



## The “New” China According to the American Managers of the US- China Relationship

This report details the background and policy perspectives of China influencers within the US. The “managers” of the US-China relationship on the American side include government officials, former government officials, think tank researchers and writers. The managers included were chosen for their influence on American attitudes and policy and how they reflect the wider debate currently taking place amongst China policymakers.

# U.S.-China Perception Monitor

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The following report was prepared by Sydney Chan, a China Program intern during Spring 2018.

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# Trump Administration

## Steve Mnuchin: Secretary of the Treasury

Mnuchin has a background in finance in the private sector. He has previously been a partner at Goldman Sachs. Notably, Mnuchin was not involved in politics until Trump's presidential campaign in 2016. His previous political history only included monetary donations to campaigns. However, Mnuchin was an early supporter of the Trump campaign and joined the campaign as the national finance chairman. He was later on the transition team and was nominated and confirmed as the US Secretary of the Treasury. Mnuchin is a supporter of the domestic tax reform and has supported Trump administration's trade policy of economic protectionism abroad.

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*There is the potential of a trade war. On the one hand, we're willing to continue negotiations. And on the other hand, the president is absolutely prepared to defend our interests."*

*Mnuchin, CNBC interview 4/6/2018*

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Mnuchin is supportive of the Trump administration's protectionist trade policy towards China. He has defended Trump's tariffs against China publicly. Mnuchin is a little more moderate than some administration officials, but he shares Trump's obsession with shrinking the trade deficit, which many prominent economists, such as [Paul Krugman](#), point out as misguided. Mnuchin has stated that his objective is to reduce the trade deficit by selling more goods to China rather than restricting Chinese imports to America. Mnuchin has emphasized that the US does not want to engage China in a trade war but must take aggressive policies in order to defend American interests against unfair trade practices. In late March 2018, Trump signed a memo designed to restrict trade with China, the memo calls upon Mnuchin to propose steps to limit Chinese investment.

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## **Robert Lighthizer: US Trade Representative**

Lighthizer has a background in law and government. After graduating from law school, Lighthizer joined a law practice in Washington DC. He left the practice to work for Senator Bob Dole in 1978, who was then a member of the Senate Finance Committee. Then, in 1981, Lighthizer became the committee's staff director and chief of staff. As a result of his experience, Lighthizer was nominated to serve as Deputy US Trade Representative for the Reagan administration in 1983. After serving in government, Lighthizer practiced international trade law starting in 1985. While working in international trade law, Lighthizer has represented US manufacturing companies in opposing unfair trade practices. In 2017, he was nominated by Trump for US Trade Representative.

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*“There is one challenge on the current scene that is substantially more difficult than those faced in the past, and that is China. The sheer scale of their coordinated effort to develop their economy, to subsidize, to create national champions, to force technology transfers and to distort markets in China and throughout the world is a threat to the world trading system that is unprecedented.”*

*Lighthizer, CSIS speech 9/18/2017*

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Lighthizer has supported stricter enforcement of international trade laws to benefit American companies and workers. He has expressed intent to press China to “fix its unfair trade practices and vast excess capacity problem in many industrial sectors.” He is a critic of trade liberalization with China and promotes further restrictions on Chinese trade, partially because he believes that China undermines American manufacturing through its lax labor and environmental standards.

In his nomination hearing, Lighthizer has spoken of his intent to prioritize the monitoring and enforcement of trade obligations related to intellectual property. He has also established an intent to enforce Chinese compliance to WTO obligations and use Section 301 to address unfair foreign trade practices (especially in regard to China). The results of Lighthizer's 301 investigation led to President Trump signing the memorandum of placing \$50 billion tariffs on Chinese products.

Lighthizer is one of the few senior officials in the Trump administration who shares Trump's hardline/protectionist view on trade. Unlike some other Trump administration officials, who are dangerous because of their inexperience and lack of expertise, Lighthizer has served in the Reagan administration and understands how to navigate government institutions to realize Trump's protectionist vision. At a Senate hearing in late March 2018, Lighthizer recommended imposing investment restrictions on Chinese companies and tariffs on Chinese products to punish China at a congressional hearing.

<https://www.axios.com/china-hawk-lighthizer-increasingly-influential-in-white-house-1513307047-79e06f29-8217-4bc8-a0e5-f0de95acdd41.html>  
<https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Reports/China%202017%20WTO%20Report.pdf>  
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-nafta/trump-lighthizer-discuss-china-nafta-trade-talks-white-house-idUSKBN1F20V6>  
<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2131865/expect-confrontation-old-trade-warrior-robert>  
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<https://www.finance.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/28798.pdf>  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mbGchk-RLxw&list=PL5LmWfiflXIEYWK0IF7MQrjVG8-uFigP2&index=6>

## **Peter Navarro: Senior Trump Adviser**

Navarro was raised in a working-class family and was able to attend Tufts University on a full academic scholarship. He later earned his doctorate in economics at Harvard University in 1986 and taught at UC Irvine. In the 1990s, Navarro unsuccessfully ran for multiple elections for mayor, city council, county board of supervisors, and US House of Representative as a Democrat. Navarro's protectionist beliefs began as early as 1993 (in a book that denounced NAFTA) and his concerns grew in the 2000s as he noticed that some of his evening students were losing their management jobs. He concluded that China's competitiveness stemmed not just from a comparative advantage in labor, but from unfair trading practices.

From the mid-2000s onwards, much of Navarro's work has focused on China's growing threat to the US. It was one of these works, *Death by China*, that caught Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner's eye as he was researching China. With Kushner's referral, Navarro was brought into the Trump administration, where Navarro was given a position on the National Trade Council. His appointment lasted until April 2017 when National Trade Council was eliminated, and he was moved to the Office of Trade and Manufacturing Policy, where much of what he works on is in planning Buy American, Hire American.

Notably, Navarro is not known to be a China expert and is not known in any China circles, and true China experts have denounced Navarro's image of China (as described in his books). Despite this, Navarro is a China expert in the Trump administration. He currently serves as the Assistant to the President—a position that would place him among the highest ranks of the Trump administration's policy advisors.

