

ENGAGING ASIA 2010: The Future of U.S. Leadership

Friday, September 17 | The Phoenix Park Hotel | 8:45 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

- 8:00 a.m.** Registration and breakfast
- 8:45 a.m.** **Welcome and Introductions**
Meredith Miller, The National Bureau of Asian Research
- 9:00 a.m.** **MANAGING STRATEGIC SUSPICION IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS**
Moderator: **Michael Wills**, The National Bureau of Asian Research
Speakers: **David M. Lampton**, The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
Cheng Li, The Brookings Institution
- 10:00 a.m.** Coffee Break
- 10:15 a.m.** **THE FUTURE OF U.S. LEADERSHIP**
- 10:15 a.m.** **U.S. Security Policy in Asia**
Speaker: **Michèle Flournoy**, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
- 11:15 a.m.** **U.S. Economic Policy in Asia**
Speaker: **Robert D. Hormats**, Under Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs
- 12:15 p.m.** **Conclusion**
Meredith Miller, The National Bureau of Asian Research

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FEATURED PUBLICATION

Power Constrained: Sources of Mutual Strategic Suspicion in U.S.-China Relations, by David M. Lampton

The U.S.-China relationship is fundamentally stable and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Having said this, however, the essay highlights four sources of mutual strategic mistrust that, if insufficiently attended to by Washington and Beijing, will metastasize.

These sources are: (1) defining the challenge of U.S.-China relations in such a manner that there is no “win-win” solution, (2) miscalculating U.S. and Chinese power, (3) desires in China to “change the game,” and (4) challenge and response dynamics.

These four phenomena create a toxic mix that is corrosive to mutual trust and conducive to future conflict if inadequately addressed by both nations.

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BIOGRAPHIES

Michèle Flournoy was confirmed by the U.S. Senate as the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy on February 9, 2009. She serves as the principal staff assistant and advisor to the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense for all matters on the formulation of national security and defense policy and the integration and oversight of DoD policy and plans to achieve national security objectives.

Prior to her confirmation, Ms. Flournoy was appointed President of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) in January 2007. Before co-founding CNAS, she was a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where she worked on a broad range of defense policy and international security issues.

Ms. Flournoy previously served as a distinguished research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University (NDU), where she founded and led the university's Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) working group, which was chartered by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to develop intellectual capital in preparation for the Department of Defense's 2001 QDR.

Prior to joining NDU, Ms. Flournoy was dual-hatted as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy. In that capacity, she oversaw three Policy offices in the Office of the Secretary of Defense: Strategy; Requirements, Plans and Counterproliferation; and Russia, Ukraine and Eurasian Affairs.

Ms. Flournoy was awarded the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service in 1996, the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service in 1998 and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's Joint Distinguished Civilian Service Award in 2000. She is a former member of the Defense Policy Board and the Defense Science Board Task Force on Transformation. Ms. Flournoy earned a bachelor's degree in social studies from Harvard University and a master's degree in international relations from Balliol College, Oxford University, where she was a Newton-Tatum scholar.

Robert D. Hormats was sworn in as Under Secretary of State for Economic, Energy and Agricultural Affairs on September 23, 2009. Bob was formerly vice chairman of Goldman Sachs (International). He joined Goldman Sachs in 1982.

Bob served as Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs from 1981 to 1982, Ambassador and Deputy U.S. Trade Representative from 1979 to 1981, and Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business

Affairs at the Department of State from 1977 to 1979. He served as a senior staff member for International Economic Affairs on the National Security Council from 1969 to 1977, where he was senior economic advisor to Dr. Henry Kissinger, General Brent Scowcroft and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski. Bob was a recipient of the French Legion of Honor in 1982 and the Arthur Fleming Award in 1974.

Bob has been a visiting lecturer at Princeton University and served on the Board of Visitors of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the Dean's Council of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Bob's publications include *The Price of Liberty: Paying for America's Wars from the Revolution to the War on Terror*; *Abraham Lincoln and the Global Economy*; *American Albatross: The Foreign Debt Dilemma*; and *Reforming the International Monetary System*. Other publications include articles in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *American Banker* and *The Financial Times*. He earned a BA with a concentration in economics and political science from Tufts University in 1965. He earned a MA in 1966 and a PhD in International Economics in 1970 from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

David M. Lampton, Dean of Faculty, is George and Sadie Hyman Professor and Director of China Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Formerly he was president of the National Committee on United States-China Relations. His most recent book is, *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds* (University of California Press, 2008, for which he won honorable mention in the Bernard Schwartz book competition of the Asia Society). His articles have appeared in the *American Political Science Review*, *The China Quarterly*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and other venues academic and popular. Dr. Lampton received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Stanford University. He has an honorary doctorate from the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Far Eastern Studies and is an Honorary Senior Fellow of the American Studies Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He was the inaugural winner of the Scalapino Prize in July 2010 awarded by the National Bureau of Asian Research and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Cheng Li is director of research and a senior fellow at the John L. Thornton China Center in the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. Dr. Li is also a director of the National Committee on U.S.-China

