

# THE TELEGRAM III

**Global South: including**

**Brazil**

**China**

**India**

**Mexico**

**Nigeria**

**Pakistan**

**Philippines**

**Saudi Arabia**

**Vietnam...**

**Impact on the United States/China**



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**Present at  
this  
Creation**

**Sarwar A. Kashmeri**

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**A FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION REPORT**

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**The Foreign Policy Association**, founded in 1918, is the first independent national organization established to provide global affairs learning opportunities in all regions of the United States. Working to develop awareness, understanding, and informed public opinion on key current international challenges, the Foreign Policy Association is widely recognized as a **leader in stimulating broader and more effective participation in world affairs**. As FPA advances international affairs education, the organization enriches national debates about America's role in the world and strengthens U.S. democracy.

Nonpartisan and not-for-profit, FPA develops authoritative, balanced programs for geographically and demographically diverse audiences. These programs include events and meetings that draw community, regional, and national participation. FPA's Great Decisions community and campus programming in virtually all U.S. states **builds knowledge of the world, while providing lifelong tools** for studying and analyzing global affairs. International affairs learning materials produced by FPA engage general and specialized audiences, including decision-makers from the highest levels of both government and the private sector.

In today's world, as globalization accelerates and its complexities and consequences deepen and expand, the **experience and expertise of the Foreign Policy Association** are needed more than ever.

# **THE TELEGRAM III**

**Present at This Creation**

*September 2024*

**Sarwar A. Kashmeri**

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## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to thank the global experts on the U.S.–China relationship, who contributed to this report. They are listed on the cover. Many of them were also kind enough to appear as my guests on *Polaris-Live.com*, a live half-hour weekly video program that I host. Now in its fourth year, *Polaris-Live* has focused on discussing the U.S.–China relationship and its impact on the world in free flowing, commercial-free conversations. For those who want to drill deeper, [www.polaris-live.com](http://www.polaris-live.com) will take you to the You Tube archive where every (over a hundred programs as of the date of this report) *Polaris-Live* conversation is permanently recorded.

What better way to test my own thoughts than to filter them through the eyes of experts from other countries, which is the process I have followed in compiling all three of the *Telegram* reports for the Foreign Policy Association. There is no question that my interlocutors were enormously helpful. They brought fresh insights and different perspectives to the largely one-dimensional and abrasive view of the U.S.–China relationship that exists in Washington, D.C., today and increasingly, in China. While the *Polaris-Live* conclusions forced me to think outside the box, the conclusions I present in *The Telegram* are my own, and it would be a mistake to link any conclusion to a particular interlocutor unless specifically quoted.

Students of history and geopolitics will recognize that the title of this report, *The Telegram*, is adapted from the now famous 1950 report *The Long Telegram*, authored by George Kennan, the Department of State’s envoy in Moscow. Kennan’s brilliant analysis of the Soviet economy and his recommendations to the U.S. Department of State resulted in the U.S. policy of containment, which ultimately (it took three decades) resulted in the implosion of the Soviet empire without a single shot being fired. It was a remarkable feat of bipartisan U.S. leadership over thirty years.

This year’s *Telegram III* benefited significantly from the first joint conference organized by the Foreign Policy Association and the Burkle Center of International Relations at the University of California Los Angeles. You can find the conference’s press release in this report’s “Appendix.”

I want to thank my friend and book editor Anna Typrowicz, who edited this manuscript and for her very valuable contributions to this report. Thanks also to Emilie Trautman, FPA’s editor for her editing help and to Tonya Leigh of the FPA for the striking cover. Tonya has won national acclaim for her previous *Telegram* covers and looks headed to more kudos for *Telegram III*.

The FPA has been my intellectual home for almost three decades. Uniquely in a world of agenda-driven think tanks, the mission of the FPA today, as it has been for its 104-year history, is to serve as a catalyst for developing awareness, understanding, and informed opinion on U.S. foreign policy and global issues.

It goes without saying that the views and conclusions expressed in this report are entirely mine and do not reflect those of the Foreign Policy Association or its Board of Directors.

Sarwar A. Kashmeri

September 2024

**“It behooves us to continue  
in these paths, doing what lies  
in our power to foster feelings of  
goodwill, and leaving no effort untried  
to work out the great policy of full  
and fair intercourse between China and the nations,  
on a footing of equal rights and advantages to all.”**

*President Theodore Roosevelt*

*State of the Union Address*

*Washington, D.C.*

*December 3, 1901*



## The 2024 *Telegram*

This is the third monograph in the Foreign Policy Association's *Telegram* series. Like its predecessors of 2021 and 2022, the 2024 *Telegram* aims to review the state of China-U.S. relations and to recommend specific actions that both countries can take to improve their relationship—the most consequential relationship of our time.

Unfortunately, over the last three years the state of the relationship has continued to slide. Indeed, it is dire, especially in their trading relationship and defense.

