



NEW ZEALAND CONTEMPORARY  
CHINA RESEARCH CENTRE

## **New Zealand International Conference on Contemporary China**

### **China-US Relations in Global Perspective**

- Organizer:** New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand
- Dates:** 8-9 October 2015
- Location:** Wellington, New Zealand
- Venue:** Hunter Council Chamber, Kelburn Campus, Victoria University of Wellington

#### **Conference Note**

The relationship between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America is the most important bilateral relationship in today's world. The sole superpower in the post-Cold War world, the United States still has the largest economy, the strongest military forces, and the dominant voice in international institutions. The most populous country and the second largest economy with rapid growth, China is poised to catch up with the United States in the coming decades. It is critical that China and the United States could handle their relations well, for both China and the United States, for the Asia-Pacific region, and for the entire world.

*China-US Relations in Global Perspective* is an international conference with world-class scholars from China, the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and other countries to discuss issues related to the bilateral relationship. The conference will take place on 8-9 October 2015, immediately after Chinese President Xi Jinping's first state visit to the United States in September 2015. The conference will not only look at China-US relations from the perspectives of the two giants. It will also offer an opportunity to examine the bilateral relationship from third parties such as countries in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Oceania.

# Conference Schedule

## DAY ONE: 8 October 2015 (Thursday)

- 8.30am**      **Registration**
- 9:00am**      Official Opening  
**Professor Grant GUILFORD**  
Vice-Chancellor, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
- Opening Remarks  
**H.E. Mr WANG Lutong**  
Ambassador of the People's Republic of China, New Zealand
- H.E. Mr Mark GILBERT**  
Ambassador of the United States of America, New Zealand
- 9.40am**      Keynote Address  
**Professor WANG Gungwu**  
Chairman, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore
- Title: China and US: A Tale of Two Civilizations*
- 10.25am**    **Tea Break/Group Photo for Speakers**
- 11.00am**    Panel 1: China-US Bilateral Relationship  
**Chair: Dr Jian YANG**  
Member of Parliament, New Zealand
- Keynote:**  
**Ambassador WU Jianmin**, Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Group of Chinese Foreign Ministry, China
- Title: China-US Relations after President Xi Jinping's state visit to US*
- Abstract:** President Xi Jinping's state visit in September to US is the most challenging one. Recently, international press focus on the differences and frictions between US and China. Some even predict the failure of this visit. I disagree, though I don't underestimate the differences between our two countries. However, I believe the fundamentals remain unchanged: 1. The economic interdependence. 2. The common interests between China and US outweigh by far the differences. 3. In 2013, President Xi and President Obama reached an important consensus in Sunnylands, California to build new type of major countries' relationship, which is characterized by "No conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation". That consensus indicated the path forward of the development of two countries' relationship. 4. The international community expects China and US to develop and improve relations, which is in the best interests of world peace and development.

**Speakers:**

**Professor Brantly WOMACK**, University of Virginia, USA

*Title: US-China Relationship in a Multinodal World*

**Abstract:** With one-third of the world's productivity and approximately equal masses of productivity, the relationship of the United States and China will remain the focus of global politics for the foreseeable future. However, neither the US nor China—nor the two together, can enjoy the kind of hegemonic control that existed in earlier bipolar and unipolar eras. The diffuse interdependence created by globalization gives every state broader alternatives and raises the cost of hostility. Cold War camps are unlikely to form. Despite apparent parity, the US and China do not face each other as hegemon and challenger, but rather as the largest players in a world that neither controls. As the primary nodes of a world order that they cannot dominate, the United States and China are likely to restrain their rivalry. If not, they will isolate themselves.

**Professor BO Zhiyue**, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand

*Title: Xi Jinping's US Policy: Building a "New Type of Major-Power Relationship"*

**Abstract:** Nine months before taking over as the top leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice President Xi Jinping proposed a new policy toward the United States. Instead of confrontation and competition, he suggested that China and the United States build a "new type of major-power relationship" characterized by mutual respect, mutual benefit, and win-win cooperation. Since he became general secretary of the CCP in November 2012, however, the "new type of major-power relationship" has remained as a diplomatic rhetoric. Although China and the United States have continued their economic cooperation, their security and political relations have deteriorated significantly. In particular, the United States has taken a clear stand over the issue of Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands both rhetorically and legally. It remains to be seen whether President Xi's state visit to Washington in September 2015 would reverse the situation.

**Discussant: Professor Xiaoming HUANG**, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

**12.30pm** Lunch

**2.00pm** Panel 2 Regional Implications of US-China Relationship  
**Chair: Professor Bob CARR**, Former Foreign Minister of Australia and Director and Professor of the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), University of Technology Sydney, Australia

**Keynote:**

**Dr. Charles MORRISON**, President, East-West Center, Honolulu, USA

*Title: China, US, and the Regional and Global Future*

**Abstract:**

**Speakers:**

**Dr SHAO Yuqun**, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, China

*Title: Two Roads, But One Destination?*

**Abstract:** A stable and peaceful China-U.S. relationship is in the interest of both two countries and the world. The critical question now is how to solve the problem of mutual strategic trust deficit between them. Since neither country has a solution to it so far, the best way is to effectively manage the differences while create more opportunities for cooperation. The New Silk Road Initiative (or the One Belt One Road Strategy) raised by the Chinese government two years ago offers a great opportunity for the two countries to have practical cooperation in the economic and development sectors, especially in Central and South Asia, where the two countries have quite many common interests, such as regional security and stability, sustainable economic development of the regional countries.

**Professor Quansheng ZHAO**, American University, USA

*Title: The United States' Shifting Perspectives toward China and Japan.*

**Abstract:** This paper examines the vital role intellectuals and think tanks play in U.S. foreign policy making. To explain this framework, this paper uses a case study from the Asia-Pacific, specifically focusing on the shift of U.S. strategy towards Japan and China. However, before examining empirical data and original developments, a middle-level theoretical framework is needed to draw a link between our data and grand theories in the fields of International Relations (such as schools of Realism or Constructivism) and Foreign Policy Analysis. This examination focuses on a "strategic core force" troika in the U.S. foreign policy-making system and the significant role it has played in policy transformation. The "strategic core force" consists of three key elements—including "policy architect," "expert councillor," and "policy implementer"—each of which was represented by prominent scholar-officials.

**Discussant: Dr Jason YOUNG**, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

**3.15pm**

**Tea Break**

**3.30pm**

Panel 3 China-US Economic Relations and New World Economic Order

**Chair: Hon. Jim SUTTON**, CNZM, Former Minister of Agriculture and Trade Negotiations, New Zealand

**Speakers:**

**Professor XU Qiyuan**, Head of Economic Development Department, the Institute of World Economics and Politics, The Chinese Academy of Social Science, China

*Title: What the AIIB means for the development finance system: a view from China-US relations*

**Abstract:** Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is going to be formally founded by the end of 2015, which is neither a shaper nor a shaker to the existing

development finance system, but rather a supplement. We will introduce the conception about AIIB both from the view of China and the international development finance system, and clarify the accurate relationships between AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative. Although US has missed the opportunity to join AIIB as a founder member mainly due to the domestic political dilemma, the door for US and China to cooperate in development finance system is still open. In this paper, the potential forms for China-US collaborations in the development finance system will be elaborated as following: (1) to jointly push forward the reforms of the existing multilateral development banks(MDBs); (2) in the near future to facilitate the collaborations between experienced MDB and the new ones; (3) to jointly establish the MDBs coordination mechanism/platform, so as to integrate the lending standards, the potential projects, financing, and to avoid the fragmentation of more MDBs.

**Professor HUANG Meibo**, Xiamen University, China

*Title: The Complementarity and Competitiveness of AIIB in International Development Financing System*

**Abstract:** During 2010-2020, there is a huge need for infrastructure in Asia, mainly in countries such as China and India located in East and Southeast Asia as well as South Asia and mainly in energy and transport. However, the major governments and current multilateral development financing institutions WB and ADB in Asia can't meet the demand. Against this background, AIIB could fill the gaps in Asian infrastructure and promote the economic growth in this region based on the broad participation of members inside and outside Asia, clear objectives, balance governance structure, the competitiveness of loan interest, operating principles more conforming to the requirements of developing countries and the improvement of operating efficiency.

