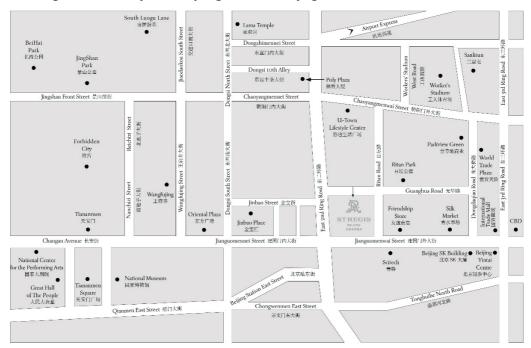
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# **General Information**

#### I. Location:

#### Statesman Hall on the 2nd floor, The St. Regis Beijing

21 Jianguomenwai Dajie, Chaoyang, 100020 Beijing, China



## **II. Meeting Guidance**

- © Given the packed agenda of this forum, we kindly request all leading speakers to restrict their speaking time to 5 minutes. Participants in the open sessions are asked to keep their remarks within a 3-minute limit. Participants who speak in the discussion sessions are asked to aim to limit your questions or comments to 2 minutes to ensure the smooth progress of the meeting.
- If you experience any problem before or during the meeting, please feel free to contact our staff:

**Contact (for international participants):** 

Ms. QIAN Jiatong +86 15811251060 qianjiatong@tsinghua.edu.cn

**Contact (for Chinese participants):** 

Ms. GUO Mingxinyi +86 15801188213 gmxy@tsinghua.edu.cn

## 6 About CISS



The Center for International Security and Strategy (CISS) of Tsinghua University, established by Fu Ying on November 7, 2018, is committed to developing itself into a university-level think tank in the field of international security and strategy. On the one hand, CISS aims to remain current with changes in circumstances, make judgments, and provide decision-makers with opinions and suggestions for reference, based on its analysis of global order, international relations, security, strategy, and other issues; on the other, it strives to publicize, interpret, and disseminate China's ideas and policies through various forms of international exchanges and cooperation and to enhance the international community's understanding of China, while also strengthening the influence Tsinghua University in the field of strategy and international relations.

CISS is steered by a Management Committee headed by the Director, guided by the Academic Committee as its academic advisory unit. CISS consists of research divisions including the Research Project on the US and Europe, the Research Project on Global Governance, the Research Project on Eurasia, and the Research Project on Artificial Intelligence Governance, establishes "China Forum," a sub-brand committed to international communication, organizes "CISS Youth" Research Exchange Program at leading universities both domestically and internationally, and guides Tsinghua University Student Association of International and Strategic Studies (SAISS) and the Tsinghua University Student Association of China-U.S. People-to-People Exchange.







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