



清华大学战略与安全研究中心

CENTER FOR  
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND STRATEGY  
TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY

# 第三届战略与安全国际论坛 THE 3<sup>rd</sup> INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON SECURITY AND STRATEGY

## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

JAN 23-24, 2021 BEIJING TIME, GMT

JAN 22-23, 2021 EST, PST

# 1 Date and Time

## Main Plenary I

January 23, 2021	8:00am-10:30am Beijing Time 12:00am-2:30am GMT
January 22, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm EST 4:00pm-6:30pm PST

## Three Parallel Sub-forums

January 23, 2021	8:00pm-10:30pm Beijing Time 12:00pm-2:30pm GMT 7:00am-9:30am EST 4:00am-6:30am PST
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## Main Plenary II

January 24, 2021	8:00am-10:30am Beijing Time 12:00am-2:30am GMT
January 23, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm EST 4:00pm-6:30pm PST

## 2 Organizer

Center for International Security and Strategy, Tsinghua University (CISS)

## 3 Programme (Beijing Time)

January 23, 2021	8:00am-10:30am	Beijing Time
	12:00am-2:30am	GMT
January 22, 2021	7:00pm-9:30pm	EST
	4:00pm-6:30pm	PST
8:00am-8:10am Beijing Time	Opening Remarks: FU Ying	
	<p><b>Main Plenary I: International Order: Changes and Continuities</b></p> <p>What are the challenges and prospects for the existing global order? Can the world's major powers manage their conflicts and differences within the existing international order? Is a common vision of the future global order within the bounds of possibility? What kind of reforms are needed in the international system? How do you envisage the world and China in 2035 and what are your expectations?</p>	
8:10am-9:30am Beijing Time	<p><b>Moderators: FU Ying and John L. Thornton</b></p> <p><b>Framing Remarks (7 min per speaker):</b></p> <p>Robin Niblett, ZHANG Baijia, Cliff Kupchan, CHEN Xiaogong, Douglas Paal, SHI Yinhong, Steve Howard, YAO Yang, David Gordon, HUANG Renwei, Michael McFaul</p>	



9:30am-10:30am  
Beijing Time

**Discussion (3 min per speaker)**

**Discussion Participants:**

Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Joseph DeTrani, Rafiq Dossani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Nils Gilman, David Gordon, Stephen Hadley, Steve Howard, Ken Jimbo, Arthur Kroeber, Cliff Kupchan, Dongmin Lee, Alex Lennon, Cheng Li, Bonny Lin, Michael McFaul, Robin Niblett, Douglas Paal, Richard Sakwa, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine, John L. Thornton, Michael Vatikiotis, Richard Weitz, Thomas Wright

AN Gang, CHEN Qi, CHEN Xiaogong, CUI Hongjian, DA Wei, FAN Jishe, FU Ying, GAO Xiang, HU Bo, HUANG Renwei, LI Chen, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, TENG Fei, WANG Dong, WU Dahui, XU Qiyu, XUE Lan, YAO Yang, YAO Yunzhu, Zeng Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHOU Bo, ZOU Ji

January 23, 2021	8:00pm-10:30pm	Beijing Time
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**Parallel Sub-forum I      The Great Power Relations: Cooperation or Conflict?**

**Moderators: WANG Jisi and Cheng Li**

What are the primary causes for conflict escalation between major powers in recent years? Will major-power relations take a turn for the better, but only to a limited extent, or will conflict exacerbate? How will the domestic politics of the major powers affect their ties? How should each major power avoid intense strategic confrontation?

8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	<b>Major-power Relations: Root Causes of Conflict Escalation and Future Directions</b>	
	8:00pm-8:40pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Richard Weitz, YAN Xuetong, Richard Sakwa, ZHU Feng, Alex Lennon, WANG Dong, Sergey Karaganov
	8:40pm-9:10pm	Discussion
9:10pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	<b>Major-power Relations: Impact of Domestic Politics and Prevention of Strategic Confrontation</b>	
	9:10pm-9:50pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): NI Feng, WU Dahui, Jude Blanchette, AN Gang, Bonny Lin, ZHAO Minghao
	9:50pm-10:30pm	Discussion

**Discussion Participants:**

Jude Blanchette, Cheng Li, Sergey Karaganov, Cliff Kupchan, Stephen Hadley, Alex Lennon, Bonny Lin, Richard Sakwa, Richard Weitz

AN Gang, CHEN Xiaogong, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, WANG Dong, WANG Jisi, WU Dahui, YAN Xuetong, YAO Yang, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHU Feng

## Parallel Sub-forum II      Security and Military Trends: Peace or War?

**Moderators: YAO Yunzhu and Karl W. Eikenberry**

What are the new global dynamics in the realm of military and security? Will there be significant changes in the global security and military order? How will new technologies and their military application transform the shape of war and the balance of military power between major powers? What are your perceptions of the debate on the "Cold War" between the U.S. and China? How will the changes in U.S.-China ties influence the burning issues in East Asia (e.g. the South China Sea, the Korean Peninsula, and Taiwan)? What should be the new mechanisms and measures for arms control, crisis management, and war prevention?