**Associate Professor Susan PARK**, University of Sydney, Australia

*Title: The Multilateral Development Banks: Innovation or Stagnation?*

**Abstract:** The Multilateral Development Banks are similar International Organizations (IOs) in the international system. Sharing many of the same shareholders, occupying the same development policy space and built on the same borrowing and lending model, the MDBs vary little in their governance arrangements and operations. For the first time since the end of the Cold War, new MDBs are being created with the China driven Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank (NDB). As rules are being established for governing these institutions, the process of change across the other MDBs reveals the challenges of complementarity. Change across the 'old' MDBs currently tends to follow 'coercive isomorphism' with powerful member states such as the United States demanding the MDBs reform to accord with shifting ideas about how best to do development. Usually although not always beginning with the World Bank, change is isomorphic because the US is a dominant shareholder in all of these institutions and shared agreement for change in one Bank is quickly followed by the others. China's entry into leading MDBs provides a clear distinction between the old MDBs and the new ones, with the new Banks potentially driving innovation. The paper explores the extent to

which coercive isomorphism among the old MDBs is likely to continue in light of changed dynamics in the institutional environment, or whether other isomorphic processes, and the prospect of innovation or stagnation are likely across old and new MDBs.

**Professor Gerald CHAN**, University of Auckland, New Zealand

*Title: New Silk Roads and New International Financial Order*

**Abstract:** China's initiation of the New Silk Road plan in late 2013 has a potentially huge impact on global development. How is China going to finance the various infrastructural projects that it has so far proposed under the plan? What are the impacts of such development on the existing global financial system? Is a new International financial order in the making? I argue in this paper that the extent of change so far in global developmental financing as a result of implementing the plan does suggest that a new global financial order is in the making. The basic reason is that China has reached a consensus with international financial institutions and other countries that there is a need for infrastructural development in many places around the world as a way to sustain growth based on a formula of win-win cooperation. China is able to show to other stakeholders that it has the financial and human resources as well as the political will to enter into such cooperation. To make this argument, I will focus on China's high-speed rail investment around the world and examine available evidence to make a case for a paradigm change in global development from the existing U.S.-dominated Bretton Woods system to a relatively new financial architecture.

**Discussant: Professor Alex TAN**, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

**5.20pm The End of the Session for the Day**

## DAY TWO: 9 October 2015 (Friday)

9.00am

Panel 4 Pacific Perspectives

**Chair: Tony BROWNE, Chairman, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand**

**Keynote:**

**Professor Bob CARR**, Former Foreign Minister of Australia and Director and Professor of the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), University of Technology Sydney, Australia

*Title: China-US: the view from the Southwest Pacific*

**Abstract:** Australia has an important stake in the economic and security challenges currently facing Asia. The challenge to US leadership/the US' leading role in the Asia-Pacific is increasing as China continues to project its power. It is in Australia's interests to maintain a constructive relationship with both the US and with China. China and Australia are intrinsically linked through complementary economies. Australia's exports to China are double those of its second and third largest customers, Japan and the US. At the same time it is vital that Australia maintains the strength of its relationship with the US. The ANZUS alliance has been the bedrock of Australia's foreign policy for more than four decades. For truly rich gains in the Asia-Pacific region, both the US and China need to be included in the formulation of strategic security and trade policy. The role that these powers assume in the region will determine the future prosperity of all of those with interests in Asia.

**Speakers:**

**Professor Robert AYSON**, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

*Title: How Robust is New Zealand's China-US Strategy?*

**Abstract:** Denying that a choice needs to be made between China and the United States, New Zealand argues it has different types of relationship with the two great powers who both understand this position. Hence if relations with China and the US are interdependent, they are not connected in zero-sum terms. This paper explores the robustness of New Zealand's informal China-US strategy against two types of change. One is the familiar scenario of a severe crisis between a stronger China and a still strong US. But should the US unexpectedly become significantly less willing to maintain its presence in Asia, or if China was convulsed by severe economic and political challenges, what happens to regional relations and New Zealand's approach?

**Mr Stephen JACOBI**, New Zealand International Business Forum

*Title: Making Trans Pacific Friends-New Zealand, China and the United States*

**Abstract:** New Zealand enjoys close relations with both China and the United States but has free trade relations only with the former but not the latter. The Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) provides a pathway to the long-held vision of deeper economic relations with the United States along with ten other

economies. TPP is also seen as a pathway to a broader instrument for economic integration in the Asia Pacific region which will need, if it is to be successful, to include China. The presentation will explain, from a business perspective, why TPP is an important element to bridging New Zealand's important friendships on both sides of the Pacific and how this might be achieved.

**Discussant: Professor Jon FRAENKEL**, Victoria University of Wellington,  
New Zealand

**10.30am**      **Tea Break**

**11.00am**      Panel 5 The Perspectives of Asian-Pacific Countries and Regions (1)  
**Chair: Professor Akio TAKAHARA**, The University of Tokyo, Japan

**Speakers:**

**Professor Jaewoo CHOO**, Kyung Hee University, South Korea

***Title:** What do the United States and China present South Korea with?*

**Abstract:** The United States and China are obviously playing something what their peripheral states can call it as "unfinished business." The business that the two nations haven't completed is leftover from the 50s. The United States failed to build an intra-alliance system in East Asia earlier, only to learn a much valued lesson now. That is, a militarily more flexible Japan is a critical requisite to the success of such a scheme because the United States wants Japan and Australia to anchor. China's so-called "New Asia Security Concept" is derived from Mao Zedong's strategic thinking of Asia's matters should be left for Asian people and handled by themselves with an implication that China could help other regional players to meet this end should they need help. A la, a little reminder of Nixon Doctrine? How will the two contrasting strategies pursued by the two regional giants play out? Diplomatic gambit will be well underway sooner than expected. As one of the most highly dependants on both countries, a South Korean perspective on the strategic implications of the diplomatic gambit by the two giants for the future regional order will be shared on this occasion.

**Associate Professor Jingdong YUAN**, University of Sydney, Australia

***Title:** The View from the Hermit Kingdom: North Korea's Perspectives on China-US Relations*

**Abstract:** By any measure, North Korea would be considered the master survivor in international relations. Ever since the end of the Cold War, Pyongyang's perennial challenge has been regime preservation in a much changed security environment. Gone are the days when the DPRK took advantage of the Sino-Soviet competition to get the maximum side payments from its two feuding patrons while maintaining a semblance of autonomy and independence. It now has to deal with two powers whose policies have significant impacts on its security. The United States continues to pose the most serious threat; China, on the other hand, is no longer a trusted ally that North Korea can rely on for its economic wellbeing and security protection. These external variables inform Pyongyang's perspective of the Sino-US relationship, especially where their cooperation or



difference in turn affect the former's national interests. For North Korea, understanding the divergent US-Chinese objectives and approaches is essential in formulating its own strategy for survival in an increasingly deteriorating environment.

**Professor Robert G. PATMAN and Laura SOUTHGATE**, The University of Otago, New Zealand

*Title: Rethinking Great Power Rivalry: US, China and the Nuclear Proliferation Challenge in North Korea and Iran*

**Abstract:** In an early attempt to move US-China relations away from a zero-sum conception of great power relations, President Obama said he wanted China to assume responsibilities commensurate with its rising power status. One of these responsibilities has been the challenge of halting or curtailing the Iranian and North Korean nuclear weapons programs. In President Obama's view, China's role in addressing this nuclear proliferation challenge is vital. Engagement with China has therefore been a key component of the administration's nonproliferation strategy. As this paper will show, this approach has elicited mixed results. Nevertheless, attempts to cooperate on issues of mutual interest do indicate one important point - that future US-China rivalry is by no means inevitable.

**Discussant: Dr Nicholas KHOO**, The University of Otago, New Zealand

**12.30pm**      **Lunch**

**1.30pm**      Panel 6 The Perspectives of Asian-Pacific Countries and Regions (2)  
**Chair: Professor Brantly WOMACK, University of Virginia, USA**

**Speakers:**

**Professor Akio TAKAHARA**, The University of Tokyo, Japan

*Title: The American Factor in Japan-China Relations*

**Abstract:** The late Shigeharu Matsumoto, journalist and founder of the International House of Japan, had an insight that the core issue in Japan-US relations was China. In fact he was referring to the trilateral relationship in the 1920s. Even today, however, it is hard to deny the importance of the third country in all the bilateral relations of the triangle. This paper will focus on Japan-China relations and analyse the American factor in it. For all the countries in East-Asia, including Japan, it is vitally important to maintain their relationship with the United States and develop ties with China at the same time. The effect of this difficult balancing act depends much on the development of Sino-American relations.