In 2018, then President Trump began to levy tariffs on Chinese imports thereby ending the largely unrestricted trade that had been the hallmark of the two economies. More than \$380 billion of trade was affected. President Biden continued this policy and added more tariffs. Mr. Trump has promised that if he is reelected in 2024, he will add import duties to *all* goods coming in from China. Such tariffs will only magnify the impact on an already deteriorating Chinese economy, further damaging the two countries' relationship.

Sadly, the American economy has also suffered serious consequence with this flawed policy, as the *Brookings Institution* pointed out in its August 7, 2020, article, "More pain than gain: How the U.S.-China trade war hurt America written 6 months after the imposition of the tariffs." The Tariffs "...have significantly hurt the American economy without solving the underlying economic concerns that the trade war was meant to resolve," Brookings said.

Three years later, *The Council on Foreign Relations* released its report on the results of the Tariffs on China in an August 23, 2023, report titled, *The Cost of Trump's Trade War on China is Still Adding Up*. The report documented that, "...by the end of the first year the tariffs were in place, U.S. real income declined by \$1.4 billion per month. More recently, trade analysts ... found that U.S. consumers largely bore the brunt of the tariffs, paying a total of \$48 billion."

The defense relationship between China and the United States is in a tense standoff as the United States increases its political and military support of Taiwan, an island that China considers part of its territory, and as the United States Navy sails powerful squadrons through the South and East China Seas. Experts worry that a growing U.S.-China cold war could easily turn hot, and neither country appears ready to lower the temperature.

The problem now is... "that any opening for cooperation, even on key issues, gets lost in mutual recriminations, petty irritations, and deepening strategic mistrust," as Yale University Professor Odd Arne Westad observes in the July/August 2024 issue of *Foreign Affairs* (p. 87). "The potential for strategic miscalculation between China and the United States is rife because of the limited interaction between the two sides," he says.

To this dangerous situation between the two nuclear-armed states and largest economies in the world, now a new variable must be factored into any attempt to improve relations between the two superpowers: the appearance on the world stage of a group of around 100 countries that have been labeled "Global South." The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTD) defines the Global South as comprising Africa; Latin America and the Caribbean; Asia, excluding Israel, Japan,

and South Korea, but, and this is important, including China; and Oceania, excluding Australia and New Zealand. This group of countries collectively believes that the existing international order is heavily biased in favor of developed countries. The United States cannot ignore the Global South. Its rise is already affecting relations with and between itself and China in ways not yet fully understood.

The growth of the Global South poses both challenges and opportunities to the China-U.S. relationship, and this year's *Telegram* tries to understand the Global South and its growing impact on global geopolitics.

Another obstacle to improving the relationship between China and the United States is the upcoming 2024 U.S. presidential election. Anti-China rhetoric in America currently translates to votes. Response to this rhetoric by similarly incendiary statements by China is a natural response. This tit for tat is sure to play out through the November 2024 U.S. elections and beyond.

## Global Rules Based Order

In his memoir, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department*, Dean Acheson (1893–1971), one of America's great Secretaries of State, quotes Alfonso X (1221–1284), the medieval King of Spain, who wistfully said “Had I been present at the creation I would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe.”

Hindsight always has 20/20 vision. Nevertheless, during the post-World War II years, Acheson and his brilliant cohorts were remarkably successful in devising the rules and institutions to get the countries of the world out of intensive care and back on their feet again.

Acheson's strategies especially helped the countries of Europe that had largely been reduced to rubble and that faced an existential threat from the Soviet Union, which had morphed from a strong ally of the West during World War II to a post-war enemy of the West.

It was Dean Acheson, George Marshall, and their band of far-sighted officials from the United States, Europe, and Asia who accomplished the mission of getting these countries back on their feet again.

Because the United States was the only power standing after the ruinous global destruction of the 1939–1945 Second World War, America, in conjunction with the West, had the unique opportunity to conceive, design, and implement the institutions and rules for rebuilding the global economy and to set up guardrails to ensure a more peaceful world. (Although the USSR was the other major power after World War II, after seeing an initial boost from its wartime economy, its Communist, centrally controlled economic system collapsed because it could not compete with the capitalist West.) Acheson, therefore, had a ringside seat in the formulation of what has since been dubbed the Rules Based Global Order (RBGO), as those rules and institutions came to be called. Rules that have largely governed the world's commerce, geopolitics, peace, and war until today.

