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Remarks for The Heart of the Matter: Reassessing the Foundations of U.S.-China Relations
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What is the foundation of the U.S.-China relationship and what strategies and attitudes will secure both sides' interests *and the peace* over the next two decades?

In my view, there is no single foundation for the U.S.-China relationship. The interdependent trade and economic relationship remains extremely important. But there are other critically important pillars that deserve to be considered part of the foundation as well. As China's interests become ever more global, the potential for convergence of U.S. and Chinese interests is growing, creating the basis for a broader foundation of the relationship: climate change, peacekeeping, development, nuclear security, non-proliferation, can potentially contribute to the foundation for the bilateral relationship.

This expansion of the foundation of the relationship does not receive sufficient attention. Increased friction between the United States and China in some areas is quite likely in the coming years; balancing these areas with increased cooperation where our interests overlap is one important strategy to keep the relationship on an even keel, to prove its significance to critics; and to build habits of cooperation.

There are several guidelines that should be followed to secure both sides' interests and peace in the coming decades.

The first is mutual recognition of the importance of the U.S.-China relationship to both countries' interests. Leaders of the United States and China must prioritize the relationship. They must put in the time, maintain communication through phone calls, letters, and, most importantly, frequent face-to-face meetings. The relationship must be constantly tended to and nurtured. Misunderstanding and misperception is all too common, and must be minimized. Regular conversations between top leaders can provide impetus to address problems (cyber as example from the recent summit), moderate tensions, and create a more positive tone and atmosphere.

Second, there must be acceptance that at times U.S. and Chinese interests will diverge and even conflict. Those instances must be very carefully managed. Strategies employed so far in the

military realm are good models, such as the MOU on rules of behavior in the air and at sea. Not all interests are equal; both sides should be clear about what really matters.

Third, both sides should refrain from actions or statements that directly harm the other side's interests and increase mistrust. A good example is Xi Jinping's May 2014 statement at the CICA meeting that security in Asia should be solved primarily by Asians. The apparent U.S. opposition to China's establishment of the AIIB is another example.

Fourth, both sides should seek to agree, where possible, and along with other members of the international community, on norms, laws, and regulations to guide behavior. This includes trade and economic relations, as well as new domains such as space and cyber security. Where norms or laws do not exist, China should be included at the table to create them.

Fifth, compromise and accommodation should be pursued where possible. This will be difficult, especially since both sides will never want to appear weak to their respective domestic audiences. Compromise and accommodation may not be possible on every issue; but it may be possible on some matters.

Sixth, special attention should be paid to avoiding a zero-sum relationship in the Asia-Pacific region. So far, the United States and China have paid lip service to this goal. For example, as the TPP and RCEP take shape, a strategy should be developed to eventually merge the two trade agreements. Track one Trilateral mechanisms should be created that include BOTH the United States and China. More trilateral and multilateral military exercises should be conducted. The United States and China should establish joint projects in third countries, such as the initial food security project in Timor-Leste.