**Emeritus Professor Carlyle A. THAYER**, The University of New South Wales and the Australian Defence Force Academy, Australia

*Title: Not Too Hot, Not Too Cold: A Vietnamese Perspective on China-U.S. Relations*

**Abstract:** Vietnam pursues a declaratory foreign policy of ‘independence, self-reliance, multilateralization and diversification of international relations’. Vietnam places a major - but not exclusive -emphasis on relations with the major powers: Since 2003, Vietnam has pursued a policy of cooperation and struggle (doi tac va doi tuong) in its relations with China and the United States. With respect to China-United States relations, Vietnam follows the ‘Goldilocks formula’. Vietnam does not want China-US relations to become ‘too hot’ because it fears they will collude against Vietnam’s interests. Vietnam also does not want China-US relations to become ‘too cold’ because of the negative impact this would have on Vietnam. Vietnam prefers that China-US relations are ‘just right’ so it can leverage off the dynamic tensions in China-US bilateral relations. This paper analyzes Vietnamese perceptions of China-United States relations since the June 2013 informal summit between Presidents Barack Obama and Xi Jinping at Sunnylands.

**Dr Manjeet PARDESI**, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

*Title: Indian Perspective on China-US Relations*

**Abstract:** India views the China-US relationship both as an opportunity and as a source of uneasiness. Anxiety about China makes India an attractive partner for America. India believes that American capital, technology, and diplomatic support are important to facilitate India’s own rise. But exigencies of geography and the growing economic relationship with China mean that India does not want the China-US relationship to deteriorate to a point that would force it to make a choice between them. India also remains concerned about any China-US rapprochement that may reduce it to a secondary power in Asia. India worries about the fact that while China is a significant factor in the US-India relationship, India has not yet attained the same significance in China-US relations.

**Discussant: Professor Robert AYSON**, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

**3.00pm**

**Tea Break**

- 3.20pm** Roundtable: The Future of China-US Relations  
Chair: Professor BO Zhiyue, Director, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre
- Panellists:**  
**Professor WANG Gungwu**, Chairman, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore  
**Ambassador WU Jianmin**, Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Group of Chinese Foreign Ministry  
**Dr. Charles MORRISON**, President, East-West Center, Honolulu  
**Professor Bob CARR**, Former Foreign Minister of Australia and Director and Professor of the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), University of Technology Sydney  
**Professor Robert AYSON**, Professor of Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington
- 4.10pm** Final Remarks  
**Tony BROWNE**  
Chairman, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand
- 4.30pm** Conference Close

## **Biographies** *(in order of appearance)*

### **Professor Grant Guildford**

Vice-Chancellor, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Professor Guildford took up the role of Vice-Chancellor at Victoria in March 2014. As Vice-Chancellor, he is Chief Executive of the University, its administrative and academic head, employer of all staff in the University, and Chair of the Senior Leadership Team.

Professor Guildford is responsible to the University Council (of which he is also a member) for ensuring that the University carries out its statutory and contractual functions in teaching, research and community service.

He has led the process of setting the strategic direction of the University through the Victoria University of Wellington Strategic Plan. The Plan, which outlines a 20-year path for Victoria, will be reviewed every year and revised every five years. All members of the Senior Leadership Team report directly to the Vice-Chancellor, except the Vice-Provost (Research) Professor Kate McGrath and the Vice-Provost (Academic and Equity) Associate Professor Allison Kirkman who report to the Interim Provost, Professor Barrie Macdonald; and Pro Vice-Chancellor (International Engagement) Professor Rob Rabel who reports to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Engagement).

Professor Guildford was previously the Dean of the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Auckland and a member of its Senior Management Team. He has successfully led large and complex academic organisations, beginning with the Institute of Veterinary, Animal and Biomedical Sciences at Massey University.

Professor Guildford holds Bachelor of Philosophy and Bachelor of Veterinary Science degrees from Massey University and a PhD in Nutrition from the University of California, Davis. Earlier in his career, he undertook teaching, research, clinical and leadership roles at the University of Missouri, the University of California, Davis, and Massey University.

Professor Guildford has driven major capital works processes and participated in a wide range of commercialisation processes. He has been on the board of a number of companies, research consortia, joint ventures, centres of research excellence and a Crown Research Institute and is currently a member of the Wellington Regional Economic Development Agency board.

### **Ambassador H.E. Mr WANG Lutong**

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to New Zealand, the Cook Islands and Niue



Mr. Wang Lutong started his tenure as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to New Zealand, the Cook Islands and Niue in 2013. He worked as the staff member and Attaché at the Information Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1992 to 1996. From 1996 to 2000, he served as Attaché and Third Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. From 2000 to 2002, he worked at the Information Department of MFA as Third Secretary and Deputy Director. From 2002 to 2003, he worked at the Department of West Europe Affairs of the MFA as Second Secretary and Director. From 2003 to 2005, he worked at the General Office of the MFA as First Secretary and Counselor. From 2005 to 2013, he worked successively as Counselor and Director, Associate Counsel and Counsel at the Office of the Foreign Affairs Leading Group, CPC Central Committee.

### **H.E. Mr Mark GILBERT**

Ambassador of the United States of America to New Zealand and Samoa



President Barack Obama nominated Mark Gilbert as United States Ambassador to New Zealand and Samoa on January 6, 2014. The U.S. Senate confirmed Ambassador Gilbert's appointment on December 12, 2014 and he was sworn in by Vice President Joe Biden on January 7, 2015. Ambassador Gilbert presented his credentials in New Zealand to Governor-General Jerry Mateparae on February 9, 2015, and presented his credentials in Samoa to Chief Justice Patū Sapolu on May 12, 2015. Ambassador Gilbert formerly served as a Managing Director of UBS, the culmination of a distinguished career in finance, which included positions at Barclays and Goldman Sachs. From 2009 to 2013 he served as the Deputy National Finance Chair for the Democratic National Committee.

Prior to his banking career, Ambassador Gilbert played professional baseball for eight seasons, reaching the major leagues with the Chicago White Sox in 1985. Ambassador Gilbert is the first former major league player to become a United States Ambassador.

Ambassador Gilbert served on the Development Committee and Utah Advisory Board of the Sundance Institute; Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Finance Committee at Pine Crest School (1992-2012); and President and Chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee of B'nai Torah Congregation (1994-2007).

Ambassador Gilbert is a graduate of Florida State University. He and his wife Nancy have two daughters.

## **Professor WANG Gungwu**

Chairman, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore



Professor WANG Gungwu is National University of Singapore University Professor (formerly Director, East Asian Institute, 1997-2007) and Emeritus Professor of Australian National University.

His recent books include *The Chinese Overseas: From Earthbound China to the Quest for Autonomy* (2000); *Don't Leave Home: Migration and the Chinese* (2001); *Anglo-Chinese Encounters since 1800: War, Trade, Science and Governance* (2003); *Diasporic Chinese Ventures: The Life and Work of Wang Gungwu*, edited by Gregor Benton and Liu Hong (2004); 《移民及兴起的中国》 (2005); 《离乡别土：境外看中华》 (2005); *Wang Gungwu: Junzi: Scholar-Gentleman, In Conversation with Asad-ul Iqbal Latif* (2010); *Wang Gungwu, Educator and Scholar*, edited by Zheng Yongnian & K.K. Phua, (2012); 《华人与中国：王赓武自选集》 (2013); *Renewal: The Chinese State and the New Global History* (2013); *Another China Cycle: Committing to Reform* (2014); and *五代时期北方中国的权力结构* (2014). His dialogues on world history were edited by Ooi Kee Beng and published as *The Eurasian Core and its Edges* (2015).

He also edited *Global History and Migrations* (1997); *Nation-building: Five Southeast Asian Histories* (2005); and (with Zheng Yongnian) *China and the New International Order* (2008).

He is a Fellow and former President of the Australian Academy of the Humanities; Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE); Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Science; Member, Academia Sinica; and Honorary Member, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He was also awarded the Fukuoka Asian Cultural Prize and the Nara Economic and Social Science Prize.

In Singapore, he is Chairman of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; and Chairman of East Asian Institute and Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. He has also been awarded the Public Service Star Award and the Meritorious Service Medal.