Virtually all the institutions that became the pillars of the RBGO, including the United Nations (UN) and its Security Council; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank; and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, now called

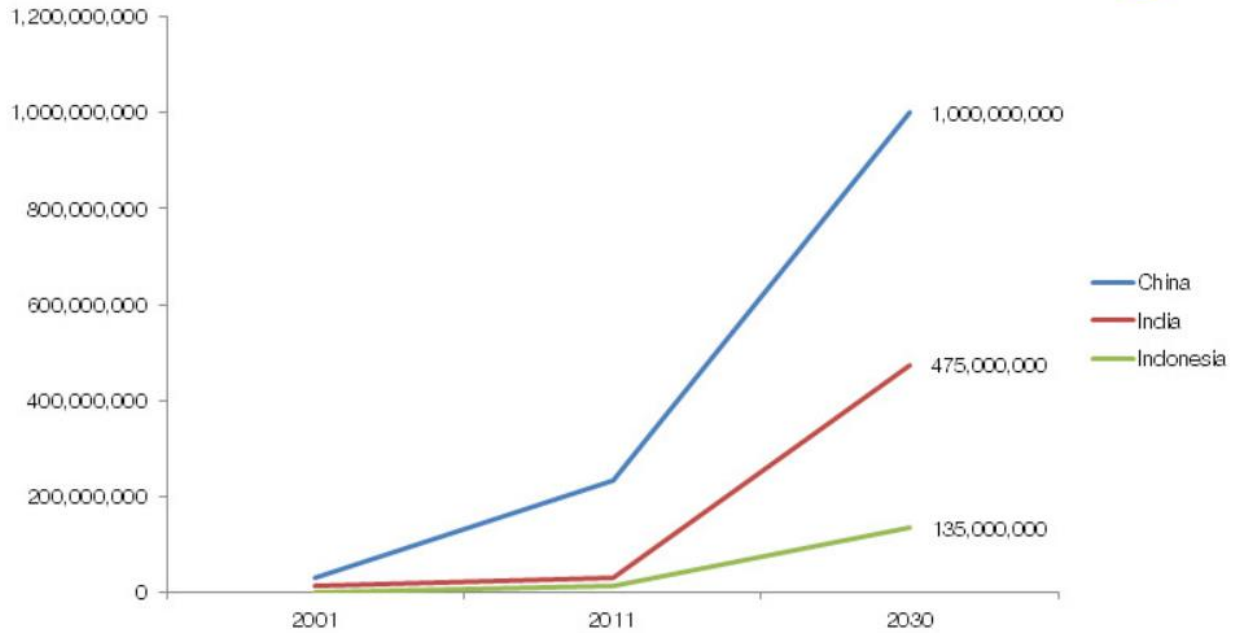
## The Telegram III

the World Trade Organization (WTO), were set up under the West's imprimatur. To the winner go the spoils of course, and the "spoils" that controlled the world order were set up to ensure control by the West of the most influential mechanisms of the institutions. For instance, the UN Security Council (SC) has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Although it comprises fifteen members, only five of the fifteen members of the SC are forever enshrined as *permanent* members; the other six rotate through all the world's countries in alphabetical order and serve two-year terms. Each permanent member has veto power over any SC decision, which means that *any one of these permanent members can block the passage of a SC resolution*. No surprise then that when the SC was set up only the United States and its World War II allies: China (then synonymous with the island of Taiwan), France, Russia, and the United Kingdom were deemed fit to be permanent members! And although Europe makes up around 5% of the world's population it commands 40% of the five permanent member seats in the SC.

As for China's role in the UNSC, in October 1971, U.S. President Nixon (1913–1994), wanting to normalize relations with China, agreed to the replacement of the Republic of China (ROC) as Taiwan was called, with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council. This change meant that China automatically replaced Taiwan as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Similar rules that continue to favor the West govern the IMF's voting shares. Despite the increasingly dominant economic weight of China (as well as other Asian countries such as India, Indonesia, and Malaysia as shown in the chart below) the IMF's voting shares still favor the West.