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*“Death by China. This is the very real risk we all now face as the world's most populous nation and soon-to-be largest economy is rapidly turning into the planet's most efficient assassin.”*

*Navarro, Death by China (2011)*

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As an anti-free trade proponent, Navarro has heavily criticized trade regimes like NAFTA and TPP as weakening the US economy. Navarro had advocated for the instigation of a trade war with China in order to prevent the further stealing of US jobs. Navarro has also advocated for pulling the US out of NAFTA, though Trump's more recent approval of the agreement counters this recommendation. Navarro was a driving force behind the implementation of steel tariffs and supports the termination of the US free trade agreement with South Korea. However, with the Trump administration's recent actions on trade and tariff implementation, it would appear that Navarro's promotion would be a sign of more nationalist economic policies in line with Trump's promise to put “America First”.

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[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2018/02/27/how-peter-navarro-got-his-groove-back/?utm\\_term=.22e40f9bf35c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2018/02/27/how-peter-navarro-got-his-groove-back/?utm_term=.22e40f9bf35c)

Navarro, Peter, and Greg Autry. *Death by China: Confronting the Dragon - A Global Call to Action*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2011

## Wilbur Ross: US Commerce Secretary

Ross has a background in investment and finance. His career in the private sector focused on bankruptcy-restructuring. Ross has spent most of his life as a Democrat – it wasn't until 2011 that he began donating to Republican campaigns. Even then, Ross didn't register as a republican until 2016. Despite his Democratic background, Ross was an early support of Trump due to his personal ties. In November of 2016, Trump nominated Ross as Secretary of Commerce and he was confirmed by Congress for the position. At present, Ross has a complicated relationship and status with the Trump administration.

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*“We do need major change, and I hope and I believe that we’ve made that clear to the Chinese government, because the relationship is too lopsided at present,” Ross, media briefing 9/27/2017.*

*“[W]hat we’re seeking is an overall improvement in trade. And if you look at our trade balance, there’s one geographic source of our imbalance and that’s most importantly China,” Ross, CNBC interview 9/27/2017.*

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While not necessarily a protectionist, Ross is staunchly against unfair trade practices and believes that US-China trade relations are too imbalanced, making the deficit too large. In February 2018, the US Department of Commerce released its steel and aluminum reports, which suggested the implementation of remedies like tariffs and quotas. China is a large supplier of both steel and aluminum and has been affected by the subsequent tariffs that the Trump administration placed on steel and aluminum. In the official press release, the motivation behind the tariffs was to protect national security and American industries. There is reason to doubt the Commerce Department's stated motivation, because America imports far more steel from Canada and Europe than China. Even if China cut off U.S.'s supply to their steel, this action would not threaten U.S. national security interests because the U.S. would still have plentiful access to steel from partners in the Western hemisphere.

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## **John Bolton: National Security Advisor**

Bolton has considerable experience in politics and government administration as he served in the Nixon, Reagan, and both Bush Sr. and Jr. administrations prior to his recent nomination by President Trump as the National Security Advisor. Bolton has had an early and ongoing background in law that has overlapped with his political career, as well, though his political career appears to take priority. Bolton was first exposed to federal government while serving as a summer intern to Vice President Agnew during the Nixon Administration in 1972. Subsequently, Bolton took on other positions within Republican administrations – notably serving as the Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs from 2001-2005 and as the US Ambassador to the UN from 2005-2006.

Bolton’s reputation as a war hawk has developed over the years and the brashness with which he perpetuates his agenda has won him enemies both domestically and internationally. Since his last appointment in the Bush administration, Bolton has been active at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) as well as a political commentator on Fox News (where he first caught Trump’s attention). Bolton has gained national attention recently due to his swift nomination by Trump as his new National Security Advisor following the resignation of McMaster.

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*“[China’s] stealing our intellectual property, they’re following mercantilist policies in what’s supposed to be a free trade environment, and we’re just supposed to sit there?”*

*Bolton, Fox Business 3/22/2018*

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In general, Bolton has been described as a war hawk and has long been an advocate of using force to resolve disputes. In terms of China policy, he is supportive of a more confrontational stance and, in particular, has argued for the stationing of American troops in Taiwan. Bolton has been a vocal supporter of Taiwanese self-determination and has called upon the US government to reevaluate US-Taiwan relations. It is expected that Bolton will take advantage of the newly-enacted Taiwan Travel Act to encourage increased exchanges of officials between Taiwan and the US.

Bolton favors increased aggression in US-China relations in both trade and in maritime disputes (South and East China Seas). Bolton also favors a preemptive military strike to destroy North Korea’s nuclear arsenal. In the past, statements like Bolton’s regarding preemptive strikes have garnered close attention from Chinese security authorities due to deep-seated anxieties that instability or regime collapse in North Korea could spill over into China.

[https://www.theepochtimes.com/john-bolton-to-redefine-u-s-china-relations-and-pushback-against-aggression\\_2474593.html](https://www.theepochtimes.com/john-bolton-to-redefine-u-s-china-relations-and-pushback-against-aggression_2474593.html)

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/08/us/politics/john-bolton-trump.html>

## **Jim Mattis: Defense Secretary**

Mattis has an extensive military background as well as a reputation for being an intellectual. His military career began when he enlisted in the Marine Corps Reserve in 1969. Among the upper ranks of the armed forces, he quickly developed a reputation as an intellectual who read extensively. Mattis served in the Gulf War as a lieutenant colonel, in the War in Afghanistan as a colonel, and in the Iraq War as a major general. Later, Mattis was promoted to lieutenant general and then general rank, serving as the commander of US Central Command during the Obama administration before his retirement from the military in 2013. After meeting with Mattis on November 20, 2016, then-President-elect Trump announced his nomination of Mattis for Secretary of Defense. However, Mattis had not yet fulfilled the seven-year waiting period for retired military personnel for the role but was able to receive a waiver that allowed for his nomination to be confirmed by the Senate.

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*“We face growing threats from revisionist powers as different as China and Russia are from each other, nations that do seek to create a world consistent with their authoritarian models, pursuing veto authority over other nations’ economic, diplomatic, and security decisions.”*

*Mattis, DoD Press Operations 1/19/2018*

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As the Secretary of Defense, Mattis’ international concerns are focused around America’s national security. In the National Security Strategy released in December 2017, China (and Russia) were identified as a revisionist power and strategic competitor with America. In particular, Mattis’ concerns regarding China are North Korea and freedom of navigation in the South and East China Seas. In January 2018, Mattis toured Southeast Asian countries in the hopes of strengthening ties amidst increased Chinese military activity in the South China Sea. Around the same time, the Department of Defense’s chief spokesperson announced that Mattis planned to visit China in the spring of 2018. It is expected that Mattis’ trip will be regarding the impending US and North Korea talks (to take place by May) and the South and East China Sea issues. While Mattis is not one to shy away from military confrontation, he is inclined to first consider alternative options with the belief that military actions should only be pursued as a measure of last resort.