Professor Wang received his B.A. General (1952), B.A. Honours (1953) and M.A. (1955) from the University of Malaya in Singapore, and his Ph.D. at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1957). He was Professor of History at the University of Malaya, 1963-1968; Professor of Far Eastern History at the Australian National University, 1968-1986 and Director of Research School of Pacific Studies, 1975-1980. From 1986 to 1995, he was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong.

## **Dr Jian YANG**

Member of Parliament, National Party, New Zealand



Dr Jian Yang was born and grew up in China. He received his MA (1995) and PhD (1999) in International Relations from the Australian National University. He worked at the University of Auckland from 1999 to November 2011 when he was elected as a National Member of Parliament in the general election.

While working at the University of Auckland, Dr Yang lectured on International Relations in the Department of Political Studies. His courses included China and the World, Politics of Northeast Asia, Great Power Relations, International Relations in Asia Pacific and International Relations Theory etc. His latest academic book is *The Pacific Islands in China's Grand Strategy: Small States, Big Games* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, Nov 2011). His latest academic articles include "China and the Evolving Regional Order in the South Pacific" in Xiaoming Huang and Robert Patman (eds.), *China and the International System: Becoming a World Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013) and "The Relations between China and the USA" in Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Chinese Foreign Policy* (Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

Dr Yang was also Associate Dean of the Arts Faculty at the University of Auckland, Director of China Studies Centre in New Zealand Asia Institute, Chairman of the Auckland branch of New Zealand Institute of International Affairs and a member of New Zealand National Council of CSCAP. He represented New Zealand in semi-official security dialogues between New Zealand and East Asian countries before becoming an MP.

Dr Yang was Deputy Chair of the Health Select Committee and a member of the Commerce Select Committee in the 50th Parliament. In the current 51st Parliament, Dr Yang chairs the Education and Science Select Committee and sits on the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Select Committee. He is also a member of the New Zealand China Council's Advisory Board and Chairman Emeritus of the Auckland branch of New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.

## **Ambassador WU Jianmin**

Member, Foreign Policy Advisory Group of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China, China



Ambassador Wu is currently Member of the Foreign Policy Advisory Group of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Special Research Fellow of Counsellors' office of the State Council, Member and Vice President of the European Academy of Sciences and Honorary President of the International Bureau of Exhibitions (BIE).

From 2003-2008, Ambassador Wu served as President of China Foreign Affairs University, Executive Vice President of China National Association for International Studies, Vice Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee and Spokesman of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Earlier, he served as China's Ambassador to France (1998-2003); to the United Nations Office in Geneva and to other international organizations in Switzerland (1996-98); and to the Netherlands (1994-95). Before that, he was Director General of the Information Department and Spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry (1991-1994), deputy chief at China's embassy in

Belgium and its mission to the European Community in Brussels (1989-90) and Counselor at China's mission to the United Nations in New York (1985-89).

From 2003-2007, Ambassador Wu served as President of International Bureau of Expositions (BIE), making him the first Asian to take up the post.

Ambassador Wu was born in 1939. He graduated from the Department of French at Beijing Foreign Studies University and from 1965 to 1971 interpreted many times for Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1971, he became a member of China's first delegation to the United Nations.

He was awarded by French President Jacques Chirac the honor of Knight of the French Legion of Honor in 2003.

### **Professor Brantly WOMACK**

Professor of Foreign Affairs and C K Yen Chair, University of Virginia, USA



Brantly Womack is Professor of Foreign Affairs and holds the Miller Center's C K Yen Chair at the University of Virginia. He received his BA in politics and philosophy from the University of Dallas, studied philosophy at the University of Munich, and completed his PhD in political science from University of Chicago. After post-doctoral research at the University of California, Berkeley, he taught at Northern Illinois University and at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) before coming to University of Virginia.

Womack is the author of a number of books including *Asymmetry and International Relationships* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), *China Among Unequals: Asymmetric International Relationships in Asia* (World Scientific Press 2010), and *China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry* (Cambridge University Press 2006). He edited *China's Rise in Historical Perspective* (Rowman and Littlefield 2010) and *Contemporary Chinese Politics in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge University Press 1991). He has authored more than a hundred articles and book chapters, primarily on Asian politics.

In 2011 Womack received the China Friendship Award for his work with Chinese universities. He holds honorary positions at Jilin University, East China Normal University, and Zhongshan (Sun Yat-Sen) University. He recently completed a Visiting Research Professorship at the East Asia Institute of National University of Singapore and was Visiting Researcher at East China Normal University in Shanghai.



## Professor BO Zhiyue

Director and Professor, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand



Professor BO Zhiyue (薄智跃), a leading authority on Chinese elite politics in the world, is Director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre and Professor of Political Science at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

Professor BO obtained his Bachelor of Law and Master of Law in International Politics from Peking University and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

He has taught at Peking University, Roosevelt University, the University of Chicago, American University, St. John Fisher College, Tarleton State University, and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is a recipient of the Trustees' Distinguished Scholar Award at St. John Fisher College and the inaugural holder of the Joe and Theresa Long Endowed Chair in Social Sciences at Tarleton State University. He has also been Visiting Distinguished Professor at Shanghai Jiaotong University in China and Chair Professor at National Chengchi University in Taiwan.

His research interests include China's elite politics, Chinese provincial leaders, central-local relations, cross-strait relations, Sino-U.S. relations, international relations theories, and global governance. He has published more than 170 Book chapters and articles and is the author of a trilogy on China's elite politics, including *Chinese Provincial Leaders: Economic Performance and Political Mobility since 1949* (2002), *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (2007), and *China's Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization* (2010). He is a regular contributor to the *Diplomat*, the most popular online journal on Asia-Pacific affairs with about three million readers (<http://thediplomat.com/authors/bo-zhiyue/>).

Professor BO is a popular public speaker. He has been invited to give major scholarly presentations at many universities and research institutions around the world. These institutions include Oxford University, Harvard University, Columbia University, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, University of Sydney, National Chengchi University, Aarhus University, Free University of Berlin, Charles University in Prague, University of Rome "La Sapienza," Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI), Vrije Universiteit Brussel, University of Leuven, Sciences Po, Copenhagen Business School, Lund University, the Institute for Security and Development Policy in Stockholm, University of Turku, the University of Hamburg, Western Carolina University, Tarleton State University, the National University of Singapore, and the National Press Club of the United States, as well as many universities in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.

He is also a renowned consultant for government agencies and business organizations. He has briefed government leaders and senior diplomats in Singapore, Thailand, Russia, the Netherlands, France, South Korea, Taiwan, China, and the European Commission as well as business leaders in the United States, Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Europe.

Professor BO has been frequently interviewed by international media such as BBC, ABC, CNBC, New York Times, Washington Post, Reuters, the Guardian, the Times, and Bloomberg. He is the winner of the "most quoted by Western media prize" on China's leadership transition.

## **Professor Xiaoming HUANG**

Professor of International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Xiaoming Huang is Professor of International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Professor Huang received his PhD in International Relations in 1993 from University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Prior to joining Victoria University of Wellington in 1997, Professor Huang was a research and teaching fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu; the United Nations University in Tokyo; the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington, DC; the Pacific Council on International Policy in Los Angeles; University of Tampere in Finland; University of Trondheim in Norway; and University of Pittsburgh.

Professor Huang is a specialist on East Asian political economy, China and the international system, and international relations of the Asia-Pacific. He was editor of *International Studies Perspectives* (2009-2014); founding director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre; an Honorary Chair Professor at University of International Business and Economics; an Honorary Chair Professor of China University of Political Science and Law; a Senior Research Fellow of the Research Institute of Economic Thoughts and Economic History of Fudan University; and a Member of the International Advisory Board of Fudan University Contemporary China Research Centre; Dr Huang has done substantive research as a senior research fellow at Peking University, the Academy of Korean Studies, and Centre for Asia-Pacific Studies at Seikei University in Tokyo. His publications appeared in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, *Journal of the Asia-Pacific Economy*, *Asian Survey* etc. His major publications include *Strong Market and Weakening State: The Political Economy Transition in East Asia* (Georgetown University Press 2000); *The Rise and Fall of the East Asian Growth System 1951-2000: Institutional Competitiveness and Rapid Economic Growth* (Routledge 2005); *Politics in Pacific Asia* (Palgrave 2009); *The Institutional Dynamics of China's Great Transformation* (Routledge 2010); *China, India and the End of Development Models* (Palgrave 2011), *China and the International System* (Routledge 2012), *Modern Economic Development in Japan and China: Developmentalism, Capitalism, and the World Economic System* (Macmillan 2013).

