The National Committee on United States-China Relations

USTR Robert Zoellick Gives Keynote at Annual Meeting, continued from page 2

Malpass, is not destabilizing the Chinese economy and that others’ concern over inflation is “somewhat overstated.” Added Malpass: “My expectation is that there will continue to be massive non-performing loans, and that the system will continue to be stable.”

On China’s pegged exchange rate, he suggested that changing the yuan/dollar exchange rate would pose difficulties for both the United States and China – to a degree that neither side will actually materially change the exchange rate.

He applauded China’s recent efforts that allow foreign banks, foreign investment banks, and other types of institutions to do business directly in China. Such liberalization in the financial system encourages China’s private sector to flourish, as it can be used to bypass the state-owned banking system.

Malpass concluded his remarks with a review of where he thought current trends were heading: “Fast GDP growth, higher interest rates, strong non-urban consumption growth, financial market innovation, liberalization of capital outflows, and more regulatory constraints on fixed investment. I expect the currency to remain relatively stable and trade tensions to increase a bit as the U.S. continues to run a large bilateral trade deficit with China.”

Following the panelists’ remarks, John L. Holden, National Committee president, moderated a lively discussion that engaged all three panelists and the audience.
Reflections on My Tenure

Stepping down after nearly seven years in the post, National Committee president John Holden notes that the Committee’s work remains as vital as ever

The National Committee has, for nearly four decades, played important roles in helping build bridges of understanding between the United States and China, and it has been an honor to have been part of its work. In this, my last message in NOTES, I would like to offer brief observations on some of the people, events, and issues that I have encountered during my tenure as president.

We have been extremely fortunate over the years that so many talented and engaging people have been willing to work so hard for the Committee. Space does not permit me to mention them all, but I must single out vice presidents Jan Berris and Ros Daly. Jan has been with us since 1971; what is most remarkable about her is not the longevity of her service or the legions of people she knows, but the passion, integrity, and dynamism she brings to her work day in and day out. Jan is a marvelous resource and key to the success of the Committee’s programs. Since 1979, Ros Daly has worked behind the scenes with great dedication to the myriad administrative and financial tasks that help the organization accomplish so much with so little. Ros’s contributions in the “boiler room” of the organization earn her the moniker “Unsung Heroine of the National Committee.” It has been a delight working with Jan and Ros, and with the other extremely dedicated members of the Committee team.

The National Committee could not have achieved what it has without the support of so many others: Barber Conable and Carla Hills, Committee chairs during my tenure, and our outstanding cast of directors, members, and friends who have helped us in so many ways. We’ve also been fortunate to have had the support of many American corporations far-sighted enough to understand the value of our work, and of the U.S. government agencies that have appreciated how the Committee can help them achieve their programmatic goals. And we are grateful to the foundations – Ford, Freeman, Luce, and Starr, in particular – whose ongoing unrestricted and project funding has been so important.

Furthermore, Sino-American relations would not have advanced to where they are today without the efforts of a great many talented and perceptive Chinese policymakers, educators, and analysts; it has been my privilege to have worked with many of them.

As we look ahead, I am confident that National Committee initiatives such as the Student Leaders Exchange (see page 8), the Young Leaders Forum (see page 12), the Teachers Exchange Program (see page 19), and the newly announced Public Intellectuals Program (see our website) will enable younger generations of Americans and Chinese to find new ways of building mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

Productive U.S.-China relations can never be taken for granted. Wise leadership in both countries is required to prevent unexpected events, such as the United States’ mistaken bombing of China’s Belgrade embassy and the collision of a Chinese jet fighter with an American reconnaissance aircraft off Hainan Island, from spiraling out of control. A review of the past four decades of Sino-American interaction leads an optimist like me to claim that the relationship is robust enough (and leadership good enough) to withstand major shocks; another observer might say, however, that it will only be a matter of time before an event is so big – or is handled so poorly – that a crisis becomes a disaster.

But what concerns me today is not the likelihood of a single event precipitating disaster in U.S.-China relations; instead, it is the possibility of unresolved issues accumulating in number and intensity to the point that they reach a critical mass and set off a chain reaction. From an American perspective, the two countries need to make significant progress on such sensitive matters as North Korean nuclear weapons, China’s growing trade surplus with the United States, and related questions such as the Chinese currency’s pegged exchange rate and intellectual property rights violations. Although not a bilateral issue, growing tensions in Japan-China and cross-Strait relations is also a matter of concern to the United States.

