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America and China: *The Next Thirty Years*

April 3, 2009 • James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy • Rice University

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April 3, 2009 - James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy - Rice University

About the Conference

In 1979, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China normalized diplomatic relations, setting in motion three decades of peaceful engagement between two economic and political powers. "America and China: The Next Thirty Years" brings together senior statesmen and distinguished scholars from both countries to reflect on the evolution of the relationship and the way forward. Conference participants will address U.S.-China relations, the broader Middle East, and nonproliferation policy and security studies. This conference is the fourth since 2004 held by the Baker Institute and the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.

Organizing Partners

The James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy

The mission of the Baker Institute is to help bridge the gap between the theory and practice of public policy by drawing together experts from academia, government, media, business and nongovernmental organizations. By involving policymakers and scholars, as well as students (tomorrow's policymakers and scholars), the institute seeks to improve the debate on selected public policy issues and to make a difference in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policy, both domestic and international. The Baker Institute is an integral part of Rice University, one of the nation's most distinguished institutions of higher education. The efforts of Baker Institute fellows and affiliated Rice faculty focus on several ongoing research projects, details of which can be found on the institute's Web site, <http://bakerinstitute.org>.

Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Founded in 1960, the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS) is a comprehensive research organization for studies of international politics, economy, security strategy and China's external relations. The SIIS is dedicated to serving China's modernization efforts and the development of Shanghai. It mainly studies the United States, Japan, Europe, Russia and the Asia-Pacific region, focusing on relations among major powers and China's periphery. The SIIS pursues both mid-term and long-term comprehensive research on significant issues in contemporary international politics, economy and security, providing relevant governmental departments and institutions with research reports and other findings, and presenting journals and magazines to the public to popularize knowledge of international affairs.

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Conference Agenda

Welcoming Remarks

8:30 am **Mr. David W. Leebron**
President, Rice University

Keynote Session I

8:45 am Introduction
The Honorable James A. Baker, III
61st U.S. Secretary of State and Honorary Chair, Baker Institute for Public Policy

Keynote
The Honorable Henry Kissinger
56th U.S. Secretary of State

Moderated Question and Answer Session
The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian
Founding Director, Baker Institute for Public Policy

Keynote Session II

9:30 am Introduction
Professor Yang Jiemian
President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Keynote
The Honorable Zhou Wenzhong
Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United States of America

Moderated Question and Answer Session
The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian
Founding Director, Baker Institute for Public Policy

10:15 am Tea and Coffee Break

Panel I: *The Broader Middle East: U.S. – Chinese Interests and Policies*

Moderator: The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian, Founding Director, Baker Institute for Public Policy

10:30 am Introduction
Ms. Kay Ikawa
Managing Director, Asia Pacific Sales, Continental Airlines, Inc.

Mr. Daniel Kurtzer
S. Daniel Abraham Professor in Middle Eastern Policy Studies,
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

Mr. Li Weijian
Professor and Director, Department of West Asian and African Studies,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Ms. Amy Myers Jaffe
Wallace S. Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies, Baker Institute for Public Policy

Conference Agenda (continued)

11:45 am Lunch
Lobby, Shepherd School of Music

Panel II: Sino-U.S. Relations

Moderator: Professor Yang Jiemian, President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

1:00 pm **Mr. Kenneth Lieberthal**
Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Political Science and William Davidson Professor of Business Administration,
University of Michigan and Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institution

Ms. Wu Chunsi
Professor and Deputy Director of American Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Mr. Steven Lewis
Fellow in Asian Studies, Baker Institute for Public Policy

2:15 pm Tea and Coffee Break

Panel III: Nonproliferation Policy and Security Studies

Moderator: Ms. Amy Myers Jaffe, Wallace S. Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies, Baker Institute for Public Policy

2:30 pm **Mr. Ye Qing**
Executive Director, Department of International Law and International Organizations,
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Mr. Joe Barnes
Bonner Means Baker Fellow, Baker Institute for Public Policy

Closing Remarks

3:25 pm **Professor Yang Jiemian**
President, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian
Founding Director, Baker Institute for Public Policy