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<https://www.politico.com/story/2018/01/19/pentagon-strategy-2018-russia-china-297324>

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2018/01/19/mattis-calls-for-urgent-change-to-counter-russia-and-china-in-new-pentagon-strategy/?utm\\_term=.1df3dbc01459](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2018/01/19/mattis-calls-for-urgent-change-to-counter-russia-and-china-in-new-pentagon-strategy/?utm_term=.1df3dbc01459)  
<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/2128153/us-defence-chief-jim-mattis-set-visit-china-spring>  
<https://thediplomat.com/2018/01/report-us-defense-secretary-jim-mattis-to-visit-china-in-spring-2018/>  
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## **Mike Pompeo: Secretary of State**

Pompeo comes into the White House with a range of experience in military, law, business, and politics. Pompeo first served in the Army as a cavalry officer in Germany prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall and later served in the Gulf War. After retiring from the military, Pompeo received his law degree and worked at a law firm. Pompeo then entered the business realm by helping to found an aerospace company before going to head an oilfield equipment company. In 2010, Pompeo first entered politics by running for a seat in the US House of Representatives for his congressional district in south-central Kansas. Since winning the first election, Pompeo has retained the seat in subsequent reelections. While in the House, Pompeo caught attention for his harsh criticism of Secretary Clinton for her actions regarding Benghazi (taking an even stronger stance than his fellow Republicans). He was appointed by Trump to be the CIA director in 2016. After pushing out Tillerson, Trump then called on Pompeo once again to nominate him for the Secretary of State position.

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*“I think that China has the capacity to present the greatest rivalry to America of any of those over the medium and long term.”*

*Pompeo, Washington Free Beacon interview 7/26/2017*

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It appears that Pompeo’s political views are more aligned with Trump’s than Tillerson’s ever were. While Tillerson acted as a countering force to Trump’s views, it’s expected that Pompeo will pursue the joint interests of the President and himself. If confirmed, Pompeo will be one of the most conservative Secretary of States in modern American history, which signals a shift to the right in diplomatic settings. While there is not heavy documentation of his views on China, the records that exist from previous speeches and interviews indicate that he supports the Trump administration’s stronger stance on China.

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/19/us/politics/donald-trump-mike-pompeo-cia.html>

<http://freebeacon.com/national-security/interview-cia-director-pompeo-cia-changing-president-trump/>

## **Joseph Dunford: Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff**

Dunford has a background in military and defense strategy. He has served in the US Marine Corps where he now holds General rank. During his military career, Dunford has served under James Mattis (the current Defense Secretary). He had been previously nominated by the Obama administration to lead US and NATO troops in Afghanistan and to serve as the Commandant of the Marine Corps. He was nominated in 2015 to be the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and was confirmed for the position by the Senate. Dunford was nominated by the Trump administration for a second term in 2017, and currently still holds the position of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

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*“If I look out to 2025 and I look at the economics and demographics situation, I think China poses the biggest threat to our nation.”*

*Dunford, Senate Armed Services Committee 3/26/2017*

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Dunford deals with the military affairs of the US, so his primary concern with China is regarding the South China Sea. In September 2017, Dunford identified China as the next big threat to American security by 2025. While he argues that North Korea poses the most immediate threat and that Russia poses an overall military threat, he expects that China’s rise will lead it to become the greatest imminent threat to American security. Dunford has worked to improve US-China military communication channels earlier in 2017, but the primary objective of these efforts was to counter the North Korean threat, and not further US-China cooperation. The move was to counter the immediacy of the North Korean threat rather than to further US-China cooperation explicitly.

<http://www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/2132306/war-north-korea-would-be-nasty-top-us-general-joseph-dunford>

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## Former Administration

### H.R. McMaster: former National Security Advisor

McMaster has a military background and considerable experience as a soldier-scholar. He had substantial roles in the Gulf War, and in the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. He is also military scholar with a doctorate in American history, a background that has provided the foundation for the publication of his book, *Dereliction of Duty*, which is widely read within military circles. He has worked on research with think tanks like the Council on Foreign Relations, the Hoover Institution, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. In February 2017, McMaster was named by Trump to serve as National Security Advisor, following the resignation of Michael Flynn. McMaster's views on foreign policy are quite realist, as he takes a deliberative approach to craft well thought-out policy. Many hoped that McMaster would help transform Trump's rash policy decisions into a deliberative decision-making process. However, Trump became frustrated with McMaster's approach and instead turned to making policy through Twitter statements. The breakdown in relations between McMaster and the presidency led to his stepping down from the position in late March 2018.

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*“Our realistic approach toward China recognizes that we must compete to counter China’s economic aggression as we promote a free and open Indo-Pacific region”*  
*McMaster, White House Statement*  
*4/6/2018.*

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McMaster's views are significant both for what they meant while in office, but also for the coming shift in Trump's foreign policy now that he is out of office. While McMaster was behind the National Security Strategy (NSS) that labeled China, as well as Russia, as “revisionist powers,” it appears that the stronger tone taken in the NSS reflects more of the administration's stance rather than his own. In 2017, McMaster and Cohn (former economic advisor) wrote an op-ed in the Wall Street Journal that provided an argument that Trump's America First stance did not necessarily mean America alone. While American interests are a priority for the American government, they argue from the perspective that America will still be willing to work with foreign governments to work on joint policies and agreements because strong alliances are also essential for American interests. The shift from McMaster to John Bolton signals a more hawkish stance on American foreign policy in the buildup to the impending North Korea talks (to occur by May 2018).

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## Rex Tillerson: former Secretary of State

Tillerson has a background in business (particularly in the oil industry). Out of college, Tillerson worked as a production engineer for Exxon. He worked his way up through the company and through Exxon's merger with Mobil for form ExxonMobil. In 2006, Tillerson was elected chairman and CEO of ExxonMobil. While heading ExxonMobil, the company worked closely with Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Middle East as well as Russia. He was recommended by the former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and former Defense Secretary Robert Gates for consideration to then-President-elect Trump. Tillerson's nomination for Secretary of State was formally announced on January 20, 2017. Tillerson's dismissal from the administration was announced via Twitter on March 13, 2018.