Whether China and America can continue to maintain a successful relationship – one that identifies and addresses mutual interests and resolves or finesse competing ones – is a question that will have major bearing on the prospects for world peace and prosperity this century. Leaders in China and the United States, from both inside and outside of government, must find ways to make progress on the above matters so that the overall calculus of U.S.-China relations remains positive. The National Committee on U.S.-China Relations’ unique capabilities ensure that it will continue to make important contributions toward this end. In the years ahead, although I will no longer be involved as president, I look forward to doing what I can to help.
Members’ Bookshelf

Below is just a partial listing of the many books National Committee members have authored over the past year. For an expanded Members’ Bookshelf going back to 2000, please visit our website. Committee members who have additions to the web listings and/or submissions for the next edition of NOTES may contact Jonathan Lowet (jlowet@nuscon.org).

Business / Economics


Dan Rosen and Nick Landy, Prospect for a U.S.-Taiwan Free Trade Agreement (Institute for International Economics, 2004).


Chinese History


Social Sciences


Misc.


David R. Malpass, senior managing director and chief economist at Bear Stearns & Co.

Professor Lieberthal focused on political reform in China and the initiatives that leaders have begun or are likely to undertake. None of these initiatives, Lieberthal asserted, include movement toward a multi-party system, at least not for the next few decades. China’s leaders will opt instead to look for ways to make the current government and party more efficient, transparent, and responsive to the needs of the people.

Lieberthal remarked that at present, all suggested reforms are aimed at reducing or removing the political obstacles to continued economic growth. The leadership “clearly and explicitly opts for limited reform, carefully phasing in, very mindful of related underlying risks, very much the dangers of creating a momentum that then gets out of hand, and that focuses on changing only those things necessary to change in order to sustain overall economic growth.”

USTR Robert Zoellick Gives Keynote at Annual Meeting

Panel of experts assesses China’s recent political and economic developments

U.S. Trade Representative Robert B. Zoellick and a panel of distinguished China specialists addressed nearly 200 National Committee members and invited guests at the annual Members Meeting – fortuitously timed for November 10, between the 2004 U.S. Presidential elections and the APEC Leaders Summit – to focus on developing and raising some of the important issues in the U.S.-China relationship and to assess recent political and economic developments in China.

Ambassador Zoellick (who has since become Deputy Secretary of State) began his off-the-record remarks by sharing some of the insights from his personal experiences of working with China and then focusing on U.S.-China political and economic relations. He generously answered questions from an audience clearly lucidated by what he had to say. Also catching the audience’s attention was the panel of China specialists at the meeting.

• Kenneth Lieberthal, visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, and former assistant to the President and senior director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council;


Li suggested that the era of strongman politics in China is over and that collective leadership is the new norm. As evidence, he pointed out that each of the five most important political bodies in China has its top two positions filled by one leader from the Hu-Wen coalition and one from a Jiang-Zeng Qinghong coalition, in essence “creating a situation of checks and balances.”

Li argued that Hu Jintao has quickly sensed that his mandate is to fix the serious problems caused by Jiang’s leadership. He has launched a set of “New Deal” policies that seek more balanced regional economic development, show a heightened concern for social justice, and suggest an era of greater political transparency and institutionalization – all areas that his predecessor had ignored or, worse, thwarted.

In sum, Li was cautiously optimistic that the strategic moves of the Hu-Wen team to date bode well for the future. “Hopefully,” he said, “we will not only be capable enough to constructively respond to the daunting challenges at home, but also humble enough to make China a cooperative and responsible member of the international community.”

Also capturing the audience’s attention was the U.S. T rade Representative.

Robert Zoellick, then U.S. Trade Representative. Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of State.

This type of approach, Lieberthal pointed out, makes a bold assumption, that the Chinese population will be satisfied with a non-representative government as long as it seems to define problems realistically and to attack them effectively.

Professor Li discussed China’s leadership transition; the skills of Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, and China’s other new leaders; and the major policy changes under the Hu administration. He believes that, in two short years as party secretary, Hu Jintao has capably moved out from under Jiang Zemin’s shadow and has demonstrated his political wisdom and skill, often by “making major policy moves that deliberately confuse some potential critics, both at home and abroad.” Calling the Hu-Wen team “the most capable leadership PRC history,” he suggested that it is the Western media’s analysis of the China’s leadership, and not the leadership itself, that has the greater shortcomings.

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Malpass has given his views on the current state of the Chinese economy, its banking system and financial markets, and its fixed exchange rate. He began by characterizing China’s economic growth as very fast, but stable, rejecting the reports of some Western observers who believe China is heading toward a hard landing; instead, he predicted that the Chinese economy will continue growing at a brisk pace.

Malpass suggested that China’s banking system, with its non-performing
Six months later, I can no longer remember whether we visited the Ming Tombs. It says, “O, China, I think that’s where you’re treating your prisoners well.” How about proving it to us by giving us this kind of information on our requests.

