UNIVERSITY OF CHINA RELATIONS: WHAT LIES AHEAD?

A turn toward increased tensions in the Asia-Pacific region prompted the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations to convene a group of approximately 40 experts at the Airlie Center in Warrenton, Virginia, July 25-27 to assess the current status of Sino-American relations and offer practical policy recommendations. Program participants, who were drawn from academia, government, business, media, philanthropy and the non-profit sector, brought different viewpoints to discussions on a variety of issues that affect the relationship, including the aftermath of the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, charges of Chinese espionage at U.S. national laboratories, failure to reach a deal on World Trade Organization accession, and President Lee Teng-hui’s remarks on state-to-state relations.

Participants noted that the Sino-American relationship has become deeply intertwined with domestic politics in both countries. For instance, in the United States, consistency in dealing with China has been compromised by difficult relations between the Clinton Administration and Congress. And, with the approach of the November 2000 presidential election, the current administration may be limited in its ability to take bold action in developing China policy. China’s leaders, meanwhile, are facing challenges on a number of fronts that may restrict their flexibility in dealing with the United States, including a weakening economy, concern about social stability, and Taiwan’s reformulation of its relationship with the PRC.

Continued on page 13

NATIONAL COMMITTEE BOARD AND MEMBERS MEET IN NEW YORK

The National Committee convened its 33rd Annual Members Meeting and its 73rd Board of Directors Meeting November 18-19 in New York to review the previous year’s highlights and set guidelines for the upcoming year. While 1999 had been a tumultuous year for U.S.-China relations, the National Committee staff was pleased to report that its planned programs had been successfully implemented, with minimal delay or disruption.

Attendees gave highly enthusiastic reviews to this year’s annual address to members, as three former U.S. Ambassadors to China combined personal reminiscence with sharp insight in a panel discussion on “U.S.-China Relations: The Ambassadors’ Perspective.” Winston Lord, J. Stapleton Roy and James R. Sasser provided inside views of the high and low points of their respective tenures in Beijing in frank, thought-provoking and entertaining off-the-record presentations. Held just a few days after the U.S.-China bilateral agreement on WTO accession was announced, the panelists also speculated about Congressional reaction to the deal and the likelihood of extending permanent normal trade relations to China.

During the business portion of the meetings, National Committee members approved plans for the America-China Society (ACS) to become the America-China Forum of the National Committee. The proposed merger of the two organizations was first announced by National Committee chairman Barber B. Conable, Jr. and ACS chairman Henry A. Kissinger at the National Committee’s Gala Dinner on September 8. In the past several years, the National Committee and ACS have collaborated on a number of projects, such as the April 7 dinner

Continued on page 2

Bringing the two organizations together will “reduce operating costs and create synergies that will help both groups better achieve their shared goals of improving understanding between the United States and China,” said Committee president John L. Holden. “We are confident that the merger will go smoothly,” Holden said, noting that a number of Committee directors have also served as directors of ACS, including Gerald R. Ford, Maurice “Hank” Greenberg, Carla Hills, Arthur W. Hummel, Jr., Brent Scowcroft, Raymond P. Shafer, and Leonard Woodcock. The ACS board will vote on the merger at its January meeting.

The board commended the National Committee staff for the programs it had conducted in 1999 and discussed several new program activities that might effectively address changing social and economic conditions in China. Members and directors also approved the slate of new directors which will make up the board’s Class of 2002 (see page 14).

Former Ambassadors to China J. Stapleton Roy (left) and Winston Lord (right) entertained National Committee members with anecdotes from their days in Beijing.

Among those enjoying the Members Meeting were National Committee chairman Barber B. Conable, Jr., former president David M. Lampton, independent consultant and interpreter June Mei, and Cui Tiankai of the Permanent Mission of the PRC to the United Nations.

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**PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE**

The November agreement between the United States and the People’s Republic of China has paved the way for China’s accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), the only important global organization of which China is not a member. This is significant for a number of reasons, four of which I would like to discuss.

First, it will contribute to China’s economic growth by reducing both China’s trade barriers and those of its trading partners. While the adjustments mandated will create difficulties in certain sectors of its economy, the overall benefits to China will outweigh the costs. The WTO, however, is a trade organization and has very limited means to affect its members’ domestic economies. That is why foreign investors should not expect that WTO accession would necessarily lead to the alleviation of the many structural economic problems that hurt their China operations. For that to happen China will need to continue reforms aimed at improving competition, governance, transparency, the financial system, and the rule of law, among others.

Second, by committing itself to a rigorous and broad agenda of trade reforms, China has drawn the kind of economic roadmap that will reduce risk and encourage both domestic and foreign investment in China’s economy.

Third, since the United States would not benefit from China’s commitment to more open markets unless it granted permanent Normal Trade Relations (NTR) status to China, I believe Congress will take this important step, which would complete the normalization of U.S.-China relations. Although the annual review of China’s NTR (or its predecessor MFN—Most Favored Nation) status required under the Jackson-Vanik Act has never resulted in its revocation, nonetheless it has resulted in acrimonious and unproductive debates in Congress about aspects of U.S. policy toward China that, arguably, should have nothing to do with trade. Interestingly, since China’s WTO entry will de-couple trade from other aspects of China policy and provide a neutral forum for dispute resolution, the U.S. government should find it easier to seek redress for unfair Chinese trade practices.

Fourth, China’s participation in the WTO will, to the extent it aids economic growth and liberalization, further the evolution of China’s social and political systems. If history is a reliable guide, the direction of this evolution will be toward a more open, liberal and democratic society, a society that will enjoy better relations with the United States.

John L. Holden
December 1999
While there has been no fundamental policy change in China toward the United States since the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, many Chinese believe that NATO's actions have put Sino-American relations off-track. Furthermore, NATO's intervention in the Balkans has altered China's world view and the resulting enhanced sense of insecurity may change the dynamics for improving relations between the two countries.