	<b>International Military and Security Landscape</b>	
8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	8:00pm-8:45pm	Speakers (7 min per speaker): Andrew Scobell, XU Qiyu, Joseph DeTrani, LI Chen, Michael Swaine, HU Bo
	8:45pm-9:10pm	Discussion
9:10pm-9:20pm Beijing Time	Break	
	<b>Military and Security Issues in East Asia</b>	
9:20pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	9:20pm-10:05pm	Speakers (7 min per speaker): FAN Jishe, Odd Arne Westad, ZHOU Bo, Ken Jimbo, ZHANG Tuosheng, Dongmin Lee
	10:05pm-10:30pm	Discussion
<b>Discussion Participants:</b>		
Joseph DeTrani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Ken Jimbo, Dongmin Lee, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine, Odd Arne Westad FAN Jishe, HU Bo, LI Chen, XU Qiyu, YAO Yunzhu, ZHANG Tuosheng, ZHOU Bo		

**Parallel Sub-forum III Globalization: Moving Forward or Backward?**

**Moderators: XUE Lan and Ngaire Woods**

How would you assess the trajectory of globalization since the 1980s? What future prospects for the globalized world do you see? How can negative impacts of globalization be addressed? With major power competition intensifying, which areas can become best practices of cooperation? How should multilateral mechanisms be adjusted to foster productive cooperation and coordination? Are public health and climate change areas to spearhead? Can there be agreement over boundaries between cooperation for economic growth, technological advancement and protection for national security?

<b>Recap and Outlook for Globalization</b>		
8:00pm-9:10pm Beijing Time	8:00pm-8:40pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Jonathan Woetzel, CHEN Qi, Kate Hampton, ZOU Ji, Thomas Wright, CUI Hongjian, Arthur Kroeber, TENG Fei
	8:40pm-9:10pm	Discussion
<b>Approaches and Tools to Address Global Challenges</b>		
9:10pm-10:30pm Beijing Time	9:10pm-10:00pm	Speakers (5 min per speaker): Max Tegmark, ZENG Yi, Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, ZHA Daojiong, Laurence Tubiana, GAO Xiang, Nils Gilman, Michael Vatikiotis, Danit Gal
	10:00pm-10:30pm	Discussion

**Discussion Participants:**  
Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Nils Gilman, Kate Hampton, Arthur Kroeber, Robin Niblett, Max Tegmark, Laurence Tubiana, Michael Vatikiotis, Jonathan Woetzel, Ngaire Woods, Thomas Wright  
CHEN Qi, CUI Hongjian, GAO Xiang, HUANG Renwei, TENG Fei, XUE Lan, ZENG Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZOU Ji



January 24, 2021	8:00am-10:30am	Beijing Time
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**Main Plenary II: Idea Recap and Proposals**

**Moderators: DA Wei and Rafiq Dossani**

8:00am-8:45am Beijing Time	<p><b>Idea Pooling from Each Sub-forum</b>          (15 min for each group: presented by one representative and commented by other participants)          Parallel Sub-forum I: WANG Jisi          Parallel Sub-forum II: Karl W. Eikenberry          Parallel Sub-forum III: ZOU Ji</p>
8:45am-10:15am Beijing Time	<p><b>Suggestions for Next Step</b>          (International order, the great power relations, security and military trends, global governance)</p>
10:15am-10:30am Beijing Time	<p><b>Concluding Remarks: FU Ying</b></p>

**Discussion Participants:**

Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey, Joseph DeTrani, Rafiq Dossani, Karl W. Eikenberry, Nils Gilman, David Gordon, Stephen Hadley, Arthur Kroeber, Cliff Kupchan, Dongmin Lee, Bonny Lin, Alex Lennon, Michael McFaul, Douglas Paal, Richard Sakwa, Andrew Scobell, Michael Swaine, John L. Thornton, Michael Vatikiotis, Richard Weitz, Odd Arne Westad, Thomas Wright

AN Gang, CHEN Qi, CHEN Xiaogong, CUI Hongjian, DA Wei, FAN Jishe, FU Ying, GAO Xiang, HU Bo, HUANG Renwei, LI Chen, NI Feng, SHI Yinhong, TENG Fei, WANG Dong, WANG Jisi, WU Dahui, XU Qiyu, XUE Lan, YAN Xuetong, YAO Yunzhu, ZENG Yi, ZHA Daojiong, ZHANG Baijia, ZHAO Minghao, ZHOU Bo, ZHU Feng, ZOU Ji