Now, obviously nothing like this could happen unless people at the top were complicit. It is a fantastic idea for me to pursue Chinese government officials about this. And that happens a fair amount, I’m afraid. We have a passion for political intervention. And that happens a fair amount. In my opinion, we spend a quite a bit of time making prison reports – that we try to stick into lists of prisoners of special interest to us, putting together a prisoner list. We certainly look for good geographic representation. And that happens a fair amount. We have a passion for seeking good geographic representation. And that happens a fair amount. Sometimes a case can be localized to a particular area, but mostly it’s small sentences. Fifteen years ago this was unheard of, but now it is commonplace. I collect these things that other people don’t collect. I don’t know why they don’t collect these things.

NG: With all these developments in China’s human rights arena, what are the implications, if any, for U.S.-China relations?

JK: The American people are fascinated with China’s emergence as a 21st century great power, and see its people’s struggle for human rights as an essential part of that story. Improvements in the area of human rights, indications of a growing respect for rule of law, will always find a welcome audience in the U.S., among the people as a whole and certainly among these elected representatives. Conversely, stories about setbacks in the area of legal reform and serious abuses of human rights continue to undermine the potential for U.S.-China relations in the early part of the new century.
An Interview with 2004 MacArthur Fellow John Kamm

Cited for designing and implementing “an original approach to freeing prisoners of conscience in China through human rights advocacy,” National Committee Director John Kamm was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship (a.k.a. “Genius Award”) in 2004. The National Committee’s Jonathan Lourie sat down with Mr. Kamm to discuss the award, his track record, and recent developments in the Chinese human rights arena.

National Committee: Congratulations on being selected as one of the 2004 MacArthur Fellows. What impact has the award had upon your work?

John Kamm: There have been positive reactions all around. There have been nice words of congratulations spoken. There has been that sort of approbation of the award. The approach we have taken is a valid approach in the area of human rights. I have gotten very good feedback both from the NGO community and from various governments, including the Chinese government. I guess it’s been a kind of validation, not that we needed it, but it is still nice.

NC: How do you describe the approach that Dui Hua, the foundation you’ve created, has taken?

JK: ECOSOC’s NGO Committee approved us in January, and the full Council approved us on February 7. China sits on both the 19-member NGO Committee and the Council, which among other things oversees the Human Rights Commission.

It is very rare for China to raise no objections to granting “Special Consultative Status” to an NGO working on China’s human rights situation. This status will allow Dui Hua to attend UN meetings, make statements, and submit reports.

NC: What do you attribute this change to?

JK: It’s very hard to say. In this particular case, I have been having a 15-year conversation with Chinese officials. It goes something like this: “Here I am, asking you about 100 people and trying to get you to tell me who has been released, and who has had a sentence reduction. Certainly, we will continue this way. But why don’t we also try another way?” That is, you tell me about, say, sentence reductions you’ve carried out. Just tell me about it.”

Of course, when they do tell me about reductions, what happens is that they often choose political prisoners who are serving very long terms. One of the guys we exchanged in 1994, and he is serving a very long sentence for using superstitious ideas to commit counter-revolutionary acts. They disclosed his existence and said that he is being a sentence reduction. Now, that to me is a significant change in the way they have responded to the international community.

NC: After 15 years of engaging the Chinese on this issue, that must be incredibly exciting and gratifying...

much fun to go home. I remember the way we laughed when we got lost together on a couple of occasions, the way we hunted for a perfect pair of shoes for her, the way she ran off to get a water bottle for the dogs. I think it was a crafty asking her to do that way, but I was definitely motivate my name into a stone shop.

In Beijing, we waited in line for 45 minutes to see Chairman Mao’s Mausoleum. I was astonished to see hundreds of Chinese believers making a religious pilgrimage, widespread children bearing flags and parents carrying flowers in their arms in order to leave near someone I had always thought of as an ultimate evil tyrant. I remember the conversation I had with Hannah Ma, a Chinese-American student in our group whose parents lived in China through the Cultural Revolution, and Jon Loret, our group leader who lived in Beijing at the time of the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989. I was fascinated by the insight I gained from the perspectives and apprehensive by the fact that the Chinese government has not only changed, but it has also come a long way. When I tell down at the Beijing roller disco (awesome final-night-in-China activity!), before I could even prop myself up, a young Chinese woman held out her hand, her smile glowing brighter than her white sweater. We may have exchanged conversation from both understood, but we skated hand-in-hand for fifteen minutes. I can hear your laughter blurring with hers when we were joined by a Chinese man, a far better skater than any of us, who took my other hand and pulled us behind us as we moved agleam through the crowds. I can still feel the adrenaline rush as I moved, that shared thrill that transcended any language barrier.