This was the assessment of a small, high-level delegation the National Committee sent to Beijing in late June for discussions with representatives of the State Council Foreign Affairs Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation, the People's Liberation Army and other institutions. The delegation, hosted by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, consisted of National Committee President John L. Holden; Michael Armacost, president of the Brookings Institution and former undersecretary of state; Mary Brown Bullock, president of Agnes Scott College; Harry Harding, dean of the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University; David M. Lampton, director of the China Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies; and Ezra Vogel, director of Harvard University's Fairbank Center.

The delegation members had three basic objectives: to gain a better understanding of Chinese views on Sino-American relations in the wake of the bombing; to convey American perspectives of the relationship; and to reassure the Chinese they encountered of the importance the United States attaches to its relationship with China. Summarizing the impressions gained during roundtable discussions, informal meetings and one-on-one conversations, John Holden noted the following recurring themes:

• Chinese reactions to the bombing of the embassy are rooted in a widespread and profound sense of humiliation at the hands of foreign powers. Many Chinese view the bombing as the culmination of a decade of pressure, not an aberrant and isolated accident.

• Senior Chinese leaders want productive relations with the United States. Despite expressions of concern, frustration and even anger toward the United States, the delegation's Chinese interlocutors emphasized the need for a cooperative relationship with Washington.

• It was important for the Chinese interlocutors to have the opportunity to express their views to a group of well-respected Americans, who listened attentively and took their opinions seriously. The implication is that the Chinese will respond positively to signs of respect.

The outlook of younger Chinese was a particular concern of the delegation. National Committee board member Julia Chang Bloch arranged a meeting between the delegation and her students from the American studies program at Peking University, who engaged in a frank exchange of views on Sino-American relations. The opinions voiced by some students echoed the strong anti-American feelings expressed during the post-bombing protests at the American Embassy in Beijing and consulates in other Chinese cities. Delegation member Harry Harding subsequently warned that the bombed-out embassy in Belgrade may be as enduring and pivotal an image for the Chinese as the tanks rolling into Tiananmen Square in 1989 have been for Americans.

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To report on their meetings in China, delegation members Michael Armacost, Harry Harding and John Holden spoke to an overflow crowd at a Capitol Hill briefing on July 13. This event was co-sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center's Asia Program and was hosted by U.S. Representatives Doug Bereuter and Tom Lantos. Douglas Paal, president of the Asia Pacific Policy Center and a former National Security Council official, also took part in the panel presentations. Paal's sense that "short-term prospects for U.S.-China relations are not as dire as one might have feared," coincided with the assessment of the National Committee delegation; he shared the group's view that the status of Taiwan will continue to be a complicating factor for U.S.-China relations.
The National Committee occasionally highlights the views of authorities on U.S.-China relations in Notes from the National Committee. The following text, "U.S. Policy Toward China," is testimony by Winston Lord to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, October 27, 1999.

Few international issues are as critical, and none as complex, as our relations with China. On our long, arduous journey with the world’s most populous nation, Americans will need sophistication, steadiness and stamina.

Such qualities are scarce in the current national debate.

I am distressed that the outer limits of views on China are dominant—the apocalyptic and the apologetic. We should understand that everything one hears about China is true—the good, the bad, and the ugly. American policy must steer between the shoals of hostility and indulgence.

...I urge a balanced approach in our policy.

My name is Lord and I will now proclaim ten commandments for dealing with China. I trust you will engrave these in stone.

The first commandment. Thou shalt not demonize China. It is not the Soviet Union. It does not claim or seek a global mandate for its system or its ideology. It does not support foreign Communist movements or proclaim a Breshnev doctrine or station troops overseas.

It confronts enormous economic problems, including increasingly difficult reforms, the pressures of globalization, and awesome environmental damage. Its military strength is exaggerated, lagging further and further behind the United States in most categories. It is surrounded not by weak or vassal states but rather a string of substantial powers, many of whom it has recently fought—Russia, Japan, India, Vietnam.

Beijing faces severe domestic risks to stability and unity, including huge economic disparities, systemic corruption, social unrest, a spiritual vacuum, and a longing for greater freedom.

It has been moving toward a market economy and bettered the material lives of many citizens. It does allow greater freedom for travel, work, and grumbling in private. It is behaving more responsibly on nuclear proliferation, and is helpful on several regional and global issues. It seeks positive relations with the United States in its own self-interest.

In short, in our national debate, we should reject the views of the apocalypse camp.

The second commandment. Thou shalt not sanitize China. As we head toward the twenty-first century, China represents our greatest international challenge. It is the world’s fastest-growing economic power. Its military strength is advancing in selective areas and could threaten our friends and our overseas foes. Its past aggressiveness includes for example, Tibet in the 1950s, India in the 1960s, Vietnam in the 1970s. It now pressures Taiwan, trawls the South China Sea, and flexes its missiles.

China opposes the United States on many key security problems, such as Iraq and Kosovo, and it is friendly with rogue states. It behaves suspiciously on missile proliferation. It is brutal in its repression of dissidents, political and religious freedom, ethnic minorities and Tibet.

Beijing increasingly resorts to nationalism to maintain political control, and its government media is highly abusive of the United States. It seeks to reduce American power in the Asia-Pacific region and envisions a world in which China is once again the Middle Kingdom.

In short, in our national debate on China, we should reject the views of the apologists.

The third commandment. Thou shalt not contain China. This is the prescription of the apocalypse camp. It is neither necessary, desirable, nor possible. To treat China as an enemy would be a self-fulfilling prophecy when the jury is out on its future course.

We would forfeit cooperation in areas where our interests overlap, and we would exacerbate tensions elsewhere. We would divert military, diplomatic, and financial resources from other tasks. Unlike the Cold War coalition for containment against the Soviets, here we would be alone. While many countries are apprehensive about China, they do not wish confrontation. We could, in short, complicate China’s emergence as a power, but we couldn’t control it.

If instead we attempt first to forge positive ties with China and fail, then we would have demonstrated to our friends and to our domestic public that containment was forced upon us.