# Asia's growing middle class

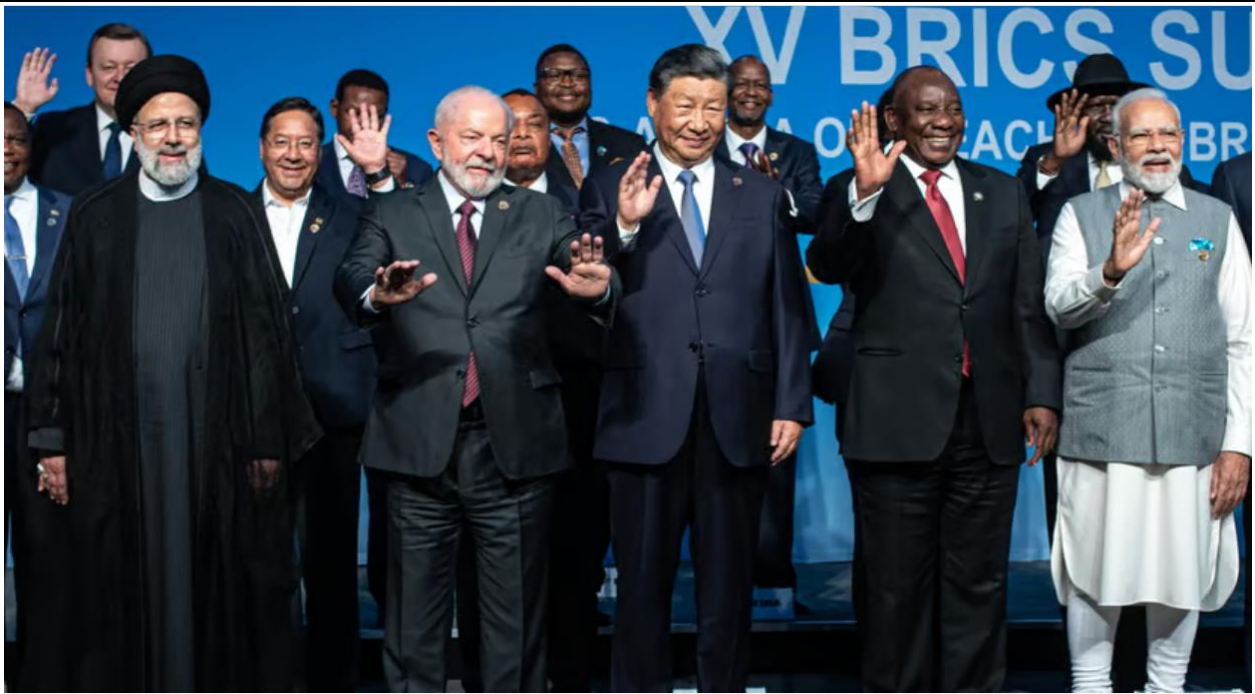


Sources: Pew, Ernst and Young, McKinsey

As Singapore Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, one of Asia's leading diplomats and a distinguished fellow at the National University of Singapore's Asia Research Institute is fond of pointing out, "The West represents 12% of the world's population. 88% live outside the West. And, on the whole their living conditions have never been better."

## Enter the Global South

This is the prelude to the phrase that has emerged on the world's stage during the last decade: the Global South. *The Economist* (April 12, 2024) explains it "...is everywhere and nowhere. The rise of the phrase reflects the rise of the countries themselves. And it denotes a wide-ranging critique of Western countries' policies...[its] heft in global affairs is growing as...it accounts for 40% of the world GDP and around 85% of the world's population."



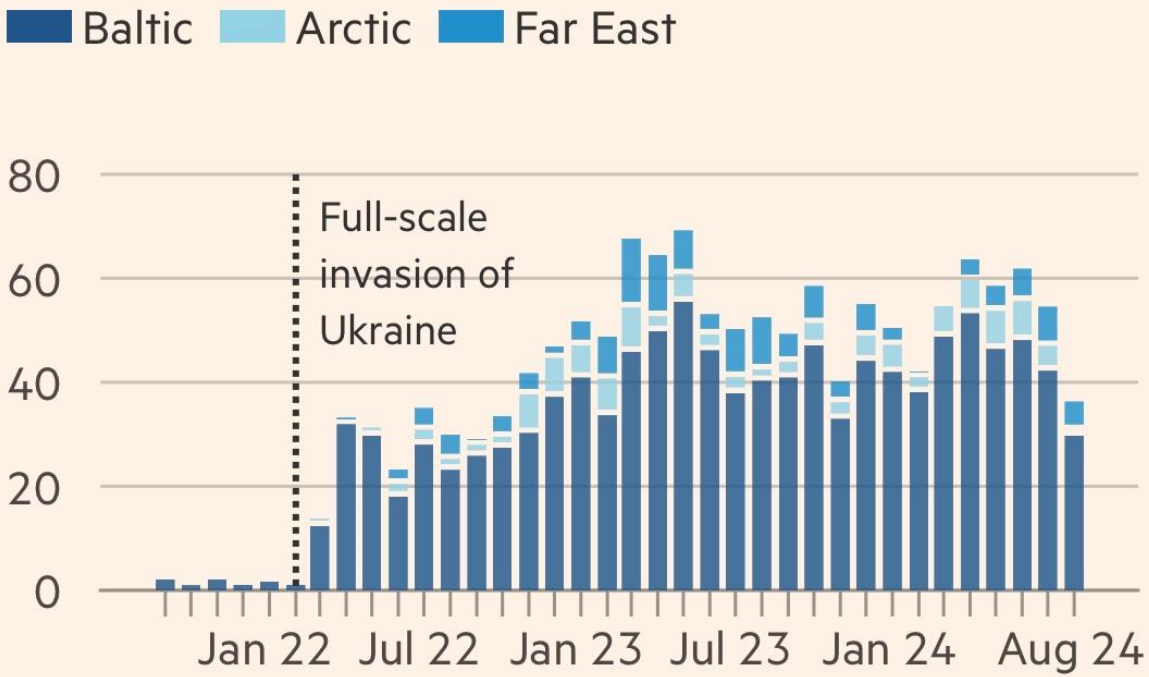
PHOTOGRAPH: GETTY IMAGES

Source: *The Economist*

As India's External Affairs Minister, S. Jaishankar, replied when asked at a European press conference why his country continued to sit on the fence and had not joined the U.S. led Western sanctions against Russia in the Russia-Ukraine war, "We are not sitting on the fence, we are standing our ground," he said, a response illustrative of the views of the Global South. India continues to buy increasing amounts of oil from Russia while it negotiates the purchase of an ever-increasing quantity of sophisticated military hardware from the United States, even as it also continues to receive military equipment from its historical armorer, Russia. America would never have condoned this strategic dichotomy before. Now it has no choice.