Six months later, I have a better sense of how my trip to China has changed me. I’m more adventurous, more independent. Before the trip, I ordered a dozen delicacies I had no name for. I’m more eager to embrace new experiences. Before the trip, I was a little bit afraid of China. I had no particular interest in it above my curiosity about all other nations, now my head turns whenever I hear about China. After spending time in a nation where everyone stared at me for being white, where I was often mistaken for some foreigner, I’m no longer afraid to do things on my own.

Traveling to China has also given me a completely different outlook on America and my life here. When I’ve traveled to different countries, I’ve noticed at times how different political, economic, and social parameters shape the American home through new eyes. I can now truly appreciate my lifestyle and my nation. I realize how my problems can be and how much bigger the world is. It is at the same time that I’ve stopped napping through things or to improve. My American, I’ve stared at me for being white, where I was often mistaken for a foreigner, I’m no longer afraid to do things on my own.

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As reported in an earlier issue of NOTES, the National Committee is part of a consortium that includes the United States Department of Labor for a five-year project on labor law in China. Founded in 1998, the U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project is provided by the United States Department of Labor under a cooperative agreement with the Chinese Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MOLSS). The National Committee’s American partners are Worldwide Strategies, Inc., and the Asia Foundation; our component of the project focuses on enhancing China’s capacity to develop labor laws and regulations based on internationally recognized “worker’s rights” and to enable those charged with implementation and enforcement of those laws and regulations to operate more effectively.

In May 2004, the project’s initial programmatic activity took place—a three-day workshop in Qingdao that brought a team of top American labor inspection specialists together with senior government representatives from MOLSS and the State Council, directors of key provincial and municipal labor inspectorates, labor lawyers, and academics to discuss and comment on a draft of new labor inspection regulations. The American team consisted of John Fraser, former deputy assistant secretary for employment standards at the U.S. Department of Labor and former head of the Department’s Wage and Hour Division for 11 years; Louis Vanegas, former director of the Wage and Hour District Office with over 15 years of field inspection, supervision, and training experience, now a consultant on labor compliance issues in the United States, Asia, and Latin America; and Tom Nagle, deputy labor commissioner at the California Department of Industrial Relations, who worked for many years as a field inspector at the state level and who, as a hearing officer, deals with sweatshop wage, hour, and child labor issues on a daily basis. Mary Gallagher, assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan and then a Fulbright fellow specializing in Chinese labor issues at Shanghai’s East China University of Politics and Law, helped brief the Americans and stay at the workshop as an observer.

After briefings designed to bring the U.S. team quickly up to speed on the Chinese labor conditions and labor enforcement systems, the workshop sessions focused squarely on the newly drafted regulations’ guidelines for labor inspectors throughout China that could be revised in the future. On the national level, a legal basis for the enforcement of standards in the areas of wage, hour, child labor, employer social insurance pay-in, and more.

The Americans were particularly impressed by the candor of several of the inspection chiefs in discussing their problems, and by their determination to overcome nearly overwhelming obstacles. In spite of the many differences between the two systems, the Americans commented over and over that many of the problems and issues faced by their Chinese colleagues were quite similar to ones they had faced in their own work. In the end, the significance of the Qingdao seminar went far beyond that of a simple opportunity to make a few comments on a set of draft regulations. Responding to questions about economies, Ambassador Randt identified textile safeguards as a strong Chinese concern and intellectual property rights and trade distribution rights as priority items on the U.S. agenda. On the political/security front, he gave a strong endorsement to the multilateral approach being pursued by the Bush administration with respect to North Korea. An additional benefit of the six-party talks, the Ambassador noted, was the engagement of the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia in discussion of mutual security concerns, a dialogue that has developed a vitality of its own. ■
China’s Recent Developments: A U.S. Judge’s Perspective

Helen Ginger Berrigan, Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans, was visiting China for the first time as part of a National Committee Judicial Workshop. In the years since, Judge Berrigan has opened her home and her heart to visiting Chinese judges and others interested in rule of law issues. Last September she took time during a business trip to China with her husband to give a series of lectures in Beijing and Hong Kong arranged by the National Committee with the assistance of Chris Liu, editor-in-chief of the American Law Review (a Chinese periodical dedicated to introducing the evolution and current developments in American law to readers in China), and of the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (HKTGO). In this piece, adapted from a longer article Judge Berrigan wrote for the National Committee, she reflects on some of the meetings and other things she has seen and learned in China since her prior visit.

In the six years I had been away, China had changed...big time.