BIOGRAPHIES

Relations. After growing up in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution, he came to the United States in 1985, where he received an M.A. in Asian Studies from the University of California, Berkeley and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Princeton University. From 1993 to 1995, Dr. Li worked in China as a fellow with the U.S.-based Institute of Current World Affairs, observing grassroots changes in his native country. In China, Dr. Li had the opportunity to interview political and business leaders as well as people from everyday walks of life. Based on this experience, he published a nationally acclaimed book, *Rediscovering China: Dynamics and Dilemmas of Reform* (1997).

Dr. Li is also the author or the editor of *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (2001), *Bridging Minds Across the Pacific: The Sino-U.S. Educational Exchange 1978-2003* (2005), *China's Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy* (2008), and *China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation* (2010). His academic writings have appeared in *World Politics*, *China Quarterly*, *China Journal*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, and a variety of other scholarly journals. He is the principal editor of the Thornton Center Chinese Thinkers Series published by the Brookings Institution Press.

Before joining Brookings in 2006, Dr. Li was the William R. Kenan professor of government at Hamilton College, where he had taught since 1991. Dr. Li has advised a wide range of government, business and non-profit organizations on working in China. In addition to being a director of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, he is an advisor to the World Bank, a trustee of the Institute of Current World Affairs, a member of the Academic Advisory Group of the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group, and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on U.S. Policy Toward China, a director and vice chair of the Committee of 100, and a member of the U.S. National Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.

Meredith Miller is Vice President of Trade, Economic, and Energy Affairs & Outreach and Director of the Washington, D.C. office at NBR.

Ms. Miller manages NBR research programs on economic, energy, and trade issues in Asia and guides engagement with Congress as NBR leverages its network of experts to bring objective, detailed analysis of strategic developments in Asia to policymakers. She also leads NBR's media and online outreach programs.

Ms. Miller has experience in both the public and nonprofit sectors. She served at the U.S. Department of State as the Deputy

Director for the Office of Economic Policy in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs and as an analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Prior to joining the State Department, Ms. Miller worked at the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council on a technical assistance program to support completion of a bilateral trade agreement between the United States and Vietnam as the last step toward full normalization of relations between the two countries.

Ms. Miller holds an MA in International Relations from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University and a BA in Anthropology from the University of Michigan. She is a specialist in Southeast Asia and speaks Indonesian.

Michael Wills is Vice President of Research and Operations at NBR.

As Vice President of Research and Operations, Mr. Wills is responsible for managing the operations of NBR's research programs in collaboration with project directors and the executive management team.

Mr. Wills was formerly director of NBR's Strategic Asia Program (2001–07) and director of the Southeast Asia Studies Program (2001–06). His research interests include international security affairs, the international relations of Asia (particularly China's relations with Southeast Asia), and transnational terrorism and religious violence. He is co-editor (with Ashley J. Tellis) of *Strategic Asia 2006–07: Trade, Interdependence, and Security* (2006), *Strategic Asia 2005–06: Military Modernization in an Era of Uncertainty* (2005), and *Strategic Asia 2004–05: Confronting Terrorism in the Pursuit of Power* (2004). He was also a contributing editor to *Strategic Asia 2003–04: Fragility and Crisis* (2003) and *Strategic Asia 2002–03: Asian Aftershocks* (2002). In addition, Mr. Wills has served as technical editor on numerous books, including *China, the United States and South-East Asia: Contending Perspectives on Politics, Security and Economics* (2007), *Religion and Conflict in South and Southeast Asia: Disrupting Violence* (2006), *Strategic Asia 2001–02: Power and Purpose* (2001), and *The Many Faces of Asian Security* (2001).

Before joining NBR, Mr. Wills worked at the Cambodia Development Resource Institute in Phnom Penh, and prior to that he worked with Control Risks Group, an international political and security risk management firm based in London.

He holds a BA (Honors) in Chinese Studies from the University of Oxford.



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SEATTLE & WASHINGTON, D.C.

GEORGE F. RUSSELL JR. HALL
1414 NE 42ND STREET, SUITE 300
SEATTLE, WA 98105
PHONE 206-632-7370, FAX 206-632-7487

1301 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW, SUITE 305
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004
PHONE 202-347-9767, FAX 202-347-9767

NBR@NBR.ORG, WWW. NBR.ORG

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