Professor Huang teaches politics and international relations at Victoria University of Wellington. Dr Huang is an active participant and contributor to the New Zealand public policy sector on Asian-Pacific issues and policy, advises NZ government and international organizations in the region on Asian political economy, Chinese politics and international policy, international relations of the Asia-Pacific and NZ international economic policy; and has been a New Zealand delegate in bilateral Track II dialogue with Korea, Taiwan, Japan, China, Vietnam, India, Myanmar, Australia, Malaysia, and ASEAN, and a member of CSCAP: New Zealand National Council.

### **Professor the Hon. Bob CARR**

Professor in International Relations and Director of the Australia-China Relations Institute, University of Technology Sydney, Australia



The honourable Bob Carr is Professor in International Relations at the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). He is the Director of the Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI), the only Australian think tank devoted to illuminating the Australia-China relationship.

Professor Carr is a former Foreign Minister of Australia (2012-2013). He is also the longest continuously serving Premier in New South Wales history (1995-2005).

He received his Honours degree in History from the University of New South Wales. He is an Honorary Professor at Beijing Foreign Studies University. He is recipient of the RSIS Distinguished Visiting Fellowship from Nanyang Technological University and the Fulbright Distinguished Fellow Award Scholarship. He has served as Honorary Scholar of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue.

Professor Carr is an active public speaker. He has been invited to give scholarly presentations at many universities including Nanyang Technological University, Beijing Foreign Studies University, Shanghai University, Shanghai Jiaotong University.

He has been frequently interviewed by international media. His opinion pieces are published in the Australian Financial Review, The Australian, Sydney Morning Herald and Nikkei Asian Review.

He is the author of Thoughtlines (Viking, 2002), What Australia Means to Me (Penguin, 2003), My Reading Life (Penguin, 2008) and Diary of a Foreign Minister (NewSouth Publishing, 2014).

Professor Carr's research focuses on international relations, foreign policy, Chinese politics and economics, national defence and security.

### **Dr. Charles MORRISON**

President, East-West Center, Honolulu, USA

### **Dr SHAO Yuqun**

Senior fellow and the Executive Director of the Center for American Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies, China



Dr. SHAO Yuqun (邵育群) is a senior fellow and the Executive Director of the Center for American Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), which is one of the leading think tanks in China on international relations, China's foreign policy and international strategy. (<http://en.siis.org.cn/>).

Dr. SHAO obtained her Bachelor of Chinese language & literature and Master of international Chinese studies from the East China Normal University and Ph.D in international relations from Fudan University, Shanghai.

Her main research area includes U.S. global strategy & foreign policy in general and its policy towards South & Central Asia and Asia Pacific in particular, U.S. policy and the cross-Strait relations, China-U.S. relations and U.S. domestic politics. She also teaches U.S. foreign policy for the SIIS MA program.

She has published various papers and articles on the cross-Strait relations, U.S. Af-pak strategy, Afghanistan reconstruction, U.S.-India relations, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and regional security situation, China and U.S. interaction in the Asia-Pacific region, U.S. public diplomacy, U.S. global strategy and foreign policy in Chinese, American and European journals. She has participated in second track dialogues with U.S., European and Southeast Asian counterparts on the Taiwan question, with U.S. and Indian counterparts on Afghanistan reconstruction and reconciliation. She has joined the Chinese government delegations to observe elections in several countries. She has also led several research projects for related government departments in Beijing

She was a visiting fellow in the Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Security and International Studies in 2010 and a visiting fellow in the German Development Institute (DIE) in 2008.

She is a regular commentator for the Oriental TV in Shanghai, and also contributes articles and comments for newspapers and websites in China.

#### **Professor Quansheng ZHAO**

Professor of International Relations and Chair of the Asian Studies Program Research Council, American University, USA



Quansheng Zhao is Professor of international relations and Chair of the Asian Studies Program Research Council at American University in Washington, DC. A specialist in international relations and comparative politics focusing on East Asia, Dr. Zhao is the author of *Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press, winner of the Best Academic Book Award by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Korea), and *Japanese Policymaking* (Oxford University Press/Praeger, selected as "Outstanding Academic Book" by Choice). His most recent edited books are: *Managing the China Challenge: Perspectives from the Globe* (2009), and *Japanese Foreign Policy and Sino-Japanese Relations* (2015). In 2010, Dr. Zhao received Sumiya Mikio Award as the first place winner for the best essays in Japanese studies selected by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. From 1993-2009, he was a Research Associate at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research of Harvard University; and from 1999-2008, he was Division Director of Comparative and Regional Studies at American University. Professor Zhao received his B.A. from Peking University, M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. He is a member of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. He has also testified at the U.S. Congress on China's high-speed railway system, and served as a consultant for the United Nations. (zhao@american.edu)

## **Dr Jason YOUNG**

Lecturer in Political Science and International Relations, Research Fellow at the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Jason Young is Lecturer in Political Science and International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington, Research Fellow at the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre and Adjunct Research Fellow for the Centre for Oceanian Studies at Sun Yat-sen University. His research interests focus on Chinese politico-economic reform, agricultural development and socioeconomic change in rural China, Chinese foreign policy, East Asian regional integration and New Zealand-China relations. Jason is author of *China's Hukou System* (Palgrave 2013) and a number of journal articles and chapters in both English and Chinese as well as a frequent commentator in New Zealand and international media. Jason is currently conducting a Marsden Fast Start research project on investing in rural China supported by the Royal Society of New Zealand. He is also the academic coordinator for the short course exchange program with China University of Political Science and Law and the Joint Program with the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam.

## **Hon. Jim SUTTON,**

CNZM, Former Minister of Agriculture and Trade Negotiations, New Zealand



Jim was a Member of Parliament for 19 years, serving as a Cabinet Minister for seven years and as chair or member of a number of Parliamentary Select Committees including Primary Production, Finance and Expenditure, Defense, and Maori Affairs. His ministerial portfolios included Trade Negotiations, Agriculture, Biosecurity, Forestry, and Rural Affairs. As an MP on the Opposition front bench, he was the spokesperson on most of these areas as well as Fisheries and Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations.

Prior to entering Parliament Jim was a successful farmer. With a family background in agricultural science, he was actively engaged in developing sustainable practices to lift on-farm performance through the use of science, management practices and genetics. For example, Jim was one of the first to import Simmental cattle genetics into New Zealand. As his own farm developed Jim became involved in supporting industry affairs and became an elected official of Federated Farmers New Zealand, representing the South Canterbury Region.

Jim brought his farming background into his parliamentary career and quickly established himself as a practical and effective MP. This was a period of dramatic change for agriculture in New Zealand, with most farm subsidies being phased out. When appointed as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in 1990, Jim moved the focus of policy toward promoting sustainability.

On his return to Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture in 1999, he introduced the Sustainable Farming Fund, to support community initiatives to enhance the environmental, social and economic sustainability of the land-based industries.

In recognition of the importance of agriculture to New Zealand's economy, Jim was also made Trade Negotiations Minister in 1999. In his active FTA agenda he concluded the New Zealand/Singapore Closer Economic Partnership (CEP) negotiation; launched and concluded FTA/CEP negotiations with Singapore, Chile and Brunei to form the Trans Pacific Partnership) and,

separately, the FTA with Thailand. Each of these negotiations involved Minister Sutton in direct engagement with farm leaders in the relevant countries.

Jim also undertook FTA discussions with ASEAN, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Pacific Island Countries, Korea, Japan, Peru, Egypt, and Russia. Notably, he actively promoted, and gained Government support for, China's Accession to the World Trade Organisation. In a long list of FTA negotiation successes, Jim still rates his role in developing the pre-FTA relationship with China, an activity he was committed to throughout his time in Parliament, as a career highlight. He remains actively interested in the bilateral relationship with China and the growth of China's economic and political influence in the Asia Pacific region and in multilateral fora.

Following retirement from Parliament, Mr. Sutton served for three years as an Ambassador for Trade and six as Chairman of Landcorp, New Zealand's largest farm company. He now lives with his wife Trish Ranstead on a smallholding in the Wainuiomata Valley, near Wellington, and retains active interest in primary industry, market access and environmental issues.

### **Professor XU Qiyuan**

Head of Economic Development Department, the Institute of World Economics and Politics, The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China



XU Qiyuan holds a doctor's degree from Northeast Normal University (China) in 2008. Xu joined IWEP (Institute of World Economics and Politics), CASS (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) since 2008, and becomes a senior research fellow since 2011.