At least that’s what I deduced from making a return visit to Beijing, even before I came upon evidence of a booming economy: new skyscrapers, new fashions, new advertisements, and new traffic jams.

Less noticeable to the average return visitor is that China has also expanded its role of law. This fact became apparent to me from the several meetings I had with judges, attorneys, and law students. Their questions and their comments simply had a different tone from the ones of 1998.

In Beijing, I met with the members of the Beijing criminal defense bar who had plans to travel to the United States three months later. We talked of the American judge’s role in pre-trial criminal proceedings, and in dealing with search warrants, confidential sources, and bail. They asked peremptive questions that showed a different level of thinking than we encountered in our 1998 workshop.

“How can a judge know if the police officer is telling the truth in his affidavit?”

If a search warrant is issued for a house, does that authorize searching the people who happen to be there? At the suggestion of Chris Lin, a practicing lawyer and adjunct law professor at the China University of New York (CUNY) and China who very graciously accompanied me and helped out when I needed interpreting, I also met with members of the Deheng Law Offices, an international firm primarily engaged in commercial law, but with a white-collar crime section as well. The firm’s founder and managing partner Ms. Wang Lian, who formerly served as aходим judge, accompanied her by the chairman and several of the students, all of whom had direct experience either as practicing lawyers themselves, including the role of being criminally charged for aggressive representation of their clients.

The National Committee arranged for me to lecture at Peking University Law School. Prior to the lecture, I met with the law school dean and several of the students, all of whom spoke English and were full of questions about the American legal system. The topic for the lecture, by request, was the criminal defense of death penalty cases. Around seventy students stayed for two hours of give-and-take dialogue. They were very enthusiastic and, like the Beijing lawyers, asked great questions: “Since there are so many lawyers in America, and it takes 12 people to vote unanimously for death, how come so many people are sentenced to death?”

“If a judge is telling the truth in his affidavit?”

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While in Beijing, I met with the leaders of the National Committee, including Chris Liu, who also served as the National Committee’s head judge. He introduced me to a group of young Chinese judges and law students who were preparing to travel to the United States to study American law. I was struck by their enthusiasm and their questions about how American judges and lawyers handle cases in court. They asked me about the American legal system, the role of the judge, and the rights of the accused. I explained that in American law, the judge is an impartial decision-maker who is responsible for ensuring that the defendant’s rights are protected at all times. I also discussed the importance of the adversarial system in American law, where the judge’s role is to facilitate the presentation of evidence by both the prosecution and the defense.

The biggest high in Beijing was reuniting with some of the people I had met during my 1998 trip. Mr. Zhang was the last down the ramp and called back, “Next year, Beijing!”

Well, it was more like nearly five years later, but still worth the wait. Vice Minister Zhang greeted me with the same enthusiastic hug that he had used to bid me farewell at the Beijing airport. I tried using the Chinese I had been studying and Minister Zhang patiently listened — and smiled — through my haphazard intonations. It was clear from speaking with him that Minister Zhang now has a very significant position in China’s rule of law.

Since the publication of our last issue of TOJES, the Committee has been host to several delegations from China, as well as sending several there. Below are photographs of two groups that came to the United States in the last two months of 2004. More Exchanges

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More Exchanges
The National Committee launched the Young Leaders Forum (YLF) in 2002 as a way of building professional and personal bridges between the next generation of leaders from the United States and China. The venue for the annual four-day Forum alternates between the United States and China, and membership lasts for a minimum of two years, allowing each YLF attendee to attend a conference in each country. At the third annual Forum in October, 31 Young Leaders convened in Sedona, Arizona, to meet the YLF’s China Director, Jin Luo, a second-time participant and a Hong Kong-based journalist working for The Financial Times, and the event.

The group met has accomplished enough to intimidate anyone, but somehow it felt warm and inclusive. Within an hour with the Young Leaders, I was discussing the loss of bone density during space travel with an American astronaut, talking about six-months North Korea talks with a colonel in the PLA, discussing anti-corruption legislation with a Peking University professor, chatting about the development of China’s high-technology industry, and expressing my gratitude to them. They took me out for shows and movies. When they talked about something they never took me as an outsider. Instead, they would explain to me when I could not understand their talk and even asked about my opinions. Those daily talks not only taught me a lot of professional knowledge but also exposed me to the American culture.

Life in Atlanta

Family usually is the foundation of one’s happy life. I was lucky enough to have the nicest host family in Atlanta. I was so close to them that they have become even more confident and independent. I would never forget how sad we were when we had to say goodbye at the airport. We promised each other to stay in close touch and I miss my American family a lot.

