

Chapter 9: A Strategy for Competition and Cooperation

Blueprint for Action

The United States should advance a comprehensive policy on China that promotes and protects a rules-based international order. By investing in U.S. competitiveness and resilience at home, safeguarding critical technologies, and deepening coordination with allies and partners, the United States can pursue cooperation with China—where it is in the national interest and from a position of strength. Properly sequenced and resourced, such a strategy would generate solutions to global challenges and leverage formal diplomatic dialogue to address critical issues around emerging technology.

Recommendation

Recommendation: Establish a High-Level U.S.-China Comprehensive Science and Technology Dialogue (CSTD)

The United States should establish a regular, high-level technology dialogue with China that benefits the American people, remains faithful to our allies, and presses China to abide by international rules and norms. The dialogue should focus on challenges presented by emerging technologies—to include AI, biotechnology, and other technologies as agreed by both sides. The CSTD should have two overarching objectives:

- Identify targeted areas of cooperation on emerging technologies to solve global challenges such as climate change, public health, and natural disasters; and
- Provide a forum to air a discrete set of concerns or friction points around specific uses of emerging technologies while building relationships and establishing process between the two nations.

The United States should be clear-eyed that the dialogue will not solve all our differences with China. The CSTD should be results-oriented, and it should achieve concrete outcomes for the American people.

Actions for the White House and the Department of State:

- **Establish the CSTD.**
 - Emerging technologies play an instrumental role in the economic, social, and security dynamics between the United States and China. Therefore, the CSTD should be established as part of a comprehensive strategy toward China that mobilizes democratic allies and partners in support of a rules-based international order.

- o The Department of State—in close coordination with the Office of Science and Technology Policy—should lead the CSTD.
- o The Department of State should build a process that is results oriented and aims to address challenges and opportunities in the current relationship between the United States and China related to the emerging technologies. For example:
 1. The CSTD should explore collaborative technological solutions to global challenges (e.g., climate change, healthcare and biodata, food safety and security, and natural disasters).
 2. The CSTD should identify areas of current challenges related to emerging technologies (e.g., data sharing and privacy, supply chain risk management, international standards and norms, and intellectual property) and develop a clear roadmap with milestones to address these issues.
- o The CSTD should initiate personnel exchanges and data-sharing frameworks to support and foster identified research projects with reciprocal access to information that can lead to concrete results.
- o The United States should identify leads for each of these topics (e.g., the Department of Energy, the U.S. Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration for climate change; the National Institutes of Health for healthcare; the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for food safety; and the Department of Defense and U.S. Agency for International Development for natural disasters).
- **Relation to strategic dialogue.** On a separate track from this CSTD, the Commission has recommended that the United States and Chinese governments convene a Strategic Security Dialogue (SSD) focused on eliminating misunderstandings and misperceptions on key strategic issues and threats and reducing the likelihood of inadvertent escalation. China has resisted U.S. attempts to create such a dialogue for nearly a decade, but its creation has never been more critical. The Commission's vision regarding the role of the SSD is explored in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this report.
 - o This dialogue should be the primary forum for discussions regarding practices surrounding AI-enabled and autonomous weapon systems and should include discussions on testing, doctrine, and use, and potentially the exploration of practical concrete confidence-building measures to mitigate risks.
 - o It is important to separate the SSD from the CSTD to ensure discussions related to conflict escalation and crisis stability are insulated from political forces which influence the broader U.S.-China bilateral relationship.

Chapter 9 Annex: A Strategy for Competition and Cooperation

Draft Executive Order Establishing the Technology Competitiveness Council

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to provide a coordinated process for developing technology policy and a national technology strategy and for monitoring its implementation, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Policy. The national security, economic competitiveness, and domestic prosperity of the United States require a comprehensive and coordinated approach by the Federal Government to ensure long-term U.S. leadership across the entire suite of critical and emerging technologies. To achieve this objective, this order establishes a Technology Competitiveness Council to develop a National Technology Strategy and to coordinate policies regarding critical and emerging technologies across the Federal Government.

Section. 2. The Technology Competitiveness Council.

(a) *Establishment.* There is established a Technology Competitiveness Council (Council).

(b) *Membership.* The Council shall be composed of the following members:

- (i) the Vice President, who shall be Chair of the Council;
- (ii) the Secretary of State;
- (iii) the Secretary of the Treasury;
- (iv) the Secretary of Defense;
- (v) the Attorney General;
- (vi) the Secretary of Commerce;
- (vii) the Secretary of Energy;
- (viii) the Secretary of Homeland Security;
- (ix) the Director of the Office of Management and Budget;
- (x) the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness;
- (xi) the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

(xii) the Assistant to the President for Science and Technology;

(xiii) the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy;

(xiv) the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy;

(xv) the United States Trade Representative;

(xvi) the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and

(xvii) the heads of other executive departments and agencies and other senior officials within the Executive Office of the President, as determined by the Chair.

A member of the Council may designate, to perform the Council functions of the member, a senior-level official who is part of the member's department, agency, or office and who is a full-time officer or employee of the Federal Government.

(c) Responsibilities of the Chair.

(i) The Chair or, upon his or her direction, the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness, shall convene and preside over meetings of the Council and shall determine the agenda for the Council.

(ii) The Chair shall authorize the establishment of such committees of the Council, including an executive committee, and of such working groups, composed of senior designees of the Council members and of other officials invited to participate in Council meetings, as he or she deems necessary or appropriate for the efficient conduct of Council functions.