# Russian crude exports to India were negligible before Ukraine invasion

Exports by Russian port of departure (mn barrels per month)



FINANCIAL TIMES

Source: Kpler

In fact, the Russia-Ukraine war offers another example of the growing clout of the Global South countries and their insistence on following the West only when the West's policies are in their national interests. The Global South refused to accept the Russia-Ukraine war as a battle between democracy and autocracy, which led to some of the world's largest democracies—India, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Africa—refusing to join the Western sanctions against Russia, sanctions that the West claimed were meant to support the RBGO. Increasingly confident Global South countries pointed out that the unprovoked U.S. invasions of countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan underscored

the argument that the RBGO did not seem to apply to the West. Doesn't the RBGO need updating to reflect current realities?

This Western exceptionalism that certain wars because they are taking place in Europe are more important than others is something that the countries in the Global South look at askance.

*Professor Jorge Heine, Boston University; former Chilean Cabinet Minister and Ambassador to China*

And then there is the Global South's reaction to the virtual destruction of Gaza by Israel in its response to Hamas's brutal attack of October 7, 2023, on the Israeli State in which 1,195 were killed, including almost 300 women and children. Israel's response, which continues, has killed over 39,000 Palestinians, the majority of whom were women and children. In addition, Israel's response has resulted in the virtual destruction of Gaza's infrastructure. The difference in reaction by the U.S.-led West to Israel's indiscriminate military response to that of Russia's attacks on Ukraine has shocked countries of the Global South.

"Where have we thrown our humanity, why this hypocrisy?" asked Malaysia's Prime Minister, Anwar Ibrahim in an interview on March 16, 2024 with *DW News*, the German public broadcaster, he asked why there is "selective amnesia," suggesting that the difference in treatment and attitude from some Western governments to the extraordinarily high civilian death toll and destruction of hospitals, universities, mosques, and churches in Gaza, compared to Ukraine, has something to do with skin color and the Islamic faith.

*The Deccan Herald* of India pointedly wrote on 22 March 2024 that, "There is a rising chorus of voices, mostly but not exclusively from the Global South, calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza and the urgent provision of aid to a population that is facing imminent famine. In fact, in most "Western" countries there's been significant public protest about what is happening to Palestinians and some countries—Norway, Ireland, and Spain—have recognized a Palestinian state.

The Global South is leading the world's conscience on Gaza in asking for an immediate ceasefire and pointing the finger at the United States as the unquestioning arms supplier to Israel. Their views are reflective of a far wider swathe of public opinion than ever before—and they need to be heard."

Together with this stark divergence in views on Gaza between the West and the Global South, most of the world has nervously watched America disregard the rules of the RBGO whenever it wants to, even while it insists the rest of the world follow them to the letter. This is a major roadblock to better relations between China and the United States because China had little if any opportunity to contribute to the structure of the RBGO.