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*“China – as it does in emerging markets throughout the world – offers the appearance of an attractive path to development. But in reality, this often involves trading short-term gains for long-term dependency... China's offer always comes at a price – usually in the form of state-led investments, carried out by imported Chinese labor, onerous loans, and unsustainable debt. The China model extracts precious resources to feed its own economy, often with disregard for the laws of the land or human rights.”*

Tillerson, [UT-Austin speech 2/1/2018](#)

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While Tillerson's tenure as the Secretary of State was a rocky one, he maintained a level-headed approach towards China. In October 2017, Tillerson criticized China for subverting the world order in order to advance predatory economic policies. He claimed that China undermined the international rules-based order in order to pursue its own interests. In particular, he referenced Chinese aggression in the South China Sea as an example of China taking advantage of the international system. While he strived for the US and China to build constructive relations, he continued to put pressure on China, trying to get China to back off of actions in the South China Sea and to help the US in placing pressure on North Korea. Again, in December 2017, Tillerson urged China (and Russia) to cut off relations with North Korea and criticized them for supporting the rogue state. In one of his last overseas trips as Secretary of State, Tillerson toured Latin American countries (Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, and Jamaica) and warned them against China as a potential predator. While on the trip, Tillerson labeled China a 'new imperial power,' triggering a strong response from the Chinese side.

<https://www.politico.com/blogs/donald-trump-administration/2016/12/rex-tillerson-exxonmobil-secretary-state-232455>

<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/10/01/should-rex-tillerson-resign-215664>

[http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-02/09/c\\_136961510.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-02/09/c_136961510.htm)

<https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/18/politics/tillerson-china-rebuke-speech/index.html>

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-12-15/tillerson-demands-russia-and-china-cut-off-north-korean-regime>

<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/china-furious-rex-tillerson-24375>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-diplomacy-latam-china/latin-america-should-not-rely-on-china-u-s-secretary-of-state-tillerson-idUSKBN1FL6D5>

<http://www.scmp.com/news/world/united-states-canada/article/2115979/tillerson-calls-expansion-strategic-ties-india-while>

## **Steve Bannon: former Chief Strategist**

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Bannon started his professional career by serving in the navy after graduating from Virginia Tech in 1976. After moving on from the military, he became involved in finance (working as an investment banker) and then media and entertainment. In 2011, Bannon joined the executive board of Breitbart News Network and took over as executive chairman in 2012. While Breitbart always had a reputation as a right-leaning source, the site's content increasingly promoted right-wing populism under Bannon's leadership.

In 2016, Bannon became the CEO of Trump's presidential campaign and then became senior counselor to Trump after his election. From the beginning of Trump's presidency, Bannon served as his chief strategist until he left the White House in August 2017. Following his departure, Bannon returned to his position at Breitbart until the release of *Fire and Fury*. Since then, Bannon has stepped down from his position at Breitbart.

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*"China is where Nazi Germany was in 1929 to 1930. The Chinese, like the Germans, are the most rational people in the world, until they're not. And they're gonna flip like Germany in the '30s. You're going to have a hypernationalist state, and once that happens, you can't put the genie back in the bottle,"* Bannon, interview with Roger Ailes, CEO of Fox News, excerpt from *Fire and Fury*.

*"We have an enemy of incalculable power and they're not a strategic power. They are an enemy and we have to understand that,"* Bannon, [Breitbart News, 11/7/2017](#).

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Bannon has gained a reputation as an economic nationalist who expresses anti-China sentiments. While Bannon largely focused on immigration issues while working in the White House, his focus has shifted towards China since he left the White House. Bannon has compared China to Germany in the 1930s and has previously (March 2016) stated his belief that the US will go to war with China in the South China Sea in the next 5 to 10 years.

He believes that China is already waging economic war against the U.S. and that the economic relationship between the US and China must be reordered. While still in the White House, Bannon has promoted a trade war between the US and China by launching an investigation on alleged Chinese theft of American business ideas under Section 301 of the 1974 Trade Act, with the intent of implementing large tariffs on goods coming from China to the US. He has claimed that there is a forced technology transfer from the US to China and that China is not a strategic partner of the US – it is an enemy. Despite Bannon's harsh words, he has seemingly toned down those opinions when speaking to the Chinese directly, which appears to be the case for his 2017 speech to the CLSA in Hong Kong. However, Bannon has identified China (along with Iran and Turkey) as part of a "new axis [of evil]" whose "Confucian mercantilist market" is particularly compatible with "political Islam," which only serves to further vilify China.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/08/us/politics/steve-bannon-china-trump.html?mcubz=1>  
<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2127088/starting-all-encompassing-war-china-topped-trump>  
<http://www.breitbart.com/radio/2017/11/07/bannon-china-is-an-enemy-of-incalculable-power-not-a-strategic-partner-and-we-have-to-understand-that/>  
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-09-28/bannon-s-back-and-targeting-china>  
<https://www.axios.com/bannon-praises-us-china-relations-in-hong-kong-speech-1513305437-5f3497bf-1e9b-445b-9a4c-28b5063ba0f9.html>  
<https://thediplomat.com/2017/09/steve-bannon-changes-his-tone-on-china-in-hong-kong-trip/>  
<http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2018/03/02/steve-bannon-china-persia-and-turkey-forming-new-axis-thats-confronting-the-christian-west/>  
<http://www.breitbart.com/big-government/2017/11/16/bannon-china-key-to-understanding-working-class-despair-brexit-trump-and-the-party-of-davos/>

## **Gary Cohn: former Director of the National Economic Council**

Cohn has a background in financial services. He has a history as a trader and as an executive and president of Goldman Sachs. Cohn is a registered Democrat, but he has donated extensively to Republican politicians. However, Cohn seemed to be an unlikely pick for the administration because he lacked a background in politics, is socially progressive, and did not know Trump well previously. Cohn joined the Trump administration in January 2017 as the Director of the National Economic Council. Cohn held considerable influence over Trump as his go-to figure on economic issues. Unlike the majority of protectionist supporters in the White House, Cohn was seen as a supporter of globalism, and was viewed positively by many as a steady hand who could restrain Trump's more impulsive tendencies. He frequently argued against Navarro and Ross regarding Trump's "America First" perspective. Cohn resigned from the administration in early March 2018, after failing to stop Trump from implementing steep tariffs on steel and aluminum imports. In the aftermath of his resignation, both Cohn and spokespeople for the administration have said that the departure is an amicable one, and Cohn will continue to meet with Trump to provide assistance in the future.