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Speaker Biographies

The Honorable James A. Baker, III, has served in senior government positions under three U.S. presidents. He served as the nation's 61st secretary of state from January 1989 through August 1992 under President George H.W. Bush. As the 67th secretary of the treasury from 1985 to 1988 under President Ronald Reagan, he was also chairman of the President's Economic Policy Council. From 1981 to 1985, he served as White House chief of staff to President Reagan. Baker's record of public service began in 1975 as under secretary of commerce to President Gerald Ford. It concluded with his service as White House chief of staff and senior counselor to President Bush from August 1992 to January 1993. Long active in American presidential politics, Baker led presidential campaigns for Presidents Ford, Reagan and George H.W. Bush. In 1995, Baker published "The Politics of Diplomacy," his reflections on years of revolution, war and peace. In 2006, he published a second memoir, "Work Hard, Study ... and Keep Out of Politics!" Baker graduated from Princeton University in 1952. After two years of active duty as a lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps, he entered The University of Texas School of Law at Austin. He received his J.D. with honors in 1957. Presently a senior partner in the law firm of Baker Botts L.L.P., he is honorary chairman of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University.

Joe Barnes has been a research fellow at the Baker Institute since 1995 and is currently its Bonner Means Baker Fellow. His chief area of interest is international economics, with a focus on the geopolitics of energy. In addition to numerous institute studies, Barnes' work has also appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Houston Chronicle*, *Survival*, *Z Magazine*, *Oil and Gas Journal*, *Energy Markets*, the Newsletter of the Royal United Services Institute, the SAIS Policy Forum Series, and the *National Interest*. He is a contributor to two volumes: "Energy in the Caspian Region" (Palgrave) and "United States Tax Reform in the 21st Century" (Cambridge University Press). His work was recently published in "Natural Gas and Geopolitics from 1970 to 2040" (Cambridge University Press, 2006). Barnes is also adviser to the Baker Institute Student Forum. From 1979 to 1993, he was a career diplomat with the United States State Department. Barnes is a graduate of Princeton University.

The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian is the founding director of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy. He served both President George H.W. Bush and President William J. Clinton as assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs and Presidents Ronald Reagan and Bush as U.S. ambassador to Syria. He served President Clinton as U.S. ambassador to Israel before completing his foreign service career in 1994. He also served President Reagan as special assistant and deputy press secretary for foreign affairs. He has been awarded the Presidential Distinguished Service Award, the Department of State's Distinguished Honor Award and numerous other honors, including the Ellis Island Medal of Honor and the Anti-Defamation League's Moral Statesman Award.

Amy Myers Jaffe is the Wallace S. Wilson Fellow in Energy Studies at the Baker Institute. Her research focuses on oil geopolitics, strategic energy policy including energy science policy, and energy economics. She is widely published in academic journals and numerous book volumes, including a co-authored article in *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, "Energy Security: Meeting the Growing Challenge of National Oil Companies" (Summer 2007). Jaffe is co-editor of "Energy in the Caspian Region: Present and Future" (Palgrave, 2002) and "Natural Gas and Geopolitics: From 1970 to 2040" (Cambridge University Press, 2006). Jaffe served as a member of the reconstruction and economy working group of the Baker/Hamilton Iraq Study Group, as project director for the Baker Institute/Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Strategic Energy Policy, and as a principal adviser to USAID's project on Options for Developing a Long Term Sustainable Iraqi Oil Industry. Prior to joining the Baker Institute, Jaffe was the senior editor and Middle East analyst for *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*. A Princeton University graduate in Arabic studies, Jaffe joined the Baker Institute in 1996.

Speaker Biographies (continued)

The Honorable Henry Alfred Kissinger served as the 56th U.S. secretary of state from September 1973 until January 1977. He also served as assistant to the president for national security affairs from 1969 until 1975. In 1983, he was appointed by President Ronald Reagan to chair the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America until 1985, and from 1984 to 1990, he served as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. From 1986 to 1988, he was a member of the Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy of the National Security Council and Defense Department. He served as a member of the Defense Policy Board from 2001 to 2008. At present, Kissinger is chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc., an international consulting firm. He is also a member of the JPMorgan Chase International Council; chairman of the International Advisory Board of American International Group, Inc.; a counselor to and trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; an honorary governor of the Foreign Policy Association; and an honor member of the International Olympic Committee. Kissinger received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973; the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977; and the Medal of Liberty in 1986. A summa cum laude from Harvard College, he earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. From 1954 to 1969, he was a member of the faculty at Harvard University.