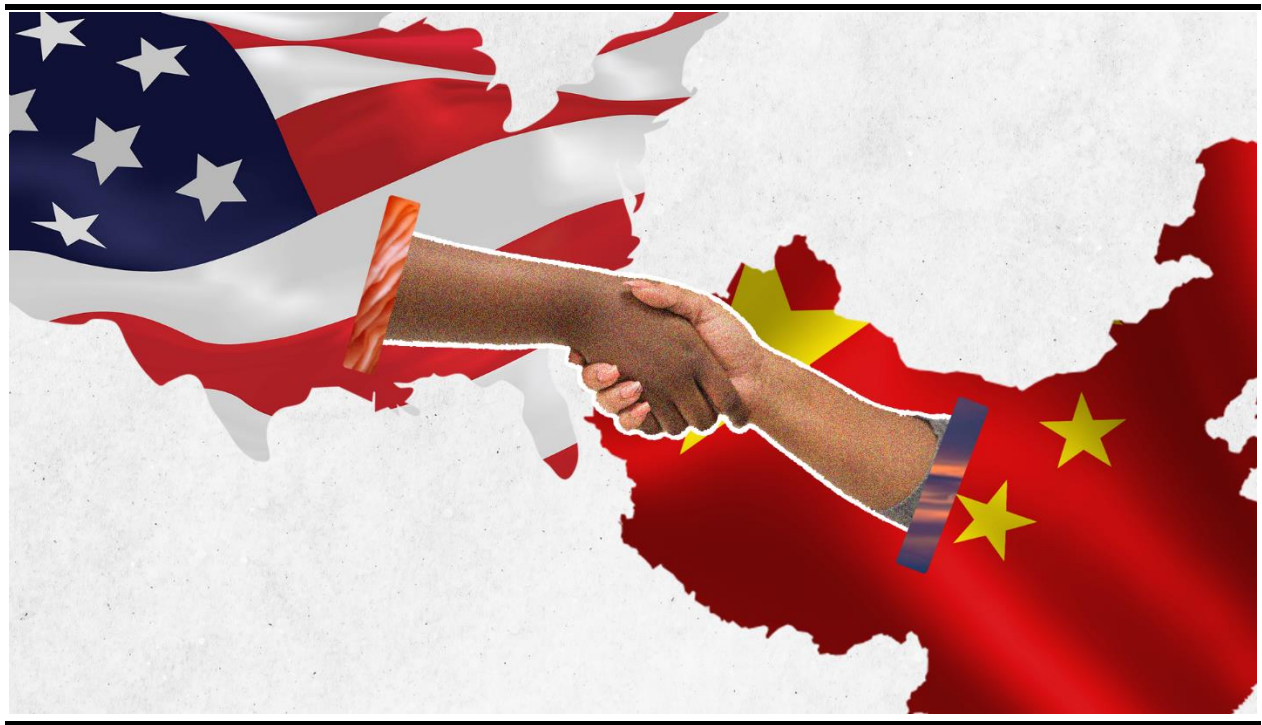
As Professor Odd Arne Westad of Yale University explains, "China's view of the United States began to darken in 2003 with the invasion and occupation of Iraq...what really shocked leaders in Beijing was the ease with which Washington could dismiss matters of sovereignty and nonintervention, notions that were staples of the very international order the Americans had coaxed China to join." (Ibid, p 82). Might China follow in America's footsteps as it becomes more powerful must be a thought that also crosses the minds of the Global South countries.

These momentous shifts that have taken place over the last thirty years in the world's geopolitical tectonic plates send a clear message. The eight-decade-old world order that the West designed is now viewed, especially by the Global South, as not fit for the world of today and in need of major surgery to tailor it to the world that *is*, not the world that *was*.

The world of today is dramatically different from the world of 1945 in another crucial way. Unlike the world of 1945 when the Western elites dominated in designing the rules for the world order, today, thanks to the internet and the interconnections of a globalized world, anyone and everyone, especially the citizens of countries of the Global South will insist on being present to influence the rules of a new world order. A fact that both of today's major powers, China and the United States, will ignore at their own peril.

As Alfonso X of Spain might observe were he alive today “*We are all present at this creation and can and will insist on giving some useful hints for the better ordering of this century's universe.*”

### So, What's to Be Done?



Source: Project Drawdown

The daggers-drawn face-off between China and the United States and the reality that their relationship keeps getting worse and nastier by the day means there is marginal opportunity in the immediate future for starting a strategic dialogue of any kind between the two countries. Adding to the odds against major initiatives being started this year is the U.S. presidential election. The United States is consumed by election fever and the world takes second place. Except for China, that is. Both



major parties in America may be poles apart on most major issues but are, nevertheless, completely united in finding nothing good to say about China.

This was the toxic geopolitical environment in which the Foreign Policy Association and the Los Angeles Burke Center for International Relations at the University of California decided to hold a joint conference in April 2024 to discuss what could be done to improve China-U.S. relations. A daunting challenge at the best of times! Nevertheless, the heads of the two organizations decided to go ahead with the conference. Expert participants from the United States and Canada were asked to propose specific and executable suggestions to move the relationship forward.

To increase the odds of civil discourse, the organizers decided not to include security and military issues in the deliberations. To further ramp up the pressure on the participants they also decided on a one-day conference with recommendations and a press release expected by the end of the day. Recognizing the importance of this conference's deliberations and suggestions to the substance of this *Telegram*, we are including the resulting press release and the list of participants in the Appendix.

During the conference discussions, the phrases "cultural exchanges" and "mutual respect" were used frequently. Perhaps even in the fraught environment in which the two countries find themselves, this *Telegram's* message might stand a chance of being heard if it suggested projects that reflect these phrases?

Accordingly, here are two projects that both China and the United States could consider working on together to keep their strategic dialogue active and possibly reduce the temperature of their now dangerously competitive relationship: student exchanges and collaboration on artificial intelligence standards. In a third project, America should take the initiative to stop the expansion of NATO into Asia to create a more favorable climate for bilateral discussions.

## 1 Expand Student Exchanges

During a talk at the Brookings Institute in Washington last December, U.S. ambassador to China Nicholas Burns said, "...There were 15,000 American students in China six or seven years ago, but that number dropped to 350 in 2022. While the number of American students rebounded to 700 in 2023, it is still dwarfed by the 86,000 student visas that the U.S. Government gave out to Chinese students in the 12 months ending September 2023, when 289,000 Chinese students were in America," according to the *Voice of America*, March 23, 2024.