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*"The Chinese have taken multi-decade views on what they're doing. They built up their surplus capital account over many, many years. It is going down. It is undeniably going down, and you can see it in the numbers they may take some actions in the next few months to deal with that. You know, look, so I believe that they're going to end up devaluing the currency? I do believe they will end up devaluing the currency,"* Cohn, [Bloomberg TV, January 2016](#).

*"We're going to continue to work with China on geopolitical fronts. China's an important ally to us in the region, but we're also going to continue to work with our relationship with them on trade and trade balances, understanding that China's economy is controlled at a central level and many of their companies compete on unfair terms relative to our companies and that is not fair. That said, we would love to and want to and need to open 1.3 billion consumers to US companies. So leveling the playing field - fair, open, free, reciprocal trade - with China is somewhere we want to go,"* Cohn, [Axios, 12/20/2017](#).

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While in the administration, Cohn was the globalist who worked to counter the many protectionist advocates in the White House. He believed that nationalist economic policies would harm the US internationally and domestically and advocated against the implementation of tariffs. Cohn does not have a public stance on Chinese business and trade practices, but he is, in general, an advocate for lower barriers to trade and for bilateral engagement to settle trade disputes. Cohn was reportedly furious when he learned that President Trump had created and published a tariff plan regarding steel and aluminum imports without informing him first. It's expected that, without Cohn's moderating hand, the Trump administration's trade policies will become more protectionist and more likely to stimulate a trade war with China.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/06/us/politics/gary-cohn-resigns.html>  
<https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-names-goldman-president-gary-cohn-as-director-of-national-economic-council-1481573082>  
<https://www.politico.com/story/2018/03/01/gary-cohn-white-house-tariffs-432625>  
<http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/2136224/moderate-cohn-gone-hardliners-set-dictate-us-trade-policy-china>  
<https://blogs.wsj.com/economics/2016/12/14/how-donald-trumps-new-top-economic-adviser-views-the-world/>  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?438744-1/gary-cohn-discusses-2018-legislative-agenda&start=1947>

## China Experts

### **Ryan Hass: Foreign Policy Fellow, Brookings Institute**

Hass has a background in policy and in government. He has served as a Foreign Service Officer for fifteen years, working in Mongolia, South Korea, Taiwan, and China. Following his work for the State Department, he served as the director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia at the National Security Council from 2013 to 2017. After exiting from government service, Hass has focused on policy research and analysis on US and East Asia issues. He is a fellow at the Brookings Institute, where he holds a joint appointment to the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for East Asia Policy Studies

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*“I expect US-China relations to grow more competitive in the coming months... There will be fewer areas of cooperation to counterbalance areas of friction.”*

Hass, Bloomberg, 3/14/2018

*“a wiser strategy than issuing unrealistic (and vague) demands privately and making loud threats publicly would be to concentrate on defining what specific steps Washington needs Beijing to take in order to have confidence that both sides are committed to solving underlying problems in the bilateral trade relationship.”*

Hass, Brookings Institute, 2/27/2018

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Hass’ policy views run counter to policy actions in Washington. He advocates against a trade war with China, arguing that China will implement a tit-for-tat strategy with the US that will harm the US more than it will China. He is wary of China’s involvement in the North Korea issue with Kim Jong-Un’s visit to Xi Jinping in China in late March 2018. The visit shows that Beijing is likely to remain a central player in the issue, even though bilateral talks between the US and North Korea are planned for May 2018. Additionally, Hass is against Taiwan reunification – instead supporting Taiwanese ‘soft power’ in China and arguing against the US administration using Taiwan as a tool to pressure China.

<https://www.brookings.edu/experts/ryan-hass/>

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/03/28/what-we-know-and-dont-about-the-meeting-between-kim-jong-un-and-xi-jinping/>

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/02/27/how-to-avert-a-trade-war-with-china/>

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/02/07/dont-squeeze-taiwan/>

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2018/02/26/2003688260>

<http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2018/01/22/2003686197>

## **Michael Pillsbury: Director of the Center on Chinese Strategy, Hudson Institute**

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Pillsbury has a background in China policy and US Defense strategy. His work with the US government in 1973, when he was first assigned to travel to China to provide policy analysis as a part of the RAND corporation. Later during that assignment, Pillsbury published articles in *Foreign Policy* and *International Security* to recommend that the US establish intelligence and military ties with China. In the subsequent years, Pillsbury contributed policy recommendations that eventually became US policy in the Carter and Reagan administrations. Since the Nixon administration, Pillsbury has contributed to policy in the executive branch and in Congress (unknown if has done work during the Trump administration). He has also written three books on different aspects of China policy. Pillsbury's access to classified information not available to the public gives him a greater sense of authority in his writings and observations on China policies. He is currently a Senior Fellow and the Director of the Center on Chinese Strategy at the Hudson Institute.

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*“Xi soon demonstrated that he had a dream of his own – one of a resurgent China that would reclaim its rightful pace atop the global hierarchy.”*

Pillsbury, *The Hundred-Year Marathon* (2015)

*“I had not anticipated that there would be a phased approach as the balance of power tilted more and more against the declining United States. Thus I realized that a new scenario was emerging: China would become more assertive with each improvement in the balance of power relative to the United States, according to Beijing's calculations,”* Pillsbury, *The Hundred-Year Marathon* (2015).

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Pillsbury's China policy has shifted significantly (according to his own accounts) over the years. He is something of a 'reformed' China hawk. He has been instrumental in establishing US-China ties during the Reagan administration (writing Reagan a letter of advice while he was still a governor, which later became policy). While he was previously supportive of China and promoted the furthering of US-China cooperation, Pillsbury is now more critical of US-China cooperation. In his book, *The Hundred Year Marathon*, Pillsbury lays out a series of false assumptions that most Americans hold regarding China that lead most to sympathize with China. Instead, Pillsbury argues that China is using its time-honored strategy of deception to secretly work to replace the US as the major world power. He lays out a twelve-step plan<sup>1</sup> for policy changes that essentially amounts to American acknowledgement of Chinese competitiveness and taking steps to counter Chinese actions at every possible avenue. While he doesn't advocate for military conflict between the US and China, he suggests that the US should push a more aggressive agenda on China in order to shape China to American interests because, he argues, this is what China has done to the US for years.