The fourth commandment. Thou shalt not roll over for China. This is the prescription, however denied or disguised or unintentional, of the apologist camp. While we should not regard China as an enemy, neither should we assume it will be a friend. China—as it should, and we should—will act in its own hard-headed self-interest. We should avoid excessive mea culpas. Often when there are frictions in our bilateral relations, it is China’s fault, and not ours.

We should negotiate hard on issues and strictly enforce agreements, with sanctions if necessary. We should scrupulously control the export of sensitive technology. We should clearly oppose Chinese threats against Taiwan. While adhering to a one China policy we should fulfill our security commitments, including the Taiwan Relations Act and arms sales. We should proceed with regional and national missile
What do Guizhou province in China and the Appalachian region of the United States, separated by thousands of miles and distinctly different social, cultural and political backgrounds, have in common? More than the average American might expect, according to Frank Kincaid, principal of the Kentucky Tech/Lee County Area Technology Center and member of a National Committee working group focusing on vocational education in these two rural, poor areas. This working group, which is one component of the National Committee’s larger project on the development of civil society in China, is examining the potential for vocational education, particularly private-sector programs, to provide the skilled workers needed in a rapidly changing economy.

Guizhou, one of China’s poorest provinces, faces tremendous obstacles in keeping children in school, training teachers and staying current with skills needed in a rapidly changing economy. Like Appalachia, it is a mountainous, relatively isolated area, heavily dependent on mining of natural resources to support the local economy. It is a relatively depressed region that has not matched the economic growth rates of China’s more prosperous urban and coastal areas.

In spite of these barriers, Mr. Kincaid was impressed with the foresight of Guizhou’s leaders, who recognize that vocational education can play an essential role in creating a technically competent and global-minded workforce. After a week of intensive working group discussions in Guizhou in August, Mr. Kincaid noted, “China realizes that to provide its people with a sound economic future and the ability to compete in the global marketplace, it must possess a well-educated, skilled workforce. Vocational technical education, aligned with the proper academic foundation, meets that mandate. It was refreshing to see others aware of these innovative educational reform initiatives while exhibiting the drive and determination, along with entrepreneurial skills, to achieve results under adverse conditions.”

Mr. Kincaid’s enthusiasm for the project reflects that of the other American team members: Dan Branham, Director of the Rural Speciality Program at the Appalachia Educational Laboratory; Robert Nelson, Coordinator of International Programs for the Department of Human Resource Education at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana; and Dan Wright, a fellow of the Institute of Current World Affairs studying economic development issues in China’s interior. National Committee Program Associate Marilyn Beach is the coordinator of the project.

The August trip to Guizhou gave these education specialists an opportunity to talk at length with the Chinese working group members and to visit their respective schools. The Chinese team includes two policy reform specialists: Wang Liquan, Deputy Director of the Development Research Center of the Guizhou provincial government and Wang Lanshan, Deputy Director of the Macro-Regulation Division of Guizhou’s Economic System Reform Commission. They are joined by four school principals: Zhu Weide of the Guizhou Tourism School, Guiyang; Bi Jiangan of the Computer Vocational/Technical School, Qiannan prefecture; Huang Weicun of the Secondary Vocational School of Zunyi Development Zone; and Wang Dilun of the Secondary Vocational/Technical School, Zhongshan District, Liupanshui city.

Privatization of education is still in the early stages in Guizhou and the Chinese team members are on the forefront of this development, regularly facing such new challenges as recruiting students, motivating teachers, attracting employers for new graduates, and strengthening school finances. They have effectively dealt with these issues by combining unflagging determination, entrepreneurial spirits and willingness to experiment with different models. Principal Zhu’s efforts at the Guizhou Tourism School, for instance, have led to an increase in enrollment from 80 students in 1997 to 700 students in 1999.

The Chinese working group members will have an opportunity to visit classrooms and “talk shop” with their counterparts at American educational institutions when they visit the United States in May 2000. By analyzing the experiences of vocational school principals in creating, developing and maintaining their institutions and by seeking models for comparison and emulation from the Appalachian region, the project participants hope to have an impact on China’s educational policy-making process.

The Henry Luce Foundation supports this project as part of a generous three-year grant to the National Committee to explore issues related to the development of civil society in China.
After receiving high ratings for its debut season, Time Warner is continuing the innovative internship program it launched last year for journalism students from Shanghai’s Fudan University. The company is again working in partnership with the National Committee to administer the three-month program that provides opportunities for Chinese students to gain practical experience in movie production, television journalism and print media.

While the program is in one sense a “repeat,” with interns again placed at Time magazine in New York, CNN in Atlanta and Warner Brothers Studios in Los Angeles, it is a first-time experience for the Fall 1999 class of interns. Chen Xidan, Fang Qian and Guan Wenhui arrived in New York early in September and were immediately immersed in a two-week orientation program, which included lectures, sightseeing and practical advice. National Committee program associate Abbey Newman escorted the newly arrived interns during their orientation program and continued to provide support and advice throughout their stay in the United States.

Since then the interns have made the transition smoothly from China to the United States, from university dorm rooms to independent living, from expectation to reality. The young women took the huge leap in stride, embracing the cultural differences and looking back with good humor at their initial days in the United States. In their own words, they reflect on some of their initial impressions and perceptions of American life.

Fang Qian, who is spending her three-month assignment at Warner Brothers, writes about her initial adjustment to living in Los Angeles.

“Maybe it’s because we stayed in New York for only four days; maybe it’s because the three of us were always together, plus Abbey, who is so competent in swiftly shifting between English and Chinese; maybe it’s because we were so well taken care of that we had practically no chance to be exposed to any uneven situations. In any event, I failed to have ‘culture shock’ immediately upon my arrival in the United States, even though this is my first time abroad. I felt lucky to have had such a smooth transfer and secretly congratulated myself on my adaptability in surviving New York—such a tough city!—so successfully and effortlessly.