In a column for *The Christian Science Monitor* on April 23, 2024, Ann Scott Tyson wrote, "The collapse of the U.S. student population in China risks depriving the United States of its next cohort of China specialists, fluent in Mandarin Chinese, who can help navigate what is arguably the world's most consequential political relationship, experts say."

This is a serious issue with far-reaching consequences for U.S.-China relations. Primary among these is the lack of knowledge of each other's current affairs from local perspectives, and in the loss of the ability to follow internal deliberations among policy makers of each country.

Fortunately, student exchange is also an issue that should cause far less confrontation than military or security problems. And it seems that China is just as concerned about it as the United States is.

At the dinner in San Francisco following the China-U.S. summit meeting in November 2023, China's President Xi Jinping said he is willing to invite 50,000 young Americans to study in China through exchange programs over the next five years.

The United States should take up President Xi Jinping on his offer and encourage U.S. educational institutions to help to implement these programs. Further, the United States should reciprocate and make a similar offer to China.

But, beyond the gracious and well-meaning invitation, President Xi Jinping can and should take specific actions to help draw American students to China: reduce the fear of arbitrary arrest and counter the widespread reports of universal surveillance.

Brock Mullen, a student at Johns Hopkins University's Hopkins-Nanjing Center, told VOA in a December 23, 2023, call that, "...A factor that causes American students to hesitate about studying in China is the impact of China's surveillance regime or potentially being arbitrarily detained by Chinese authorities. A big reason why [some American students] might feel nervous about coming to China is due to concerns about surveillance or hearing stories about people being arbitrarily thrown into prison or facing exit bans."

"We should build more bridges and pave more roads for people-to-people interactions. We must not erect barriers or create a chilling effect," President Xi Jinping told the audience at the San Francisco dinner when he announced his program of inviting 50,000 American students to China. Well, here's a powerful way Xi Jinping can show China meant business when he issued his generous invitation.

This is a quest in which the U.S. also needs to be proactive. "Students from China studying in the United States in recent years were more likely to experience political pressure and discrimination than earlier generations, according to a survey of Chinese graduates that spans the past three decades," as Karin Fischer's column points out in the September 13, 2023, issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

A joint student exchange program created and supported at the level of heads of state could open the floodgates to a better understanding of both countries by the next generation of political problem solvers.

## **2 Define Artificial Intelligence Standards and Guardrails**

Artificial Intelligence (AI) is the sharp edge of cutting-edge technology today. Trillions of dollars are being poured into the development of AI machines which have the potential to not just change the world but to enrich companies and countries that assume leadership of this technology

Nowhere is the race higher powered than between the United States and China. For China, the leadership in AI technology has taken on an almost religious tenor given that the United States

has blocked the specialized, state of the art chips needed to power AI computers, putting a wrench into China's efforts to assume the leadership of AI technology.

Which is why the Reuters announcement of November 1, 2023, of the agreement signed in Bletchley Park in England in which China agreed to work with the United States, European Union, and other countries to collectively manage the risk from AI was such big news. This was exceeded only by China's representation at Bletchley Park by Wu Zhaohui, vice minister of the Ministry of Science and Technology who assured the gathering that China was serious in collaborating with world authorities to construct an international "governance framework" to minimize future risk from AI development.

More than twenty-five countries present, including the United States and China, as well as the EU, signed a "Bletchley Declaration," saying countries needed to identify AI safety risks, primarily through scientific and evidence-based research, and to build risk-based policies to ensure safety in light of such risks.

Joint projects between the United States and China are notoriously challenging. Collaboration in leading edge technology development standards even more so. Which is why collaboration on AI guidance, standards, and development models such as Large Language Models (LLMs) in which China and the United States act in the global interest is so important. The fact that, "more than half of Americans are more concerned than excited" about the use of AI, according to polling by the Pew Research Center, makes this recommendation attractive as a politically acceptable platform for the United States to pursue.

### **3 End plans to extend NATO's reach to Asia**

The United States has been pushing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) expansion to the Indo-Pacific by bringing Australia, Japan, South Korea, and New Zealand into the Western alliance. NATO's eastward expansion was unanimously supported by all thirty-two members at their July 2024 meeting in Washington, D.C. But it is seen as a major threat by China and will undoubtedly damage the already frail China-U.S. relationship. In fact, "The Chinese leadership has repeatedly stated that it views NATO's expansion into Asia as a direct threat and has vowed to respond," says Jeffrey Reeves, an Associate Professor at the U.S. Naval War Academy's Post Graduate School. "Neither would China be alone in seeing NATO's Asia-Pacific expansion as an existential threat. North Korea and Russia...would view it as a significant new Western-led security challenge."

Further, Southeast Asian states largely oppose an expanded NATO presence in Asia, and there is almost no demand among Southeast Asian states for NATO involvement in Asian security affairs, according to Reeves.

While Asia-Pacific states are concerned about regional stability, they see Western involvement, including NATO, as much of a source of instability as China, North Korea, and Russia.