In 2012, he also took up the role of advisor to the international collaboration department in Ministry of Finance of PRC. Xu also sits in the work team of CEEM (China's External Economic Environment) in IWEP. This work team issues a quarterly report on global macroeconomics, and he is responsible for the research on China and RMB issues.

He has published 45 articles issued in China & World Economy and other Chinese top academic journals, 100 columns published in Financial Times, Financial World in English and leading media in Chinese. And three books have been published on RMB's topic, (1) The Study of Exchange Rates Variation during RMB's Internationalization (With Liu Lizhen), China Financial Publishing House, 2009. (2) The Economic Analysis of China Yuan's Exchange Rate Regime (With He Fan), Shanghai University of Finance and Economics Press, 2008. (3) A Study of China Yuan's Internationalization (with Liu Lizhen), People's Publishing House, 2006.

Qiyuan has been a visiting fellow at CIGI (2014), Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2014), Bruegel (2013), Hitotsubashi University(2009), and the Institute of International Monetary Affairs(IIMA) at Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ (2011).

### **Professor HUANG Meibo**

Professor of Economics, Director of China Institute for International Development, and the Executive Director of World Economy Research Center, Xiamen University, China



Huang Meibo, Ph.D of Economics, she has been associated with the Economics School, Xiamen University since 1991. She is now the economics professor and the director of China Institute for International Development, and the executive director of World Economy Research Center of Xiamen University. She is a deputy Secretary General of China Society of World Economics. She is also a member in UNCTAD “Promoting Responsible Sovereign Lending and Borrowing” expert group. Ms Huang Meibo was one of the ten provincial outstanding young social science experts in 2009. And she has received Provincial and municipal Social Science Award several times.

Ms Huang Meibo was a visiting scholar in Economics Department of Cornell University (USA) from Jan.1999 to Feb.2000, and a academic visitor in Global Economic Governance program in Oxford University (UK) from Oct.2006 to Sept.2007. From Sept.2010 to Feb. 2011 she joined the Global South Scholar in Residence Program and did her research in the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. From March to August 2013, She was a Senior Fellow in Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany.

Ms Huang Meibo’s current research focuses on international monetary cooperation, macroeconomic policy coordination, regional economic integration and international development assistance. She is author, coauthor, editor, or coeditor of 15 books or textbooks on international economic issues. She has also published more than 100 papers in the above field.

### **Associate Professor Susan PARK**

Associate Professor in International Relations, University of Sydney, Australia



Susan Park is an Associate Professor in International Relations at the University of Sydney. She teaches classes on International Organisations and Global Environmental Politics. She has previously taught at the University of New South Wales and Deakin University. Her research focuses on how actors make the Multilateral Development Banks green and accountable. Susan has published in a wide range of journals including Pacific Review, Third World Quarterly, International Politics, Global Governance and Global Environmental Politics. She is the author of *The World Bank Group and Environmentalists* (Manchester University Press, 2010) and co-edited two volumes: *Owning Development: Creating Global Policy Norms in the IMF and the World Bank* with Antje Vetterlein (Cambridge University Press 2010) and *Global Economic Governance and the Development Practices of the Multilateral Development Banks* with Jonathan Strand (Routledge 2016). Susan is currently working on a manuscript comparing the creation, reformulation and efficacy of the accountability mechanisms of the Multilateral Development Banks. In addition, Susan is collaborating with Teresa Kramarz (University of Toronto) on a long term research project titled *Accountability in Global Environmental Governance*. The research project has three objectives. It creates a coherent theoretical framework to investigate accountability in Global Environmental Governance (GEG); it documents whether accountability procedures in GEG work; and examines whether accountability procedures are linked to improving environmental outcomes. The aim of the research project is to yield a game-changing approach to understanding, investigating and evaluating accountability in GEG.

## **Professor Gerald CHAN**

Professor of Politics and International Relations, University of Auckland, New Zealand



Gerald Chan is Professor of Politics and International Relations in the School of Social Sciences at the University of Auckland. He obtained his PhD in Chinese politics and history at Griffith University in Australia and his MA in International Relations at the University of Kent, U.K. Gerald has taught international relations and Asian politics for 15 years at Victoria University of Wellington. He has held visiting or short-term positions in many universities, including the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Cambridge University, the National University of Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and Kobe-Gakuin University in Japan.

He is a Life Member of Clare Hall, Cambridge. He has been an external examiner to the politics programme at the University of Hong Kong. He also holds the position of an external PhD examiner in the area of Chinese international relations at the University of Malaya. He sits on the international editorial / advisory board of many academic journals, including *Global Society*, the *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, the *Journal of Human Security*, and the *International Journal of China Studies*. Before he joined Auckland in 2009, he was Professor of East Asian Politics and Director of the Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies at Durham University, U.K.

Gerald's key research area is Chinese international relations. He has published a number of books and many articles in this area. He is currently working on several projects relating to China's New Silk Road plan; the social evolution of Chinese politics; China's ability to create norms and rules that change the behaviour of other states; and China's role in global financial governance.

Gerald's recent publications include "China eyes ASEAN: evolving multilateralism," *Journal of Asian Security and International Relations*, 2015; "For better, for worse: China embraces global poverty reduction," *Bandung Journal of the Global South*, 2015; "China's economic power and the global financial structure," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2014, pp. 13-18; "Capturing China's international identity: social evolution and its missing links," *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Volume 7, No. 2, 2014, pp. 261-81; "China and small states in food security governance," *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. 13, Issues 1 & 2, 2014, pp. 59-79.

Two of Gerald's co-authored articles won the Best Essay of the Year award: one entitled "Rethinking global governance: a China model in the making?" in *Contemporary Politics*, 2008; and the other entitled "Japan, the West and the whaling issue," in *Japan Forum*, 2005.



### **Professor Alex TAN**

Professor of Political Science, University of Canterbury, New Zealand



Alex Tan is Professor of Political Science at the University of Canterbury, Associate Director of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre (Wellington), Fellow at the John Goodwin Tower Center for Political Studies at Southern Methodist University (Dallas, Texas, USA), and Research Associate of the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University (Taiwan). He also holds a chair professorship in political science at the National Sun Yat-Sen University (Taiwan).

Professor Tan received his AB in Economics from the Ateneo de Manila University, MA in Economics from the University of California at Santa Barbara, and PhD in Political Science from Texas A&M University. Prior to joining UC, he was Associate Professor (with tenure) of Political Science at the University of North Texas and has worked as a banker with HSBC and as research fellow at the Taiwan Institute of Economic Research. Alex held several visiting appointments at universities in the US, Germany, Japan, and Taiwan. He is editorial board member of two top international academic journals -- American Political Science Review and Electoral Studies -- as well as the Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs, Political Science, Korean Journal of International Studies, Soochow Journal of Political Science and was a former editor of the International Studies Perspectives. He has represented New Zealand in numerous Track II dialogues on Asia-Pacific security, political and economic issues and is a regular lecturer at the NZ Defence Force Command and Staff College and the Royal New Zealand Air Force Initial Officer Training Course. Professor Tan has published numerous books, book chapters and academic articles in the areas of Asian international affairs, comparative political parties and elections, comparative political economy, and East Asian politics. His works have appeared in prestigious academic journals such as the Journal of Politics, Political Research Quarterly, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, Party Politics, European Journal of Political Research, Electoral Studies, International Relations of Asia-Pacific, the Journal of Asian Security and International Relations.

### **Professor Robert AYSON**

Professor of Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Robert Ayson has been Professor of Strategic Studies at Victoria University since 2010 and works in close association with the Centre for Strategic Studies. He has also held academic positions with the ANU, Massey University and the University of Waikato, and official positions with the New Zealand government. Professor Ayson completed his MA as a Freyberg Scholar to the ANU and his PhD at King's College London as a Commonwealth Scholar to the UK. He is Adjunct Professor with the ANU's Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Honorary Professor with the New Zealand Defence Force Command and Staff College, and a member of New Zealand's Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control.

Professor Ayson has a particular interest in strategic competition and cooperation, including in relation to the management of armed conflict. This work ranges from exploring the ideas of Hedley Bull and Thomas Schelling to evaluating New Zealand and Australian responses to the changing Asia-Pacific balance between China and the United States. It also includes his current book project on Asia's Security and his long-standing interest in nuclear issues. He teaches and supervises on a range of related areas, and is a frequent media commentator.