Daniel C. Kurtzer is the S. Daniel Abraham Professor in Middle Eastern Policy Studies at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. During his 29-year career in the Foreign Service, Kurtzer served as U.S. ambassador to Israel (2001–2005) and as U.S. ambassador to Egypt (1997–2001). He served as an adviser to the Iraq Study Group. He is the co-author, with Scott Lasensky, of "Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East," published in 2008. Kurtzer received his B.A. from Yeshiva University and Ph.D. from Columbia University.

David W. Leebron was appointed the seventh president of Rice University in 2004, where he is also a professor of political science. President Leebron grew up in Philadelphia and graduated summa cum laude from Harvard College in 1976. He attended Harvard Law School and, in his second year, was elected president of the Harvard Law Review. After graduating magna cum laude in 1979, he moved to Los Angeles to clerk for Judge Shirley Hufstедler on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. After Judge Hufstедler was appointed secretary of education, he taught torts as acting assistant professor of law at UCLA School of Law in 1980. In 1981, he joined the New York law firm of Cleary Gottlieb Steen & Hamilton LLP and specialized in corporate matters. He became a faculty member of the New York University School of Law in 1983, where he also served as director of the International Legal Studies Program. In 1989, he joined the faculty of Columbia University School of Law, and in 1996 he was appointed dean and named the Lucy G. Moses Professor of Law. Leebron has authored a textbook on international human rights and has also written extensively on international trade and corporate finance.

Steven W. Lewis is the Baker Institute's fellow in Asian studies and faculty adviser for the Jesse Jones Leadership Center Summer in D.C. Policy Research Internship Program. He is also a professor in the practice at the Chao Center for Asian Studies at Rice University. He received his doctorate in political science from Washington University in St. Louis. His research interests are focused on exploring the growth of a transnational Chinese middle class, the influence of advertisements in new public spaces in Chinese cities, the development of privatization experiments in China's localities, and the reform of China's energy policies, national oil companies and international energy relations. Lewis has been head of the Transnational China Project at the Baker Institute since 1997. He has also served as the organizing researcher of the Northeast Asia Energy Cooperation Workshops, a series of academic meetings held to discuss energy, energy security and environmental policy coordination between the United States, Japan and China, as well as for the Coastal Cities Summit surveys and U.S.-China-Middle East energy relations conferences that bring together Chinese and Rice University scholars. A widely published and a frequent media commentator on Chinese affairs, Lewis is also an associate fellow of Asia Society International and an academic adviser to the U.S.-China Working Group of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Kenneth Lieberthal is the Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Political Science and William Davidson Professor of Business Administration at the University of Michigan, as well as a distinguished fellow at the William Davidson Institute. He served as special assistant to the president for national security affairs and senior director for Asia on the National Security Council from August 1998 to October 2000. He is also a nonresident senior fellow in foreign policy studies of The Brookings Institution. Lieberthal has written and edited 14 books and monographs and authored about 70 periodical articles and chapters in books. Recent publications include "Overcoming Obstacles to U.S.-China Cooperation on Climate Change"; "China's Search for Energy Security: Implications for U.S. Policy"; "Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform"; "Scorched Earth: Will Environmental Risks in China Overwhelm its Opportunities?" (with Elizabeth Economy) in *Harvard Business Review* (June 2007); and "Smooth Sailing: The Myths and Realities of Sea Lane Security" in *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2007). Lieberthal was director of The University of Michigan's Center for Chinese Studies from 1986 to 1989. He has consulted widely on Chinese and Asian affairs and serves or has served as a consultant for the U.S. Departments of State, Defense and Commerce; the World Bank; the Kettering Foundation; and the Aspen Institute.