## 4 List of Participants (In Alphabetical Order)

### International Participants

Jude Blanchette	Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
Jennifer Zhihuan Huang Bouey	Tang Chair in China Policy Studies, RAND Corporation
Joseph DeTrani	Former Director, U.S. National Counter Proliferation Center; Former U.S. Associate Director of National Intelligence
Rafiq Dossani	Director, RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy
Karl W. Eikenberry	Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan
Danit Gal	Associate Fellow at the Leverhulme Centre for the Future of Intelligence at the University of Cambridge
Nils Gilman	Vice President of Programs, Berggruen Institute
David Gordon	Senior Adviser for Geo-Economics and Strategy, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
Stephen Hadley	Former U.S. National Security Advisor
Kate Hampton	CEO, Children's Investment Fund Foundation (UK)
Steve Howard	Secretary General, the Global Foundation
Ken Jimbo	Professor at the Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University
Sergey Karaganov	Dean, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia



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## International Participants

Arthur Kroeber	Founding Partner and Head of Research, Gavekal Dragonomics
Cliff Kupchan	Chairman, Eurasia Group
Dongmin Lee	Associate Professor, Department Chair, Department of Political Science, Dankook University
Alex Lennon	Editor-in-Chief, The Washington Quarterly, George Washington University
Cheng Li	Director, John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution
Bonny Lin	Political Scientist, RAND Corporation
Michael McFaul	Director, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini Professor of International Studies, Department of Political Science
Robin Niblett	Director of Chatham House
Douglas Paal	Nonresident Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Richard Sakwa	Professor of Russian and European Politics, University of Kent, UK
Andrew Scobell	Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation
Michael Swaine	Director of the East Asia Program, Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft
Max Tegmark	Professor of the Institute for Artificial Intelligence & Fundamental Interactions and the Center for Brains, Minds and Machine, MIT
John L. Thornton	Executive Chairman, Barrick Gold Corporation; Co-Chair, Asia Society
Laurence Tubiana	CEO, the European Climate Foundation (ECF)

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## International Participants

Michael Vatikiotis	Asia Director, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
Richard Weitz	Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute
Odd Arne Westad	Elihu Professor of History, Yale University
Jonathan Woetzel	Senior Partner of McKinsey and Director of McKinsey Global Institute
Ngaire Woods	Founding Dean of the Blavatnik School of Government and Professor of Global Economic Governance at Oxford University
Thomas Wright	Director of Center on the United States and Europe, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

## Chinese Participants

AN Gang	Fellow, CISS; Senior Editor, World Affairs Magazine
CHEN Qi	Secretary-General, CISS; Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University
CHEN Xiaogong	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Former Deputy Commander, People's Liberation Army Air Force of China
CUI Hongjian	Director of European Studies, China Institute of International Studies
DA Wei	Fellow, CISS; Professor, Department of International Relations, Tsinghua University
FAN Jishe	Fellow, CISS; Professor, Institute of International Strategic Studies, Party School of CPC Central Committee (National Academy of Governance)



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## Chinese Participants

FU Ying	Chairperson, CISS
GAO Xiang	Director of International Policy Research, National Center for Climate Change Strategy and International Cooperation (NCSC)
HU Bo	Fellow, CISS; Director of the Center for Maritime Strategy Studies and Research Professor at the Institute of Ocean Research, Peking University
HUANG Renwei	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Executive Dean/Distinguished Professor, Fudan Institute of Belt and Road & Global Governance
LI Chen	Fellow, CISS; Associate Professor and Assistant to the Dean, School of International Studies, Renmin University of China
NI Feng	Professor and Director of Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
SHI Yinhong	Distinguished Professor of International Relations, Chairman of Academic Committee of the School for International Studies, Director of the Center on American Studies, Renmin University of China; Counsellor to the State Council of People's Republic of China
TENG Fei	Associate professor of Institute of Energy, Environment and Economy, Tsinghua University
WANG Dong	Executive deputy director of PKU Institute for China-US People-to-People Exchange; Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University
WANG Jisi	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University
WU Dahui	Professor of International Relations, Tsinghua University
XU Qiyu	Senior Fellow, National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University
XUE Lan	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Dean and Professor, Schwarzman College, Tsinghua University

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## Chinese Participants

YAN Xuetong	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Dean, Institute of International Relations, Tsinghua University
YAO Yang	Dean and Professor, National School of Development(NSD), Peking University
YAO Yunzhu	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Director Emeritus, Center on China-America Defense Relations, Academy of Military Science of the Chinese People's Liberation Army
ZENG Yi	Fellow, CISS; Professor and Deputy Director at Research Center for Brain-inspired Artificial Intelligence, and Co-Director of the China-UK Research Centre for AI Ethics and Governance, Institute of Automation, Chinese Academy of Sciences
ZHA Daojiong	Professor, School of International Studies, National School of Development, Peking University
ZHANG Baijia	Academic Committee Member, CISS; Former Deputy Director, Party History Research Center of the CPC Central Committee
ZHANG Tuosheng	Member of Academic Committee, CISS; Chairman, Academic Committee, China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies
ZHAO Minghao	Fellow, CISS; Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University
ZHOU Bo	Senior Fellow, CISS
ZHU Feng	China Forum expert, CISS; Executive Director, Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies, Nanjing University
ZOU Ji	Fellow, CISS; CEO & President of Energy Foundation China



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