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<sup>1</sup> Pillsbury 215

Pillsbury, Michael. *The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2015.

<https://thehundredyearmarathon.com>

<https://www.hudson.org/experts/724-michael-pillsbury>

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/01/26/michael-pillsbury/208bafa8-1726-402a-aa06-0711e65994ef/?utm\\_term=.137f7bd9692f](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1987/01/26/michael-pillsbury/208bafa8-1726-402a-aa06-0711e65994ef/?utm_term=.137f7bd9692f)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oE9QuB80cGY>

<https://www.chinausfocus.com/culture-history/michael-pillsburys-china-nightmare>

<https://thediplomat.com/2016/04/how-us-intelligence-gets-china-wrong/>

<http://www.breitbart.com/radio/2018/03/23/michael-pillsbury-trump-seeks-to-thwart-chinas-hundred-year-plan-for-economic-and-military-dominance/>

## Ely Ratner: CFR Senior Fellow for China Studies

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Ratner has a background in policy and in government. His professional career began at the RAND Corporation as a political scientist and went on to work in various positions in policy and in government. Most recently, Ratner was the Deputy National Security Advisor to former-Vice President Joe Biden from 2015 to 2017. Following that assignment, Ratner then joined the Council on Foreign Relations as a senior fellow for China studies.

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*“The US and China are now locked in a geopolitical competition... The United States, on balance, is losing this competition in ways that increase the likelihood not just of the erosion of the US-led order, but also the rise of an illiberal China-dominated Asia and beyond.”*  
Ratner, [CFR Testimony, 2/15/2018](#)

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Ratner views China as a strategic competitor and supports US policies that are ‘tough’ on China. He is critical of what he perceives to be the US State Department’s deferential position towards China, arguing for increased presence and involvement in the region. Ratner supports increased defense spending and investment in new technology in order to stay ahead of China, but he doesn’t agree with Trump’s tariffs towards China. While the US should be tough on China, Ratner believes that the tariffs are likely to disproportionately hurt American companies and consumers instead of the intended Chinese target.

<https://www.cfr.org/experts/ely-ratner>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/author/ely-ratner/>

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2017-06-13/course-correction>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/08/24/the-state-department-is-tilting-dangerously-toward-china/>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/05/12/the-united-states-is-losing-asia-to-china/>

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/03/how-to-get-tough-on-china-trump/>

<https://cfrd8->

[files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report\\_pdf/Strategic%20Competition%20with%20China%20HASC%202%2015%2018.pdf](https://files.cfr.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/Strategic%20Competition%20with%20China%20HASC%202%2015%2018.pdf)

## **Kurt Campbell: Chairman and CEO of The Asia Group**

Campbell has a background in defense, policy, and government. His past positions have included being the CEO and co-founder of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), director of the Aspen Strategy Group, and the director of the International Security Program and the Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. From 2009 to 2013, Campbell served as the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. During this time, Campbell served as one of the principal architects for Obama's Pivot to Asia. He has authored six books in the past for various institutions and is currently working as the chairman and CEO of The Asia Group.

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*"The Pivot is premised on the idea that the Asia-Pacific region not only increasingly defines global power and commerce, but also welcomes US leadership and rewards US engagement with positive returns on political, economic, and military investments," Campbell, *The Pivot* (2016).*

*"A better strategy is to work with China wherever possible, as well as to induce it to support international norms and contribute to global governance, while signaling resolve on issues of disagreement that are central to Asia's peace and prosperity," Campbell, *The Pivot* (2016).*

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One of the more recent books that Campbell has published is *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*. The book argues that the Asia Pivot is the correct policy choice for America in the coming years. While the book promotes greater American involvement in Asia, it evades calling out the China challenge specifically. As a result, the 'Ten Point Plan' of recommended policy in pursuing the Asia Pivot falls short of directly addressing the challenge China poses to the US. Instead, Campbell's plan calls for a broad drumming up of support and greater involvement of American influence in the region.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2018-02-13/china-reckoning>  
<https://www.ft.com/content/4c87c648-3497-11e6-ad39-3fee5ffe5b5b>  
<https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/book-review-pivot-future-american-statecraft-asia-kurt-campbell>

Campbell, Kurt M. *The Pivot: The Future of American Statecraft in Asia*. New York, NY: Twelve, 2016.

## David Shambaugh: Professor of Political Science, George Washington University

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Shambaugh has a background in policy and academia. He is a professor of political science at George Washington University as well as a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute. He has authored many books that have generally been well-received both in the US and in China. Shambaugh appears regularly in the media as an authority on Chinese foreign policy and security issues.

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*“Despite increasingly negative perceptions, US-China relations will be vitally important in the future. These two titans are tangled together in innumerable ways – strategically, diplomatically, economically, socially, culturally, environmentally, regionally, internationally, educationally, and in many other domains.”*

Shambaugh, *China’s Future* (2016)

*“China is a global actor without (yet) being a true global power – the distinction being that true powers influence other nations and events. Merely having a global presence does not equal having global power unless a nation influences events in a particular region or realm,”*

Shambaugh, *China Goes Global* (2014)

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Shambaugh has observed the increasing strain of US-China relations as the two countries struggle to find a new equilibrium amidst China’s growing influence. He calls for a reevaluation of US relations with China in every sector in order to adjust American policies to the ongoing changes and growth within China. He argues for more unilateral rather than bilateral actions on the part of the American government in order to toughen the American position towards China as the new world equilibrium is sorted out. In his book, *China Goes Global*, Shambaugh supports the continued integration of China in the international community. Currently, China is only a selective and partial participant in international institutions and the US would benefit by pushing for the normative integration of China into the international community. He argues that the ‘preemptive containment’ of China is dangerous because the current interdependence and benefits of interacting with China are irreversible and no other nations would go along with the strategy.

<https://elliott.gwu.edu/shambaugh>

<http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2115025/under-xi-jinping-return-one-man-rule-china>

<https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/david-shambaugh-on-chinas-future/>

Shambaugh, David L. *China's Future*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016.