“But as soon as I set my feet upon the city of Los Angeles, I found that I had celebrated too early. Putting on my backpack, grabbing a map, I couldn’t wait to start my exploration the morning after my arrival, filled with excitement and anticipation. I decided to leisurely walk, like an ordinary citizen, to the nearest shopping center as a “warming-up exercise.” Walking along Barham Boulevard with a spring in my step and a smile on my face, I joyously scrutinized the neighborhood, although there literally was not much to see. Twenty minutes later, however, I realized that what seemed a short distance on the map was astonishingly far from short in reality. Besides the whistling-by cars, I had spotted no one, not a single pedestrian, on the whole long boulevard. My joy gradually vanished as disappointment crept into my heart. It turned out I had to spend another twenty minutes to arrive at my destination—a supermarket—the first place during my entire expedition in which I could see people walking around.

“This exhausting and frustrating trip shattered my romantic preconceptions of ‘Hollywood.’ It was not until then that I really came to see what cars meant to Americans—not only useful transportation, but a part of life. For quite some time, whenever I stepped outside my apartment seeing nothing by endless cars driving by, I couldn’t help but ask, “Am I really in the City of Angels?”

“Having stayed here for two months, I still can’t say I have gotten over the culture shock. Maybe culture shock is not a very appropriate term here. I would rather say ‘surprise-discovering’ instead. As time goes by, this city has presented me with numerous surprises, which I am so glad and eager to discover. The ‘no car, no survival’ phenomenon of southern California is only one of many. So far as I am concerned, it is immensely beneficial to me to be able to feel the surprises and understand the differences, as it is really an efficient approach to reduce misunderstanding and strangeness, to increase mutual understanding and to establish solid friendships.”

Chen Xidan shares a letter she wrote to her parents, describing her life in New York and work at Time.

“I have finally settled down in New York and so far everything is going well. I live in International House, which is a vibrant place accommodating 700 foreign graduate students, trainees and interns from more than 100 countries. My knowledge of geography has greatly improved since people here have great patience in explaining where they used to live. We also share an interest in exploring New York and it is fun to observe this American city from foreigners’ perspectives.

“Lots of activities I’ve attended are designed to foster diversity of thought and experience for the international students. I have come to realize the importance of tolerance and respect among the individuals of different nations and backgrounds. Misunderstanding emerges easily if people are short of these qualities. I really understand how wars can begin just because of diplomatic details.

“I think I chose the right city to do the internship. New York is not as good as I imagined, though not as bad as shown on TV. But it gives me an idea of the real world. People take

Continued on page 12
BRINGING CHINA INTO THE CLASSROOM

By Tony Martin

Editor’s note: The National Committee has administered the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar in China since 1981. This year, 16 teachers from 12 states took part in the five-week tour of China. Their first-hand impressions of China’s history, culture and people form the core of lessons to be shared with their students in American primary and secondary schools. One of this year’s participants, Tony Martin, teaches children about China at two elementary schools in southwestern Virginia. His impressions follow.

“Did you really go to China?” an incredulous third grader asked me recently. The question was spoken with the same kind of awe that I have encountered from many adults at the mention of my trip, as if China were the name of some distant planet. China: the land of silk and jade, Marco Polo, the Forbidden City, the Great Wall. Recent decades of increasing contact have done little it seems, to dim the aura of exotic mystery that surrounds China in the American imagination. That aura was certainly strong in my mind as I prepared to travel there this summer as a member of a delegation of 16 teachers participating in the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar. Our purpose was to learn as much about China as possible in one month and find ways to bring back to our students whatever knowledge and understanding we might glean.

The trip took us to four cities and their surroundings—Beijing, Xi’an, Ji’nan, and Shanghai—with an optional fifth stop in Hong Kong. Each step of the journey offered plenty of opportunities to experience the “aura of exotic mystery.” We stood upon the Great Wall shrouded in mist and imagined Mongol invaders charging out of the fog. We wandered among the stone sages and ancient cypresses of the Confucian forest. We followed in the footsteps of emperors to the top of Mount Tai.

In addition to these tastes of antiquity, there was the experience of contemporary China, with all its complexity and contradictions. We visited schools, factories, hospitals, and homes. We spoke with taxi drivers, students, political leaders, businessmen, farmers, workers and teachers, many of whom shared their thoughts and lives with remarkable candor. To help us make sense of it all, there were lectures on various aspects of Chinese culture, history, the arts, the economy and the environment.

In deciding what of this dizzying array of sensory and intellectual stimulation to bring back to my students, the temptation was to go for the strange and exotic: the tiny shoes that were once worn by women with bound feet, the medicinal dried lizard, the photo of the live snake entrée. All of us were fascinated by these things and we knew that our students would be too. But I’ve decided it’s a mistake to focus too much on such exotica, for to do so is to feed the myth that China and its people are completely alien and incomprehensible to us.

I want my students to know that China, for all its foreignness, is a real place inhabited by real people with whom they share a common humanity and also a common history. So we talk about the invention of paper and we make some, in much the same way that Ts’ai Lun did nineteen hundred years ago. We talk about the compass and gunpowder. (We don’t make any of it though!)

We have been making terra cotta warriors. My third graders have been busy designing a pit in which to bury them for a group of second grade archeologists to dig up in the spring.

The abacus has proved an excellent way for my students to connect with Chinese culture. It is so foreign to them and yet it is so accessible. They can touch it and manipulate it, and make sense out of it. In a very short time, they are adding three digit numbers on it and exclaiming, “This is easy!”

Then there’s the language, which conveys this sense of foreign yet familiar best of all. I teach young children, some of whom at the mention of China have been known to pull at the corners of their eyes with their fingers and make funny noises in parody of what to them seem ridiculous sounds. These same children can be beside themselves with excitement 45 minutes later for having written a simple sentence in this seemingly incomprehensible language.

It’s a small thing, but the thought of similar small things happening in other schools all over the United States makes me feel hopeful about the future of U.S.-China relations.
early 500 people gathered at The Plaza in New York City on the evening of September 8 to join the National Committee in honoring three institutions that have made significant contributions to the development of understanding between Americans and Chinese. Guests at the National Committee’s biennial Gala Dinner paid tribute to Motorola Inc., the National Geographic Society and the Peace Corps. The dinner was chaired by Gerald M. Levin, chairman and chief executive officer of Time Warner Inc., who highlighted some of the noteworthy achievements of the gala’s honorees.