## **Mr Stephen JACOBI**

Executive Director, New Zealand International Business Forum, New Zealand



Stephen Jacobi is the Executive Director of the New Zealand International Business Forum ([www.nzibf.co.nz](http://www.nzibf.co.nz)).

The New Zealand International Business Forum provides leadership to enable New Zealand business to exploit new opportunities in international markets. NZIBF works with businesses and other business organisations to implement key projects, including working to develop New Zealand's key international business relationships.

NZIBF is also responsible for providing policy advice to the three New Zealand members of the APEC Business Advisory Council (ABAC). Mr Jacobi also serves as Alternate ABAC Member for New Zealand.

Mr Jacobi grew up in Auckland and was educated at Auckland Grammar School and Auckland University. He has a First Class Honours degree in French and German and is a graduate of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA) in Paris, as well as the Leadership Seminar of Georgetown University in Washington DC and the New Zealand Institute for Strategic Leadership (Millbrook). He was a Fulbright Scholar and Visiting Researcher at Georgetown University in 2013.

Mr Jacobi has broad experience in industry and trade development. He was formerly Chief Executive of the New Zealand Forest Industries Council and Executive Director of the NZ US Council. Mr Jacobi is a frequent media commentator on industry and trade issues.

Mr Jacobi also has extensive diplomatic, trade and government experience including posts as Deputy High Commissioner in Ottawa, Assistant Trade Commissioner in Paris and adviser on trade and diplomatic issues with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. He was formerly Private Secretary to the Minister for Trade Negotiations, Hon Jim Sutton, advising on trade policy, international affairs and government-to-government negotiations.

Mr Jacobi is an accredited director, the Chairman of the St John's College Trust Board in Auckland, one of the country's largest private trusts with diverse commercial property and financial investments, and the Te Aute Trust Board which is the proprietor for two Maori Anglican schools in Hawke's Bay. The Te Aute Trust Board also operates two farms. He serves concurrently as Managing Director of Jacobi Consulting Ltd, a consultancy offering advice to public and private sector clients in the fields of international trade, government relations and industry development.

Mr Jacobi is married to the Reverend Dr Helen Jacobi, and has two children. He lives in Auckland.

### **Professor Jon FRAENKEL**

Professor of Comparative Politics, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand



Jon Fraenkel is a Professor of Comparative Politics in the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington. He formerly worked at the Australian National University (2007-12) and the University of the South Pacific in Fiji (1995-2007). He is Pacific correspondent for The Economist magazine. His research focuses the politics of the Pacific Islands region, institutional design in divided societies, electoral systems, political economy and the economic history of Oceania.

### **Professor Jaewoo CHOO**

Professor of Chinese Foreign Policy, Kyung Hee University, South Korea



Jaewoo Choo is Professor of Chinese Foreign Policy in the Department of Chinese Studies at Kyung Hee University, Korea. He was a Visiting Fellow at the Center for East Asian Studies Program, the Brookings Institution (2014, Spring) and a Visiting Associate Professor at Georgia Institute of Technology (2011-12). He graduated from Wesleyan University (BA in Government) and Peking University (MA & Ph.D. in International Relations). His research areas are Chinese foreign policy, multilateral security cooperation, and China-North Korea relations. He was a contributor to Asia Times on the Korean peninsula affairs (2002-05).

Prior to teaching, Choo worked in a number of think tanks in Korea. He was a Research fellow NE Asia Development Center, Institute East and West Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul, Republic of Korea (1997—1998); associate research fellow International Affairs Office, National Security Policy Institute (1998—2000); director & research fellow NE Asian Studies Program, Institute Strategy and International Affairs (2001—2002); research fellow Trade Research Institute, Korea International Trade Association (2002—2003).

Choo's prior fellowships also included Visiting Research Fellowship at the Institute International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan (2003); Visiting Fellowship at Pudong Institute United States Economy, Shanghai (2004), Visiting Research Fellowship at East Asian Institute, National University Singapore (2005, 06) and Visiting Senior Research Fellowship (2007—2008); Visiting Research Fellowship Silk Road Studies Program, Uppsala University, Sweden (2006).

In addition to numerous contribution to edited volumes, his academic journal work include "China's Frustration over North Korea: Editorial Analysis, Dec. 2012-April 2013," Korea Journal of Security Analysis (2014), "Does China's Charm Offensive Pose a Dilemma for South Korea?" China Brief (2014), "China's Dilemma on the Korean Peninsula: Not an Alliance but a Security Dilemma," Korea Journal of Defense Analysis (2013), "Ideas Matter: China's Peaceful Rise," Asia Europe Journal (2009), "East Asia Security Community Building," Journal of Korean Political Science, (2009). "Mirroring North Korea's Growing Economic Dependency on China: Political Ramifications," Asian Survey, (2008), "Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Unfolding the Reality," East Asia: An International Quarterly (2006), "Is Institutionalization of the Six-Party Talks Possible?" East Asia: An International Quarterly (2005). He is currently working on book manuscripts on China's Diplomacy: Concepts, Strategies, and Diplomacy (London: Chandos

Publishing, to be published in 2015), and China and North Korea relations in Kim Jong-II era: From party-to-party relations perspectives (publisher TBD).

**Associate Professor Jingdong YUAN**

Associate Professor in the Centre for International Security Studies, University of Sydney, Australia



Dr. Jingdong Yuan is Associate Professor at the Centre for International Security Studies and the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney, where he is also an academic member of the China Studies Centre. Professor Yuan specializes in Asia-Pacific security, Chinese defense and foreign policy, Sino-Indian relations, and global and regional arms control and non-proliferation issues. A graduate of the Xi'an Foreign Languages University, People's Republic of China (1982), he received his Masters in International Affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University in 1990, and Ph.D. in political science from Queen's University in 1995 and has had research and teaching appointments at Queen's University, York University, the University of Toronto, and the University of British Columbia, where he was a recipient of the prestigious Izaak Killam Postdoctoral Research Fellowship. He was also the recipient of the Canadian Department of National Defence R. B. Byres Postdoctoral Fellowship and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation/Canadian Asian Studies Association (CASA) Postdoctoral Fellowship. Between 1999 and 2010, he held various appointments at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, including as Director of the Nonproliferation Education Program and East Asia Nonproliferation Program, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and Associate Professor of International Policy Studies. Professor Yuan has also held visiting appointments at the National University of Singapore, the University of Macau, East-West Center, and the National Cheng-chi University. He is co-author of *A Low-Visibility Force Multiplier: Assessing China's Cruise Missile Ambitions* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 2014), co-editor of *Australia and China at 40* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2012) and co-author, *China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003). His publications have appeared in *Asian Affairs*, *Asia Policy*, *Asian Survey*, *Asian Perspective*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *The Hindu*, *International Herald Tribune*, *International Journal*, *International Politics*, *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *Japan Times*, *Journal of Contemporary China*, *Journal of International Affairs*, *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Moscow Times*, *Nonproliferation Review*, *Security Challenges*, *The Washington Quarterly*, and in many edited volumes, including, most recently, *The Oxford Handbook of the International Relations of Asia* (2014). He is currently working a book-length manuscript on China's relations with South Asia since the end of the Cold War.

**Professor Robert G. PATMAN**

Head of the Department of Politics, University of Otago, New Zealand



Professor Robert G Patman is the head of the Department of Politics at the University of Otago. He previously served as the Founding Director of the multidisciplinary Master of International Studies programme (2000 and 2013); directed or co-directed the annual University of Otago Foreign Policy School on seven occasions; and served as an editor for the scholarly journal *International Studies Perspectives* (2010 - 14). His research interests encompass US foreign policy, international relations, global security, great powers and the Horn of Africa. Robert is the author

or editor of 11 books. Recent publications include a volume called *Strategic Shortfall: The 'Somalia Syndrome' and the March to 9/11* (Praeger, 2010) and three co-edited books titled *The Bush Leadership, the Power of Ideas, and the War on Terror* (Ashgate, 2012); *China and the International System: Becoming a World Power* (Routledge, 2013); and *Science Diplomacy: New Day or False Dawn?* (World Scientific Publishers, 2014). He is a Fulbright Senior Scholar, an Honorary Professor of the NZ Defence Command and Staff College, Trentham, and provides regular contributions to the national and international media on global issues and events.