Shambaugh, David L. *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

## **Joseph A. Bosco: CSIS Senior Associate**

Bosco has a background in government, international relations, and law. He served as a special assistant to the Secretary of Transportation of Massachusetts under John A. Volpe as well as a law clerk for the Massachusetts Superior Court and the Federal District Court in Massachusetts. Later on, Bosco taught graduate seminars on China-Taiwan-US relations at Georgetown University, in which he notably had on a realist perspective of international relations. Bosco has since worked as a national security consultant. From 2003-2010, Bosco worked at the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and from 2005-2006, he was the China country director. He is currently a member of the US-China task force at the Center for the National Interest, a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and a senior fellow at the Institute for Corean-America Studies.

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*“Beijing’s pose as a good-faith negotiating partner has deflected Western criticism over China’s trade and currency misconduct, its aggressive actions in the South and East China Seas and toward Taiwan, and its own human rights record.”*

Bosco, [RealClearDefense, 9/21/2017](#)

*“As was done with the Soviet Union, America must continue to work for China’s peaceful evolution away from Communist dictatorship.”*

Bosco, [The National Interest, 12/4/2016](#)

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Bosco believes that China poses a security threat to the US and compares China in the East and South China Seas to Japan before and during World War II. He is also adamant in his defense of Taiwan – that the US would defend Taiwan and that Taiwan would not be receptive to a peaceful reunification with the mainland. Bosco believes that Trump should use his position as an unorthodox president to address the security of Taiwan. He also believes that Trump should be more persistent in compelling China to exert its leverage over North Korea’s nuclear program. Bosco argues China could be doing much more to work with the US to restrain North Korea. Some of the specific policy actions that Bosco recommends includes placing another call to Tsai Ing-Wen, announcing a new arms sale package to Taiwan, declaring an unambiguous commitment to defend Taiwan, sending a cabinet officer to Taiwan, directing a new FONOP in the South China Sea, labeling China a currency manipulator (if the facts can justify it), etc.

<https://josephabosco.com/about/>

<https://josephabosco.com/blog/>

<https://thediplomat.com/2017/06/time-to-end-us-strategic-ambiguity-on-taiwan/>

<https://thediplomat.com/2017/06/china-is-taking-trump-for-a-ride/>

<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/america-needs-stop-losing-china-18604>

## **James Mann: journalist and author**

Mann has a background in journalism, having worked in newspaper reporting for thirty-three years. Most notably he has worked for the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times. While working for the LA Times, Mann was the Chief of the Beijing bureau from 1984 to 1987 as well as a foreign-policy columnist during his two decades at the paper. He has also authored many non-fiction books, three of which focus on US-China relations and four of which deal with American foreign policy.

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*“[Under the Third Scenario] the essentials of the current political system would remain intact: There would be no significant political opposition, no freedom of the press, no election beyond the local level. There would be an active security apparatus to forestall organized political dissent. In other words, China, while growing stronger and richer, wouldn’t change its political system in any fundamental way. It would continue along the political course it is on today.”*

Mann, *The China Fantasy* (2007)

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The most relevant of Mann’s books to America’s China foreign policy is *The China Fantasy*. In the book, Mann is critical of how America portrays China. He believes that Americans holds a falsely positive image of China that doesn’t reflect reality. Mann presents a scenario in which China does not democratize or fall apart (as public opinion might believe), but instead continues to flourish under a repressive regime, which he calls the Third Scenario. Rather than leave China alone or continue to be soft on China, the US (he argues rather broadly) should reassess its current China policy and instead work to restrain China.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-deadly-guessing-game-will-china-and-the-us-find-reason-to-go-to-war/2017/07/07/8a46aa3e-55c6-11e7-b38e-35fd8e0c288f\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d83eb3ab9791](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/a-deadly-guessing-game-will-china-and-the-us-find-reason-to-go-to-war/2017/07/07/8a46aa3e-55c6-11e7-b38e-35fd8e0c288f_story.html?utm_term=.d83eb3ab9791)  
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2007/05/15/whats-your-china-fantasy/>

Mann, James. *The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression*. New York, NY: Viking, 2007.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Mann references the Carter Center on pg 20 on its work with Chinese village elections

## **Elizabeth Economy: CFR Senior Fellow and Director for Asia Studies**

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Economy has a background in academia. She received her doctorate from the University of Michigan. Economy has previously served as a member of the World Economic Forum on the Global Agenda Council on the United States and on the Global Agenda Council on the Future of China as well as on the advisory council of Network 20/20 and the science advisory council of the Stockholm Environment Forum. Currently, Economy serves on the board of managers of Swarthmore College and the board of trustees of the Asia Foundation. Economy has published numerous articles in foreign policy and scholarly journals including *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* and op-eds in media outlets like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. She has been a guest on nationally broadcast television and radio programs, has testified before Congress on numerous occasions, and regularly consults for US government agencies. Economy has also written three books on China: *The River Runs Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (2004), *By All Means Necessary: How China's Resource Quest is Changing the World* (2014), and *The Third Revolution: Xi Jinping and the New Chinese State* (2018).

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*“In the past, Washington tolerated a degree of intellectual property theft and unequal market access because it believed that China was making some progress toward market principles and the rule of law. With that logic off the table, there is no reason the United States shouldn't adopt more restrictive policies toward China.”*

Economy, [Foreign Affairs](#), 4/17/2018

*“China is eager to restrict opportunities for outsiders to pursue their political and economic interests within its borders, even as it advances its own such interests outside China. Accordingly, it's time for the Trump administration to take a fresh look at the notion of reciprocity – and do unto Chin as China does unto the United States.”*

Economy, [Foreign Affairs](#), 4/17/2018

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Economy argues that Xi has initiated a third revolution within China (the first was led by Mao and the second was led by Deng) in which China is an illiberal state seeking leadership in a liberal world order. Xi's China presents a values-based challenge to the international norms supported by the United States. As a result, the Trump administration should now launch an equivalent challenge against China. The US should also propose further engagement with China in collaborative efforts in order to boost relations. Aside from China, the US should pursue alternative options in the region, such as reopening discussions on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, in order to promote liberal ideals in Asia. Economy proposes that the US follow a general model of reciprocity in its approach to US-China relations in order to get China to reevaluate the relationship with the US.