*Jeffrey Reeves, Associate Professor U.S. Naval War College*

In my article "NATO's Future" for the Foreign Policy Association's *Great Decisions Handbook 2024*, I pointed out that despite common perception, NATO has no standing military force, or budget for deployment. Each NATO member decides what forces to deploy under NATO auspices and,

crucially, must pay for its own forces' deployment. NATO members have a difficult time paying for deployment of their forces in Europe so the idea that they would pay to send military forces to Asia seems unrealistic. Besides, the small European military deployments to the Indo-Pacific would be dwarfed by China's overwhelming military presence there.

Finally, as Dewi Fortuna Anwar from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences told me, "We will always be thankful for the American help in maintaining the peace for Indo-Pacific countries as we developed our economies. But now we need roads, bridges, ports, and fiber-optic connections, not tanks and airplanes."

The idea of NATO in Asia does not make military, financial, or geopolitical sense. The United States should stop pushing the idea. Doing so would be an easy way to extend a hand of friendship to improve the China-United States relationship.

## Conclusion

**L**et me end this *Telegram* with another quote from Dean Acheson's memoirs: "History, is lived forwards but it is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was to know the beginning only."

After this year's U.S. presidential election is out of the way, we can hope that *both* the People's Republic of China and the United States of America will view the China-U.S. relationship more soberly. Surely, both countries now have ample evidence to recognize that they have no choice but to proactively act to reverse the downward spiral of their relations and to simultaneously inject the national interests of the Global South countries.

We can hope that in a future history of a China-U.S. rapprochement, historians will be able to recapture and write about this moment. *Both major powers recognized that the world order was changing and there was nothing they could do to stop the change. But they recognized that they could influence the change, and they did. Through their joint action the world became a better place for all.*

## Appendix



### For Immediate Release

**Title:** Groundbreaking Dialogue Could Open New Avenues for U.S.-China Relations

**Event:** Foreign Policy Association / UCLA Burkle Center conference on  
United States- China Relations

**Date:** 4/23/24

**Location:** UCLA Burkle Center for International Relations, UCLA, Los Angeles

In a pivotal series of discussions that could reshape the landscape of international relations, North American experts convened to explore significant enhancements in cultural, educational, and governmental exchanges between the two nations. This comprehensive dialogue, aimed at fostering mutual understanding and cooperation, promises a new era in U.S.-China relations.

The meetings focused on diverse initiatives ranging from academic collaborations, cultural exchanges, to strategic and economic partnerships. These discussions underscored the critical role of non-governmental channels and subnational efforts in strengthening bilateral ties, reducing political tensions, and promoting a stable and prosperous global environment.

"Through open and sincere dialogue, we are laying the groundwork for a robust partnership between the U.S. and China that values cultural exchange and mutual respect," said Sarwar Kashmeri, Chair of the conference and Senior Fellow of the FPA, lead organizer of the event, underwritten by the Annenberg Foundation. "Our aim is not just to enhance bilateral relations but to set a precedent for global cooperation and understanding."

Sarwar A. Kashmeri

Key outcomes from the meetings include proposals for enhancing language and educational programs, increasing academic exchanges and professorships, and fostering economic collaboration through joint ventures and science and research collaboration. These initiatives are expected to pave the way for deeper connections that extend beyond diplomacy, touching the lives of citizens in both countries directly.

As the world watches, the continuation of these dialogues promises not only to enrich U.S.-China relations but also to contribute to global stability and harmony. Further updates and details on specific programs and collaborations will be provided as these initiatives progress.

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**End of Release**

## Sarwar A. Kashmeri

**S**arwar Kashmeri, a Senior Fellow of the Foreign Policy Association, is an international relations specialist, author, and commentator. He is noted for his expertise on U.S. global strategy and national security. He is founder (2021) and host of “*Polaris-Live.com, United States and China in the World*,” an internet video channel ([www.polaris-live.com](http://www.polaris-live.com)) featuring thirty-minute live conversations with experts from around the world on the business and geopolitical impact of China’s rapid rise to superpower status.

He is the author of the Foreign Policy Association reports “The Telegram: A China Agenda for President Biden” (2021) and “The Telegram: The Business of America *and* China is Business” (2022). His third book, “*China’s Grand Strategy: Weaving a New Silk Road to Global Primacy*” (Praeger, 2019) was released on November 7, 2019, in Washington, D.C., with former U.S. Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel.

Sarwar Kashmeri is also an Applied Research Fellow of the Peace and War Center of Norwich University in Vermont, USA. He served a four-term as a non-resident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council’s Brent Scowcroft Center for International Security in Washington, D.C. He is a frequent speaker at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He has written for and appeared on major international print and television media.

Formerly the CEO of a New York-based international technology company, Sarwar Kashmeri has also served as a communications advisor for several Fortune 100 corporations. He earned a Bachelor of Science degree in aerospace engineering and a Master of Science degree in engineering, both from Saint Louis University.