Dr. David Ho Discusses China’s Next Steps in Battling AIDS

Speaking at a half-day public health program focusing on the next steps in China’s battle against HIV/AIDS, world-renowned scientist David D. Ho, MD, discussed the strategies necessary to reduce the stigma surrounding the disease in China.

The June 30 conference was co-sponsored by the National Committee and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and was held at New York Life’s corporate headquarters. National Committee Director of International Studies Dr. Alex Harney opened the program with a discussion of the recommendations that came out of a delegation they led to China earlier in the year for CSIS.

What is most striking, stepping out of the newsroom, I found it not only enabled me to get more opportunities to learn but also made me more confident. When I started my internship the first day I had never expected that I could meet so many nice and helpful people. Actually, the friends I made there are the kindest women in the world.

My host mother, Molly, is a journalist and she is one of the kindest women in the world. She took great care of me and showed me almost every aspect of American life as I can and welcomed me to join in most of her activities. We had dinner and even made dinner together. I helped her with a Halloween party, Thanksgiving dinner, and a silent auction for donation. We made cakes for friends’ birthdays and decorated the Christmas tree together. She took me out for shopping, to churches on weekends, and to attend the activities of the Atlanta Press Club, a fantastic association made up of many brilliant journalists, where I got the chance to hear Colin Powell speak. We even went to vote together on Election Day, where I witnessed the whole process of voting.

Staying with Molly really enriched my life experiences and I would never forget how sad we were when we had to say goodbye at the airport. We promised each other to stay in close touch and I miss my American family a lot.

Back to China

I was very glad to see my folks and friends in China again. Although most of them feel I remain the same as before, I myself know clearly that I have changed to be more mature and independent. Now I realize that the world is so big and I want to see more of it. Now I have a clear idea of what I am going to do in the future so I don’t have any time to waste. I have become more confident and determined so I won’t be afraid of any difficulty ahead.

This was followed by a panel that included Linda Dritterath, Vice President, Global Health Policy, Merck & Co., Inc.; Dr. Kevin Frost, Vice President, and Mr. Walter Clark, Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. They spoke about innovative next steps in the fight against AIDS, highlighting some of the models that governments, private companies, and foundations have used in various parts of the world, and discussed their potential applicability for China.

With organizations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation donating several million dollars for AIDS work in this country, China these days, one of the panelists confirmed that it is a lack of capacity—not money—that now causes the greatest bottleneck in China’s response to AIDS.

In his keynote address, Dr. Ho, who heads up the China AIDS Initiative (CAI) as well as the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center that coordinates it, described both his organization’s ambitious research agenda and public education efforts. After discussing the testing, treatment, and care programs in Henan, Yunnan, and other affected provinces set up by CAI, Dr. Ho proudly showed stills from two recent public service announcements that CAI has had a hand in creating, aimed at reducing the stigma of AIDS in China. In one, viewers see former President Bill Clinton shaking hands with a Chinese AIDS patient; in the other, we see former President George W. Bush and Chinese basketball superstars Yao Ming and Magic Johnson playing basketball together, embraced and sharing a meal. Dr. Ho hopes that these ads will change the way ordinary Chinese look at HIV/AIDS. ■
Orientation

The day finally came to depart for America. I still clearly remember the non-stop phone calls from my folks the night before the departure. Suddenly I realized that I was going to start a new journey, which would hopefully be the turning point in my life. As my dad said, “The girl is going to meet the world.” On September 7, I boarded the plane for Atlanta with an excitement, and cherish every minute learning about American history and culture, followed by a three-day wrap-up session in Washington. The internship began with a 14-day orientation to CNN. I had expected some formal arrangements for my internship and was always showing his great concern with me. From him I did not only learn a lot about journalism but also about life, which is more important.

After the two weeks’ orientation trip, we were sent to different Time Warner divisions for our internship. I felt excited as well as afraid because I knew from then on I would have to face everything alone in Atlanta. However, I was looking forward to my independent life. I said goodbye to my fellow interns and boarded the plane for Atlanta with an eagerness for the new experience. I will never forget the first day I went to CNN. I had expected some difficulties. However, everything went so smoothly that I could not believe my luck. I was treated with enormous respect from the director of the Shanghai Art Gallery and learning about land use legislation in California from the lawyer that helped draft it. These personal exchanges are a hallmark of the “Inside Africa.”

too, are the more formal discussions and presentations structured around a particular theme, which changes each year. The latest meeting, held at L’Auberge de Sedona, an award-winning hotel on the banks of Oak Creek about two hours north of Phoenix, focused on communication. The topic resonated with Jin Luo, a director at the Bank of China, the country’s central bank, and a 2004 YLF Fellow. “I was surprised by how little these Americans knew about China,” she told me over the telephone from Beijing. “You can imagine for the largest population of America, they must have very little or misleading information about China.” But Jin Luo, who goes by the English name, told us that the group uniquely open to deep discussions — to a depth she had not found with her fellow students from Berkeley because of TV production and included me in every procedure of the production of the show, from pulling out tapes from the CNN library to finally sitting in the control room to see the show run.