(iii) The Chair shall report to the President on the activities and recommendations of the Council. The Chair shall advise the Council as appropriate regarding the President's directions with respect to the Council's activities and national technology policy generally.

(d) Administration.

(i) The Council shall have a staff, headed by the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness.

(ii) The Office of Administration in the Executive Office of the President shall provide the Council with such personnel, funding, and administrative support, to the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of appropriations, as

directed by the Chair or, upon the Chair's direction, the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness, to carry out the provisions of this order.

(iii) To the extent practicable and permitted by law, including the Economy Act, and within existing appropriations, agencies serving on the Council shall make resources, including but not limited to personnel and office support, available to the Council as reasonably requested by the Chair or, upon the Chair's direction, the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness.

(iv) The heads of agencies shall provide, as appropriate and to the extent permitted by law, such assistance and information to the Council as the Chair may request to implement this order.

(v) Members of the Council shall ensure that their departments and agencies cooperate with the Council and provide such assistance, information, and advice to the Council as the Council may request, to the extent permitted by law.

(vi) The creation and operation of the Council shall not interfere with existing lines of authority and responsibilities in the departments and agencies.

(vii) On technology policy and strategy matters relating primarily to national security, the Council shall coordinate with the National Security Council (NSC) through the Deputy National Security Advisor for Cyber and Emerging Technology to create policies and procedures for the Council that respect the responsibilities and authorities of the NSC under existing law.

Section. 3. Functions of the Council. The Council shall:

(a) develop recommendations for the President on U.S. technology competitiveness and technology-related issues, advise and assist the President in development and implementation of national technology policy and strategy, and perform such other duties as the President may prescribe;

(b) develop and oversee the implementation of a National Technology Strategy as required by section 4 of this order;

(c) serve as a forum for balancing national security, economic, and technology considerations of U.S. departments and agencies as they pertain to technology research, development, commercial interests, and national security applications;

(d) coordinate policies across U.S. departments and agencies related to U.S.

competitiveness in critical and emerging technologies and ensure that policies designed to promote U.S. leadership and protect existing competitive advantages are integrated and mutually reinforcing; and

(e) synchronize budgets and strategies, in consultation with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, in accordance with the National Technology Strategy.

Section. 4. National Technology Strategy. It is the policy of the United States to retain leadership in critical and emerging technologies essential to U.S. national security and economic prosperity. Within one year of the date of this order, and annually thereafter, the Council shall submit to the President a National Technology Strategy containing the following elements:

(a) an assessment of the U.S. Government's efforts to preserve U.S. leadership in key emerging technologies and prevent U.S. strategic competitors from leveraging advanced technologies to gain strategic military or economic advantages over the United States;

(b) a review of existing U.S. Government technology policy, including long-range goals;

(c) an analysis of technology trends and assessment of the relative competitiveness of U.S. technology sectors in relation to strategic competitors;

(d) identification of sectors critical for the long-term resilience of U.S. innovation leadership across design, manufacturing, supply chains, and markets;

(e) recommendations for domestic policy incentives to sustain an innovation economy and develop specific, high-cost sectors necessary for long-term national security ends;

(f) recommendations for policies to protect U.S. and allied leadership in critical areas through targeted export controls, investment screening, and counterintelligence activities;

(g) identification of priority domestic R&D areas critical to national security and necessary to sustain U.S. leadership, and directing funding to fill gaps in basic and applied research where the private sector does not focus;

(h) recommendations for talent programs to grow U.S. talent in key critical and emerging technologies and enhance the ability of the Federal Government to recruit and retain individuals with critical skills into Federal service; and

(i) methods to foster the development of international partnerships to reinforce domestic policy actions, build new markets, engage in collaborative research, and create an international environment that reflects U.S. values and protects U.S. interests.

Section. 5. Advisory Committee on Technology Competitiveness.

(a) There is established an Advisory Committee on Technology Competitiveness (Committee) to provide advice and recommendations to the Council and matters within the scope of the Council's responsibilities.

(b) The Committee shall include the Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness and not more than 16 additional members appointed by the President. The additional members shall include distinguished individuals from sectors outside of the Federal Government. They shall have diverse backgrounds and expertise in national security, economic competitiveness, and critical and emerging technologies relevant to the National Technology Strategy. The Assistant to the President for Technology Competitiveness, along with one non-Federal member of the Committee, shall serve as Co-Chairs. Members of the Committee shall serve without any compensation for their work on the Committee, but they may receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707).

(c) The Committee shall meet as directed by the Co-Chairs of the Council and shall provide advice or work product solely for use by the Council in the performance of its duties under this order.

(d) The Office of Administration in the Executive Office of the President shall provide such funding and administrative and technical support as the Committee may require.

(e) The Committee shall terminate two years from the date of this order unless extended by the President.

Section. 6. General Provisions.

(a) If any provision of this order or the application of such provision is held to be invalid, the remainder of this order and other dissimilar applications of such provision shall not be affected.

(b) This order is not intended to, and does not, create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or in equity by any party against the United States, its departments, agencies, or entities, its officers, employees, or agents, or any other person.

(c) Nothing in this order shall be construed to impair or otherwise affect:

(i) the authority granted by law to an executive department or agency, or the head thereof; or

(ii) the functions of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget relating to budgetary, administrative, or legislative proposals.

(d) This order shall be implemented consistent with applicable law and subject to the availability of appropriations.