Motorola has made employee education a key priority in its China investments. Thousands of Motorola employees have learned—and then put into practice—technical skills and management principles from one of America’s best-managed companies through training programs offered at Motorola University (MU). More than half of the courses MU offers in China focus on marketing and “high tech” education, with the balance in modern management techniques, English and other personal effectiveness programs. Three percent of payroll dollars (or RMB in this instance) is invested in employee training each year, with every employee required to receive a minimum of 40 hours of instruction.

The mission of the National Geographic Society is to “improve and diffuse geographic knowledge.” Generations of its readers, and now viewers and Internet users, have learned about China through its unparalleled research and beautiful visuals. The National Geographic’s coverage of China began more than a century ago, with the 1897 article “The Siberian Transcontinental Railroad.” More recently, the magazine has provided its readers with authoritative stories on industry, environmental issues, natural history, youth in China, economic reforms in Sichuan Province and the booming growth around Guangzhou.

The Peace Corps, one of the world’s leading development organizations, draws on a long tradition of American volunteer service at home and abroad. Active in China since 1993, the Peace Corps serves as a vital catalyst for Sino-American understanding. Its primary objective in China has been to provide language training for future middle school English teachers in Sichuan province, directly involving 3,500 college students a year and, indirectly, another generation of Sichuan’s children. New teacher training programs are being implemented in Guizhou this year.

The evening’s address was delivered by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger said that cooperating when possible with China was not only in the United States’ national interest, it also promoted peace and stability in Asia and the world. In brief remarks at the dinner, Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen seconded the need to solidify relations between the two countries and added that the resumption of military-to-military contacts would be beneficial to both the United States and China.

Besides providing an occasion to socialize with old and new China hands, the gala serves as a major fundraising event for the National Committee, providing a source of unrestricted funds that are particularly valuable in sustaining operations. Due to the outstanding efforts of the program’s development committee, this year’s event set a new record, netting a profit of $675,000. The National Committee extends its sincere thanks to all those who generously contributed to the success of this event.

Among those accepting honors on behalf of their respective organizations at the National Committee’s Gala Dinner were William Wiggenhorn, president of Motorola University; Terrence B. Adamson, senior vice president of the National Geographic Society; and Charles R. Baquet III, acting director of the Peace Corps.
It is hard to imagine how one can have peace on the Korean peninsula, how we can deal with the problem of proliferation, or how one conceives stability in Asia without a cooperative relationship between China and the United States.

“A cold war between China and the United States would radicalize all the rest of Asia. It is a classic no-win situation in which our policy would lose flexibility. China’s progress would be hampered. Everybody’s temptations would be whetted. And at the end of it how would one define victory? And how would one define success? This is the challenge before us.

“We should, wherever possible, foster cooperation. This is not just in our own national interest but in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. In this sense, U.S.-China relations, precisely because the backgrounds are so different and precisely because it is so easy to misperceive each other, are a good test for us.

“We now live in a world in which we have no clearcut enemy, in which we have to conduct a global foreign policy, in which there is no end to our challenges, where every solution is an admissions ticket for another set of problems. And so it isn’t just a question of Sino-American relations. The ultimate challenge is that it is a test of ourselves.”
It wasn’t a re-enactment of the 1987 film “Planes, Trains and Automobiles,” but it often seemed like it as National Committee program associate Marilyn Beach escorted a delegation of six municipal transportation officials from Taiwan on a tour of the American west coast in mid-September. During the 14-day program, delegation members seized every opportunity en route to briefings and social functions to experience American public transportation, riding on buses, subways, ferries, trains and trolleys. Of equal interest were stop signs, hazard lights, exhaust attachments, wheelchair lifts on public buses and other ancillary components of modern transportation systems.

Municipal leaders and urban planners throughout the world face the challenge of developing and maintaining an efficient transportation system. With highly concentrated populations in metropolitan areas, traffic congestion and air quality issues, the United States and Taiwan share a number of concerns related to transportation planning and development. Initiating a dialogue on these topics and best practices in both the American and Taiwanese contexts was one of the major objectives of this program.

The group’s itinerary included stops in southern California, Portland, and Seattle, where participants met with representatives of municipal and state governments, regional transportation authorities, research centers and citizen groups. The delegation members had opportunities to learn about successes and mistakes in American transportation programs and to exchange information about total emissions control, mass transit systems, subsidies for alternative energy research, government regulations on vehicular use and public education programs.

The group as a whole had a strong technical background and challenged their American counterparts with excellent questions. In almost all meetings, the American hosts also asked many questions of their guests from Taiwan, to the extent that several of the Americans felt that that they learned more about Taiwan in the meeting than the delegation learned about the United States.

In summing up the impressions of the delegation members, Richard C.L. Chen, president of the Taipei Rapid Transit Corporation, said “We observed, with admiration, the tremendous effort and investment the U.S. government and the American people have made in energy conservation, air pollution prevention, environmental protection and public transport development. We also were impressed by the active and extensive participation of civic organizations and local residents in community affairs and in government policy formation. Such a mechanism provides a channel for members of non-governmental groups to reach consensus and form a driving force in promotion of public interests and common welfare.”

This project was funded by a grant from the United States Information Agency to the National Committee. The American Institute in Taiwan provided valuable assistance in selecting participants and identifying the delegation’s primary interest areas.

HOSTS NEEDED!

Interested in hearing firsthand about daily life in a Chinese family, the effect of economic reform on ordinary citizens, or how the Chinese view the United States and the world? The National Committee is looking for families interested in opening their homes to members of our delegations for a brief get-together, a meal or an overnight stay. Delegation participants consistently cite these home visits as a highlight of their travel to the United States.