As a guest speaker with a special expertise in communication, Olympic documentaries Bud Greenspan and Nancy Bellows showed and talked their way through extra-ordinarily moving videos clips that illustrated some of the universal themes embedded by the Games. Already working as an advisor last year to the YLF, the committee, the two reminded the audience that mastering the craft of storytelling through the latest hi-tech cameras and equipment, is the key to successful communication.

Rui Chenggang, director of production, and critic and author for China Central Television (CCTV), helped launch China’s first Olympic video channel.

Vera Kuo

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Wayne Wang, managing director of the Chinese YLFers had to play to the role of Chinese diplomatic advisor, and Chinese YLFers had to play to the role of American diplomats.

IN PHOTOS

About Left:

Tan Whitefield

Rachel Glisson

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Communication

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IN PHOTOS

About Left: Tan Whitefield, Rachel Glisson, Elizabeth Gaffney, Mark Kelly, and Yong Haining (standing) talk about how technologies, new and old, change the way we communicate.

continued on page 10
But perhaps the most otherworldly part of the forum, particularly for the members living in China, was the trip to a local working ranch. Here, authentic cowboys – belts, boots, and all – helped divide the group into smaller teams. Then, one by one, they ushered the teams into a pen the size of a soccer field with a pack of cattle and gave them five minutes to herd them into a goal.

“Who is that guy?” the chief cowboy wanted to know. He had his eye on Wang Yang, better known as Orlando. Turns out, the mild-mannered Shanghai-based founder of YLFers. Stephan Fowlkes, a visual artist from New York City, said these two varying approaches to prototyping that creates curriculum packages directly on aspects of international understanding. The group was particularly impressed with the range of NGOs involved in this area and how important their work is in supplementing and supporting what is taught in the schools. Facing History and Ourselves (a non-profit organization that creates curriculum packages dealing with the Holocaust and other difficult-to-teach subjects), the Association of American Geographers, the National Geographic Society, and the Sadler Gallery at the Smithsonian are just a few of the NGOs the group visited that develop curriculum packages for educators and provide teacher training and develop standards for teaching at the K-12 level, as well as curriculum supplements in the form of CDs and freely accessible web resources. Town Hall in Los Angeles attempts to connect students, particularly those in economically underprivileged neighborhoods, with influential figures in global affairs by inviting them and their teachers to attend luncheons on international affairs and then meet privately with speakers for questions and answers and sessions. And the Peace Corps provides course books for teachers to supplement their lessons, and has set up a pen-pal program in which a class can correspond with a Peace Corps volunteer to learn about the country in which the volunteer is living.

The international schools that the delegation visited provided excellent examples of how American education is able to incorporate diverse cultures into its curricula. The schools that the delegation visited provided excellent examples of how American education is able to incorporate diverse cultures into its curricula.
A Busy Year of Education Exchanges

Education programs always constitute a significant portion of the Committee’s work, but this was especially the case after the SARS epidemic resulted in the rescheduling of two Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars from 2003 to 2004. As a result, the National Committee oversaw five education exchanges supported by the U.S. Department of Education’s International Education Programs Service in 2004. Three of these projects sent American educators to China; two brought Chinese educators to the United States. The Committee also continued running the Teachers Exchange Program, playing teachers in each country. Below are highlights of some of these programs.

Information about the other education exchanges is available on our website.

International Education Delegation to the United States

A group of 12 Chinese education officials, elementary and secondary school teachers, and school administrators came to the United States October 2-15, 2004, to examine how American students are taught about other countries and cultures. Planning the trip took a bit of ingenuity, as international understanding is not taught as a specific subject in this country; rather, as explained to the delegation members during their first morning in the United States, it permeates many aspects of the classroom and curriculum (world history, foreign language, and economics). The key difference between the two groups is that the 1974 delegation was made up of presidents from institutions that, for the most part, had East Asian and China programs, but the new group was made up of institutions that were interested in establishing such programs, as well as bringing to the campuses the USA on educational exchanges. Only two of the 2004 participants had been to China before, and one of them had not been there since 1949, when, at the age of 10, he left along with his missionary parents, for it was a voyage into the past as well as the future.