### **Laura SOUTHGATE**

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Laura Southgate is a PhD student in the Department of Politics, University of Otago. Her research interests include the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), state sovereignty, and the international relations of Southeast Asia.

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### **Professor Akio TAKAHARA**

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Akio Takahara is Professor of Contemporary Chinese Politics at the Graduate School of Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo. He received his D.Phil. in 1988 from the University of Sussex, and later spent several years as Visiting Scholar at the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong (1989-91), the Japanese Embassy in Beijing (1996-98), the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University (2005-06), and at the School of International Studies, Peking University (2014-15). Before joining the University of Tokyo, he taught at J. F. Oberlin University (1991-95) and Rikkyo University (1995-2005). He also served as a Programme Officer of the Sasakawa Peace Foundation (1988-89), Member of the Governing Body of the Institute of Development Studies, UK (1999-2003), President of the Japan Association for Asian Studies (2009-11), and Secretary General of the New Japan-China Friendship 21st Century Committee (2009-14). He currently serves as senior fellow of the Tokyo Foundation, adjunct fellow of the Japan Institute of International Affairs, and senior fellow of the Japan Forum on International Relations.

His publications include *The Politics of Wage Policy in Post-Revolutionary China*, (Macmillan, 1992), *New Developments in East Asian Security* (Akashi Shoten, 2005, co-editor, in Japanese), *Beyond the Borders: Contemporary Asian Studies Volume One* (Keio University Press, 2008, co-editor, in Japanese), *The History of Japan-China Relations 1972~2012 Volume One Politics* (University of Tokyo Press, 2012, co-editor, in Japanese), *Modern History of Japan-China Relations* (Yuhikaku Publishing Co., 2013, co-author, in Japanese), and *To the Era of Developmentalism, 1972-2014, Series on China's Modern History, Volume 5* (Iwanami Shoten, 2014, co-author, in Japanese).

### **Emeritus Professor Carlyle A. THAYER**

Emeritus Professor, The University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy, Australia



Carlyle A. Thayer is Emeritus Professor, The University of New South Wales (UNSW) at the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA), Canberra. Thayer studied political science at Brown and was awarded an M.A. in Southeast Asian Studies from Yale (1971) and a PhD in International Relations from The Australian National University (ANU, 1977). He served in Vietnam with the International Voluntary Services (1967-68). Thayer first taught at the Bendigo Institute of Technology/Bendigo College of Advanced Education in Victoria from 1975 to 1978. He joined the UNSW in 1979 and taught first in the Faculty of Military Studies at The Royal Military College-Duntroon before transferring to University College at ADFA in 1985. He was head of the Department of Politics (1995-97), promoted to full Professor in 1998 and formally retired in 2010. Thayer was given 'leave in the national interest' to take up a senior appointment at the U.S. Department of Defense's Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Pacific Command, Hawaii (1999-2002). On return to Australia he was appointed Deakin University's On-Site Academic Coordinator for the senior Defence and Strategic Studies Course at the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies (CDSS), Australian Defence College (2002-2004). He then directed Regional Security Studies at the Australian Command and Staff College (2006-2007 and 2010). In 2005 he was honoured by appointment as the C. V. Starr Distinguished Visiting Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, and in 2008 as the Inaugural Frances M. Stephen H. Fuller Distinguished Visiting Professor of Southeast Asian Studies at Ohio University. Thayer has also held appointments at Harvard's Center for International Affairs; Yale University's Department of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore, the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the ANU's Department of Political and Social Change, and Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the ANU. Thayer is a Southeast Asia regional specialist. He is currently Director of Thayer Consultancy a small business registered in Australia that provides political analysis and research support on current regional security issues. Thayer also writes a weekly column on Southeast Asian defence and security affairs for *The Diplomat*. He is the author of over 500 publications including: 'China and ASEAN', in Mahendra Gaur, ed., *Studies on China* No. 3 (New Delhi: Foreign Policy Research Institute, January 2015), 208-215; 'China and Vietnam Eschew Megaphone Diplomacy', *The Diplomat*, January 2, 2015; 'Vietnam Mulling New Strategies to Deter China', *The Diplomat*, May 28, 2014; 'ASEAN and China Consultations on a Code of Conduct in the South China Sea: Prospects and Obstacles', in *Security and Cooperation in the South China Sea* (Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2014), 34-49; 'China-ASEAN and the South China Sea: Chinese Assertiveness and Southeast Asian Responses', in Yann-huei Song and Keyuan Zou, eds., *Major Law and Policy Issues in the South China Sea: European and American*

Perspectives (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Inc., 2014), 25-53; and Southeast Asia: Patterns of Security Cooperation (Canberra: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 2010).

### **Dr Manjeet PARDESI**

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Manjeet S. Pardesi is a Lecturer in International Relations and an Asia Research Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Studies at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. He obtained his PhD in Political Science from Indiana University, Bloomington (IUB). His dissertation work focused on the initiation of strategic rivalries and their escalation to war. His research interests include causes of war, theories of foreign policymaking, the rise and fall of great powers, international relations in world history, Asian security, and Indian foreign/security policy. He was an Editorial Assistant with International Studies Quarterly from 2009-2012. From 2006-2008 he worked as a Graduate Assistant at the Center on American and Global Security at IUB. He has an MS in Strategic Studies from the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. After completing his MS, he worked as an Associate Research Fellow at IDSS where he focused on the institute's projects on the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) and India. He has lectured, conducted tutorials, and led discussion groups of the Tri-Service Staff Course and the Command and Staff Course at the SAFTI Military Institute, Singapore, and at the Advanced Command and Staff Course (Joint), New Zealand Defence Force Command and Staff College. He is a co-editor of India's Military Modernization: Challenges and Prospects (Oxford, 2014). His articles have appeared in the Air & Space Power Journal (USAF), The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, World Policy Journal, India Review, Asian Security, Defense and Security Analysis, and in several edited book volumes. He has also written commentaries on the RMA and India's foreign and security policy, which have appeared in The Straits Times (Singapore), The Korea Herald (South Korea), The Indian Express (India), Daily News & Analysis (India), The Times of India (India), and Asia Times Online.

### **Tony BROWNE**

Executive Chair, New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, New Zealand



Tony Browne has been Executive Chair of the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre and Chair of the Victoria University of Wellington Confucius Institute since 2011 when he retired from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade after nearly 39 years as a New Zealand diplomat. He is a member of the Executive Board of the New Zealand China Council and chair of the Council's Education Working Group. He is also a Senior Consultant to Confucius Institute Headquarters in Beijing, one of twenty-two such appointees to this role in China and internationally.

He filled senior roles in the management of New Zealand's relations with China from 1994 to 2011. He was New Zealand Ambassador to China from 2004 to 2009 and Deputy Secretary of MFAT, with oversight of New Zealand's relations with Asia, from 2009-2011. Prior to that, he had been the Director of the New Zealand Commerce and Industry Office in Taipei from 1994 to 1997 and Director of the North Asia Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade from January 2000 to November 2004. He was Chief of Protocol from 1998-2000.

His time as Ambassador in Beijing covered the full period of the negotiation of the New Zealand –China Free Trade Agreement.

He graduated from the University of Canterbury with an MA (1st class honours) in History and joined the then Department of External Affairs in 1973, later that year being posted to Hong Kong to undertake Chinese language studies. He served in Beijing from 1976-78 and in the Asia Division of the Foreign Ministry from 1978-1979.

In addition to his involvement in New Zealand's engagement with Asia he had extensive experience in the South Pacific. He worked in the South Pacific Division of MFAT from 1981-83, and was Official Secretary of the Office for Tokelau Affairs and head of the Tokelau Public Service, based in Apia, from 1983 to 1985. After two years, dealing extensively with Pacific issues at the United Nations in New York he became the first resident New Zealand High Commissioner in Vanuatu from 1987 to 1990.

From 1990 to 1994 he was Director of the Domestic and External Security Secretariat in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, coordinating inter-agency policy on counter terrorism, disaster management, intelligence and security.



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The New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre aims to be a global leader in knowledge acquisition and knowledge sharing on political, economic, and social life of contemporary China among tertiary institutions, the business sector, and the policy community for the benefit of New Zealand.

The only nation-wide research centre on contemporary China in the world, the New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre is based at Victoria University of Wellington. The Centre comprises seven member universities: Victoria University of Wellington, University of Auckland, Auckland University of Technology, the University of Canterbury, the University of Otago, the University of Waikato, and Lincoln University.

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