For those interested in more sustained interaction, host families are particularly needed during our Scholar Orientation Program’s (SOP) stays in Washington, D.C. In this program, a Chinese guest (generally a scholar at the end of his/her academic term in the United States) stays several nights with the host family. Daytime hours are spent attending briefings and meetings with the rest of the delegation and evenings with the host families.

If you are interested in being a host family (for the SOP or something shorter), please contact Shenyu Belsky at the National Committee (sbelsky@ncuscr.org or 212-645-9677). P.S. We define family very broadly: singles and non-traditional families are welcome.
defense, keyed in part to China’s own actions. We should continue to press Beijing publicly and privately on human rights and democracy, the issues of Tibet, the rule of law. We should strongly support the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. In so doing we reject the rationalization that Chinese history or Asian values or “stability” justifies repression.

The fifth commandment. Thou shalt erase the phrase “strategic partnership.” To be sure, the Administration says that this is a goal, not reality. But inevitably the distinction is lost. It tags the United States as naive, complacent, overeager. It undercut domestic and congressional support for clear-eyed engagement. So let us stop using the phrase in the same breath with China and save it for our allies.

Our relationship with China blends cooperation, competition, and conflict. We should treat it with respect, reciprocity, and resolve.

The sixth commandment. Thou shalt recall that China covets America. I need not elaborate why China is crucial to American security, economic, and diplomatic concerns. But it is important, especially at times of tension, that we remember that China needs us as much as we need China.

There are obvious economic incentives. We take a third of their exports and run a $60 billion deficit. Beijing sorely needs our investment and technology. Less obvious, but equally significant, is the geopolitical factor. The Soviet threat has disappeared and China is more ambivalent about our Asian presence. But for several decades, China will bank on the United States to provide balance in a neighborhood filled with historical rivals.

Finally, of course, China must deal with us because we are the world’s superpower.

The seventh commandment. Thou shalt pursue a positive agenda. Too often the debate on China in this country dissolves to trade versus human rights, money versus morality, commerce versus conscience. The fact is that both should be pursued. Each builds on the other.

More fundamentally there is an expansive agenda of other issues where we and China can cooperate or at least pursue parallel policies. These have been addressed but receive little attention.

Let me just list some examples in staccato form. They include wrestling with challenges of regional security—Korea, South Asia, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia; tackling global problems—the environment, energy, crime, terrorism, drugs; and strengthening international institutions—the UN, WTO, APEC, regional security dialogues and arms control regimes.

We should encourage China’s active participation in global and regional organizations with a view to taming Chinese adventurist impulses through interdependence.

The Administration has been pursuing dialogue and exchanges on some of these topics. We need to work at this agenda more systematically and publicize it so as to clarify the national debate and bolster the case for engagement. To this end, there should be routine summit meetings with China in good times and bad.

The eighth commandment. Thou shalt keep thy powder dry. As we address this extensive agenda, we must also shore up indispensable foundations. We should maintain our alliances and our forward military presence. We should be prepared to use our assets if necessary, as we did near the Taiwan Strait in 1996. We should build positive relations with China’s neighbors as ends in themselves, but also to hedge against future Chinese behavior.

The ninth commandment. Thou shalt encourage freedom. Promoting democracy and human rights cannot be our only goal in China, but it must be high on the agenda. It supports our other objectives. It is necessary for domestic and congressional support. It reflects the American tradition of melding pragmatism and principles. Moreover, it serves our national security as well. A China that is more open, humane, and lawful will be less aggressive and more cooperative on the world stage.

This is not a matter of seeking arrogantly to impose our values on China. It is an appeal to China’s self-interests. A freer China would burnish its international image and its relations with the United States. A freer China is essential for future economic development in the age of information. A freer China is needed for political stability—if Beijing continues to shut off the safety valves of peaceful assembly, expression and dissent, it will sow the very chaos it fears.

The tenth commandment. Thou shalt proclaim these principles from the mountaintop. The commandments I have sketched envisage a nuanced, multilayered, strenuous, lengthy engagement with China. Domestic backing will require persistent mountaintop, presidential attention, articulation, and leadership.

...I believe a policy that embodies these ten commandments will curb both hostility and indulgence toward Beijing. If we honor these principles with steadiness and stamina, we will promote both our interests and our values, and we will preserve the support of the American people.

the subway to work because there are the same horrible traffic jams as in Guangzhou. They live in very small spaces for which they pay incredibly high rent. Hard to imagine, right? Well, people living in New York, especially young people, seek experience, career achievement, stimulation or fun. In New York, in order to have fun, you have to bear the metropolitan bustle.

"I like the working atmosphere at my internship at Time. People are so smart that I feel good just being around them! I have been rotating in different sections of the magazine, following the whole process of producing the new issue. I have done various research and fact-checking for the World section, learning how to efficiently use the library and Internet as reference resources. I also attend the Notebook section meeting everyday, which is my American culture lesson. I currently am working for the Time Online section, focusing on the Millennium Webpage Renovation Project. They are interested in my suggestions, perhaps because as a foreigner my ideas are a bit different.

"Last year's interns did an excellent job and they are really big shoes to fill. Hopefully, I can do a good job this year so that this program will continue next year. I feel a sense of responsibility since I know I represent the students of Fudan University."

Guan Wenhui, interning at CNN, reflects on some of the highlights of her stay in Atlanta.

"If the first ten days' orientation program gave me a panoramic view of American culture, then living with Molly and her family in northern Atlanta gives me a close-up of the life of ordinary Americans. With Molly's help, I have the chance to experience different parts of American culture, from the luxurious Lenox Mall to the thrift shop, from the nursing home to the kindergarten, from the family Halloween party to yard sales to open houses, from Zoo Atlanta to the Stone Mountain laser show.

"The Mid-Autumn Festival is one of the most important festivals in China, when the whole family is supposed to come together. In order to make me feel comfortable, Molly invited many friends of different nationalities to her house that day. Americans, Chinese, Romanians, Brazilians, Africans and others gathered together. We made dishes of different country styles, gazed at the big, bright moon from the deck and shared stories of our different cultures. That was one of the most unforgettable Mid-Autumn Festivals I've ever had. At that time, the wars in some parts of the world seemed so ridiculous to me since we—people of different color, race, gender, religion—were having dinner together like a big global family.