<https://www.cfr.org/experts/elizabeth-c-economy>

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2018-04-17/chinas-new-revolution>

## **Orville Schell: Director of Center on US-China Relations, Asia Society**

Schell has background in writing and academia. His interactions with China began in the 1960s, when he studied abroad at National Taiwan University while completing his undergraduate degree at Harvard University. While in Taiwan, Schell began writing for the Boston Globe's "Man in Asia" column, giving him exposure to writing and journalism. After completing his undergraduate degree, Schell went to Indonesia to work for the Ford Foundation for two years. Upon his return, Schell worked with Dr. Franz Schurmann to complete the three-volume work, "The China Reader," which established him as a China scholar and expert. With Schurmann, Schell founded the Pacific News Service (PNS) to create and distribute news commentary. The PNS were notably against US involvement in the Vietnam War and supportive of the establishment of diplomatic ties with the Peoples' Republic of China. Schell has gone on to write for a variety of well-known media outlets including the New Yorker, Time magazine, Foreign Affairs, the New York Times, and many more. He has also won various awards for his contributions to journalism and documentaries, including an Emmy Award for producing 60 Minutes' documentary *Made in China* about the 1989 Tiananmen Square crisis. From 1996-2006, Schell served as the Dean of the UC-Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism, after which he became the Director of the Center on US-China Relations at the Asia Society. Currently, Schell continues to work for the Asia Society while also being a frequent participant in the World Economic Forum and serving as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

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*"The world is increasingly gravitating around the US and China. They're really the only two countries of consequence anymore... This relationship is critically important, but it is underlaid by two government with utterly opposite values and political systems. It is difficult to overcome these differences because deep down in their hearts, Xi Jinping and the Communist party do believe that a lot of Americans would like to overthrow the Communist party, and I can't say they're wrong. This fundamental antagonism prevents us from cooperating as much as we could and really should if our political systems weren't so inimical."*

Schell, [Interview for the Asia Experts Forum 2/19/2016](#)

*"The [US-China] relationship is rather gravely out of balance no matter what sector you look at and this must be corrected. If this is not corrected, then the future will be all the more uncertain for it."*

Schell, [Asia Society Task Force Panel 2/7/2017](#)

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Schell is a proponent for increased engagement with China. He believes that certain institutions, like the "one China" policy, should not be discussed for now. Instead, the US should focus on rebalancing the relationship with China. China's rise is not perceived to be a threat to US power, but it is something that must be accounted for when rebalancing the US-China relationship.

Schell, Orville, and John Delury. *Wealth and Power: China's Long March to the Twenty-First Century*. Abacus, 2016.

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-once-and-future-democracy-1490977327>

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/04/21/crackdown-in-china-worse-and-worse/>

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNt\\_nnns1Fo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LNt_nnns1Fo)

<https://www.cmc.edu/keck-center/asia-experts-forum/orville-schell-on-us-china-relations-under-president-trump>

## Michael Swaine: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Senior Fellow

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Swaine has a background in academia. He received his doctorate in government from Harvard University. Previously, Swaine was a senior foreign policy analyst at the RAND corporation. He is a specialist in Chinese defense and foreign policy, US-China relations, and East Asia international relations. Swaine has published over a dozen books and many articles about China, directed several security-related projects with Chinese partners, and advised the US government on Asian security issues.

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*“By adopting an ideological and confrontational posture toward China, the Trump administration risks creating a pointless Cold War with Beijing.”*

Swaine, [Foreign Affairs 3/2/2018](#)

*“In 45 years of studying and researching China, I have never seen such a determined effort to depict [China] as an unmitigated threat. It spans agencies, news organs, and “belief” tanks. It is inaccurate, pernicious, and contrary to US interests. It’s like a virus [and] very dangerous.”*

Swaine, [Twitter 4/15/2018](#)

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Swaine is critical of the current Trump administration’s China policy. He believes that US-China relations are mutually beneficial and any attempts to hurt China will also hurt the US. While the Trump administration has been wary of China’s lending to developing countries, Swaine argues that the administration is ignoring a significant body of scholarly literature that shows that Chinese economic influence around the world actually benefits developing countries. He believes that the US government’s hostile language towards China in the recent NSS and NDS is unqualified. Instead the US government should have portrayed China as a potential contributor to regional or global stability and should have acknowledged the benefits that the US has enjoyed as a result of US-China cooperation.

<http://carnegieendowment.org/experts/119>

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2018/03/02/creating-unstable-asia-u.s.-free-and-open-indo-pacific-strategy-pub-75720>

<https://twitter.com/Dalzell60>

## **David Lampton: Chairman of the Asia Foundation, Hyman Professor and Director of SAIS-China**

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Lampton has a background in academia. He completed his doctorate at Stanford University and is currently the Hyman Professor and Director of SAIS-China and China Studies at Johns Hopkins University. Lampton was formerly the President of the National Committee on United States-China Relations. He has authored many books, including *The Three Faces of Chinese Power: Might, Money, and Minds* (2008), and has published articles in outlets including Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, The American Political Science Review, The New York Times, etc. His research focuses on US-China relations and Chinese foreign policy.

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*“The PRC is a geopolitical, economic, and security competitor for the United States, but it is not our biggest threat and there are many upsides to cooperating with Beijing... The wisest path forward for America and China is to negotiate cooperation.”*

Lampton, [American Chamber of Commerce, China Conference 2017](#)

*“The positive balance between hope and fear tipped behavior toward restraint and patience. Things unfortunately have changed dramatically since about 2010. The tipping point is near. Our respective fears are nearer to outweighing our hopes than at any time since normalization.”*

Lampton, [“A Tipping Point in U.S.-China Relations is Upon Us,” May 2015](#)

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China is becoming stronger and the US should cooperate with China. However, this action requires that the Trump administration solidify its China policy and the personnel involved in determining China policy. Once Trump is willing to take a firm stance on its China policy, Lampton supports increased collaboration between the US and China in order to strengthen the relationship, which he believes is mutually beneficial for both countries. While the US is no longer in a position from which it can compel China to work with the US, it's important for the US to maintain a presence in the region lest Asia become a unipolar region.

<https://www.sais-jhu.edu/david-lampton>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=84FDVVhWGBc>

<http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/12/10/balancing-us-china-interests-in-the-trump-xi-era/>

<https://www.uscnpm.org/blog/2015/05/11/a-tipping-point-in-u-s-china-relations-is-upon-us-part-i/>