"The past two months' internship at CNN has been tremendously valuable and fruitful for me. Rotating among different sections provides me with the chance to work with producers, editors, writers, researchers and other interns. Talking with the International Professional Program (IPP) participants and Emory University students are two impressive experiences for me. All the other IPP participants are top journalists from different countries, with rich experiences. I feel encouraged to know there are so many people who devote their time and energy to journalism. Discussions with Emory University students are about journalistic ethics. Just like each paper has two sides, everything has its advantages and disadvantages.

"How time flies! I still cannot believe that there is only one month's time left! My gratitude to the National Committee and Time Warner is beyond words. I hope to learn more during the last month. And I am getting prepared to make my dream come true of being a real journalist."

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Yesterday. The National Committee's earliest exchanges with the People's Republic of China primarily focused on athletics and the arts. One such event was the National Committee sponsorship of the June-July 1974 visit of a Chinese wushu (martial arts) troupe. A rising young martial artist, eleven-year old Li Lianjie, met President Richard M. Nixon during a visit to the White House and shook hands with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger (pictured here).

Today. Dr. Kissinger left government service in 1977 and is presently chairman of Kissinger Associates International, an international consulting firm, and the America-China Society. His most recent book, published in 1999, is Years of Renewal. Li Lianjie, better known in the United States as Jet Li, is now a major Chinese movie star with nearly 30 gongfu film credits to his name. He made his U.S. film debut opposite Mel Gibson in the 1998 film "Lethal Weapon 4." The troupe's "rookie" escort, Jan Berris, has since been involved in preparation and operations for visits to the United States of more than 300 Chinese delegations and serves as the National Committee's vice president. Interpreter Tom Gold (pictured at right) is now a professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley and a recent past member of the National Committee's board of directors.
On the international front, recent events in the Balkans have had a profound effect on China's world view and, consequently, its interactions with the United States. NATO intervention in Kosovo left China’s leaders with the sense that their security environment is less stable and more uncertain; has elevated fears about possible intervention in the Taiwan Strait, Xinjiang, and Tibet; and has contributed to an already intensifying nationalism. At the same time, China's actions in the international arena, such as proliferation of weapons, also add tension to the relationship. China's rhetoric does little to improve its international image and, by limiting its flexibility, often impedes progress in solving problems.

As a starting point, conference participants identified the following pragmatic actions as means of stabilizing Sino-American interactions. While these recommendations could be implemented over the course of the next 18-24 months, it was hoped they also would have long-term benefits. Among them were the following:

- Address the immediate and long-term issues related to the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade and damage to U.S. Embassy and consular property in China, including compensation for damages, differing views on sovereignty and humanitarian intervention, and crisis management.
- Maintain balance in dealing with Taiwan by adhering to the three Communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act and by forcefully reiterating U.S. opposition to any unilateral destabilizing departure from the status quo by either Taiwan or the PRC.
- Facilitate China's entry into the WTO, recognizing that WTO accession is both an essential step for China and a net gain for the United States.
- Resume high-level contacts and exchanges, including military-to-military discussions, in order to create open channels for ongoing, systematic reviews of relevant issues and set realistic expectations for these dialogues.

Participants made several other recommendations intended to place U.S.-China relations on a more solid footing for the longer term, including the following proposals:

- Clarify U.S. strategic goals for the region, particularly regarding China, so that overtures toward China may be considered in light of their impact on this country’s regional objectives and alliances.
- Assure funding for rule of law initiatives, which help to spur the growth of civil society, increase transparency and potentially create an environment conducive to enhanced political rights.
- Continue raising human rights issues with China and use new partnerships to address these issues.
- Continue seeking ways to engage the Chinese in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama and to temper policies in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

Support for this conference was provided by the Smith Richardson Foundation and the Henry Luce Foundation. The conference report is available from the National Committee in English or Chinese (e-mail: aphelan@ncuscr.org) and is also posted on the National Committee website (www.ncuscr.org).
By the time I turn 80, I’ll just be hitting my stride..."

So announced the invitation to the recent celebration of the 80th birthday of Robert A. Scalapino, Director Emeritus of the National Committee, Professor Emeritus of the University of California, Berkeley and internationally recognized expert on U.S.-Asia policy. The words brought smiles to those familiar with Bob Scalapino’s typically chock-full schedule of traveling, lecturing and writing, many of whom experience jet-lag just contemplating his itineraries.

If 80 appears to be a significant number, it is dwarfed when compared with the number of publications Bob has penned, the number of students counseled, the number of miles traveled and the number of hours offered in service to organizations involved in Asian studies, including the National Committee. He was one of the Committee’s founders and served as the first chairman of its board of directors (1966-1968). When Bob retired from the Board in 1993—after 27 years of service—his fellow directors passed a resolution of appreciation, that noted

The October 27 celebration took place at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, drawing guests from all over the world. The University of California, Berkeley, where Bob has been a member of the faculty since 1949, has announced plans to name a portion of its new East Asian Library and Studies Center in his honor.

**New Board Members**

Michael Armacost—president, Brookings Institution; former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs; former Ambassador to Japan and to the Philippines.
Andrew Card—vice president for corporate affairs, General Motors; former Secretary of Transportation.
Gary Dirks—group vice president, regions and policies and president, BP Amoco China.

William Frenzel—guest scholar, Brookings Institution; former Member, U.S. Congress (R-Minn.).
Lee Hamilton—chairman, Woodrow Wilson Center; former Member, U.S. Congress (D-Ind.).
Elizabeth J. Perry—professor of government and director of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University.
James Sasser—former Ambassador to the People’s Republic of China; former U.S. Senator (D-Tenn.).
Peter Wolff—executive advisor to the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Time Warner Inc.

(Another) Scalapino Milestone

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“Bob’s dedication to the National Committee is perhaps best exemplified by the time he flew all night to attend a National Committee meeting, arrived at the conference center late at night when it had been locked up, and, legend has it, was scaling fences in the darkness. Even more remarkably, he was cleanly shaven and awake early the next morning!”

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**Passings**

The National Committee notes with sadness the recent deaths of several members.

Philip M. Klutznik was best known for his real estate development, philanthropy, involvement in Jewish communal affairs, and for having served as Secretary of Commerce under President Jimmy Carter. He was also very interested in Asia, as evidenced by the 15 years he served on the National Committee Board of Directors, from 1972 to 1987. He was always a wise advisor to the staff and board, a tireless fundraiser, and a gracious host to senior Chinese delegations visiting Chicago.

Benjamin Schwartz died on November 15, just short of his 93rd birthday. Though he retired from the faculty of Harvard University in 1987, he continued to be a vital presence, writing, publishing, discussing, etc. until the very end. Elizabeth Perry, director of Fairbank Center, said in The Harvard University Gazette, “He had an enormous impact on the field of Chinese studies, being one of the first scholars to demonstrate that Chinese Communism was not simply a carbon copy of Soviet Communism, but had its own historical roots and contemporary practices.”

Tang Tsou was one of America’s foremost authorities on modern China. Born in Guangzhou, he arrived in the United States in 1941 and began his long-time association with the University of Chicago: first as a graduate student, up through the academic ranks, and finally retiring in 1988 as the Homer J. Livingston Professor in Political Science. The National Committee appreciated his contributions as a member of the Board of Directors (1974-1987) and, after his board tenure ended, recognized his service and stature with the title Director Emeritus. He was a valued advisor, often sending incisive, probing notes in his distinctive handwriting that were always welcome for their thoughtful insights and comments.
The National Committee took part in two events related to the New York visit of Mrs. Anson Chan, Chief Secretary for Administration of the Hong Kong SAR. A small briefing was convened with a limited number of National Committee members. The informal, roundtable format afforded them an opportunity to have in-depth discussions of political, business and financial matters with Mrs. Chan. The Chief Secretary also addressed a larger audience at a business luncheon later that day organized by the Hong Kong Trade Development Council and the Hong Kong Economic & Trade Office, to which the National Committee lent its support.

July 13, 1999
Capitol Hill Briefing

National Committee President John L. Holden moderated a briefing for an overflow audience of policymakers, press and China observers at a Capitol Hill event on July 13. Speakers Michael Armacost (The Brookings Institution), Douglas Paal (Asia Pacific Policy Center) and Harry Harding (George Washington University) shared their insights on the immediate future of U.S.-China relations, following their recent meetings with senior Chinese officials. While the three panelists agreed that the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade had seriously disrupted relations between the two countries, they sensed that Chinese leaders were still committed to a cooperative relationship with the United States. They also addressed questions on a range of topics, including Taiwan’s recent pronouncement on state-to-state relations, which they felt would undoubtedly complicate U.S.-China ties. The briefing was co-sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Asia Program and was hosted by U.S. Representatives Doug Bereuter and Tom Lantos.

September 23, 1999
Sir Donald Tsang
Financial Secretary of the Hong Kong SAR

One year after the Hong Kong government’s unprecedented intervention in the stock exchange, Financial Secretary Donald Tsang addressed a New York audience of National Committee members, businessmen, economists and journalists on the status of Hong Kong’s economy. Sir Donald pointed to a second quarter growth of 0.7 percent—the first positive GDP growth figures in more than two years—as a sign that Hong Kong was recovering from the Asian financial crisis. He also said the government plans to dispose of the bulk of the shares it purchased on the stock exchange in August 1998, reducing its holdings to an amount equal to about 5 percent of the assets of its Exchange Fund. This event was co-sponsored by the National Committee and the Hong Kong Economic & Trade Office.

October 28, 1999
China on the World Stage:
Re-Examining Expectations

The National Committee, the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) and China Online co-sponsored a program at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. to examine China’s experience to date as a participant in the international community. Participants addressed the roles China has played in such international institutions as the United Nations, the World Bank and APEC, as well as its track record in implementing international agreements. Speakers included Senator Chuck Hagel; Ambassador William Bodde, first executive director of the APEC Forum; Pieter Bottelier, an international economist formerly with the World Bank; Prof. Deborah Brautigam, American University; Prof. Cheryl Brown, University of North Carolina; David Gries, Asian Strategies Group; Dr. Edward Luck, Center for the Study of International Organizations; and Daniel Rosen, author of Behind the Closed Door: Foreign Enterprises in the Chinese Marketplace.
A positive and satisfying aspect of the National Committee’s work is its people-to-people focus, generally connected with its many exchange projects. The Committee recently was involved in a sadder mission, but one that also resulted in helping people in China and the United States better understand one another.

In October a Chinese student in Houston, Hu Lu, was murdered. A family friend—concerned that the distraught parents were about to arrive in America with limited financial resources, no friends or acquaintances to rely on, and that apparently little was being done by the authorities to solve the case—called the National Committee after discovering the organization through the Internet. Committee staff, in turn, contacted William Cunningham, a longtime member who lives in Houston. Within days, contacts he made with the Mayor, various city council members, and the press began to bear fruit. The resulting publicity and raised awareness about the family’s plight led to the arrest of a suspect, assistance to the family through a victim’s relief fund, and an outpouring of local sympathy that deeply touched Hu’s family. They received countless letters of condolences (many including checks) and apologies that the case did not at first draw more attention.

Meanwhile, the National Committee also alerted Voice of America about the situation, which aired a report in Mandarin that included news of the arrest, an interview with Houston’s chief of police and expressions of sympathy from the community. Reporting on this dramatic turnaround helped to counter the initial negative publicity in China about the case.

By the time her parents returned to China they had a different perspective on America. “One or two criminals do not represent the United States; now we know that the American people are very friendly... The cards (of condolence) gave us so much relief during these extremely sad days. We will remember them forever.”

The National Committee extends its sympathy to Hu Lu’s family and its gratitude to those in Houston who provided assistance.