In Beijing, Xi’an, Lijiang, Kunming, and Shanghai, the American participants met with relevant officials and representatives of academic institutions, government offices, think tanks, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While the focus was on higher education, seminar participants also had the opportunity to observe a wide range of educational systems at all levels engage in discussions on issues such as education quality and cultural preservation; and explore exchange possibilities. In the time that remained, they found time to take in some cultural traditions and visit sites of historical and ethnic importance.

Follow-up, a requirement of participation, was nearly immediate. Even before the group had left China, several people were in the process of writing proposals that would link their schools in some way with one or more of the institutions the group had visited. Since then, each has set in motion processes for introducing courses on China into their curriculum, increasing the number of courses already taught, or contacting student, and/or administration exchanges.

Preventive Defense Project Visits Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing

Since 1998, the National Committee has been pleased to work with the Preventive Defense Project (PDP), a joint program of Stanford and Harvard Universities, on security issues in Northeast Asia. In late January of this year, the eighth such cooperative effort took place: a weeklong series of meetings with senior officials, military leaders, academics and businessmen in Taipei, Shanghai and Beijing. The discussions focused on the issues of cross-Strait relations, North Korea, and U.S. relations with both the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry led the ten-member American delegation.

The first stop was Taipei, where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which hosted the group, arranged an excellent – and pushed – two-day schedule, highlighted by a meeting with President Chen Shui-bian. The group was briefed by the Minister of Defense Lee Chieh, and had a series of discussions with Speaker of the House Wang Jing-ying, KMT Party Chairman Lien Chan, People First Party (PPP) Vice Chairman Chang Chia-jung and a contingent of the PPP, various Legislative Yuan members, the head of the National Security Council, ATC head Doug Paal, and representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce.

The next stop was Shanghai for a two-day conference organized by the FRC, host, the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (CFIIS). Delegation members were very pleased that former Shanghai mayor Wang Daohan was present to open the conference and to listen attentively to the concerns and messages the delegation relayed. As chairman of ARATS (Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait), Wang has been a senior advisor to Chinese presidents about cross-Strait issues. He has also been the moving force behind the CFIIS-PDP-National Committee relationship.

The delegation made full use of its one day in Beijing, meeting with Premier Wen Jiabao, Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff Xiong Guangkai, and Minister of Defense Cao Gangchuan.

The trip took place against the backdrop of a number of important developments: Taiwan’s December legislative elections had returned an opposition majority, likely thwarting pan-green initiatives that would have provoked Beijing; Taipei and Beijing had worked out arrangements for direct charter flights between the island and the mainland (the first of which lifted off during the group’s meeting with the deputy director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council); shortly after the visit, the PRC sent two high-level warships to the memorial service of Koo Chen-fu, chairman of Taiwan’s Strains Exchange Foundation; and China’s Anti-Secession Law was set to be passed at the upcoming meeting of the National People’s Congress. Other developments relating to DPRK nuclear weapons, deteriorating Sino-Japanese relations, and Sino-American trade tension added to the rich content of these Track II discussions.
2004 Foreign Policy Colloquium: A Participant’s Perspective

In June 2004, the National Committee on the United States and the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University, with the generous support of The Coca-Cola Company, held the second annual Foreign Policy Colloquium (FPC). Jeet Tuay, a Ph.D. candidate at Polytechnic University in New York, attended the three-day colloquium in Washington, D.C. The following remarks are excerpted from a longer presentation he made about his experience at the National Committee’s annual board meeting in November.

This past June, the National Committee selected 200 Chinese graduate students currently studying in the United States and brought them together in Washington, D.C., to participate in a half-week colloquium on U.S. foreign policy. The students had very diverse backgrounds. Some of them were previously officials in the Chinese government, and some of them were graduate students majoring in engineering, biotech, etc...just like me. Their common interest, that is, to learn in general how American foreign policy is shaped and, in particular, how it will affect the interaction and relationship between China and the United States. In the following presentation, I will briefly highlight several FPC 2004 activities that I think are the most interesting or rewarding.

First, I heard some lectures/seminars given by the experts in the field or from academia. The guest speakers’ explorations of roles that play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy without trying to convince us of what is good or bad policy. Before coming to FPC 04, I believe every participant had like to have a discussion on many issues. These seminars and lectures help us open our eyes to look at many of the topics from different perspectives. This approach is much more important than the detailed knowledge itself, which can be found in any college textbook.

The lectures let us better understand how foreign policy is developed. Offline follow-up discussions then provided an opportunity to exchange our opinions with the speakers and to raise our concerns. In fact, the students from New York City even prepared a petition for visa policy reform and submitted it to many speakers after the lectures.

One of the most exciting moments of FPC was the meeting of the Honorable Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense. The lesson that we learned from him is that having more open and comprehensive communication always leads to better mutual understanding and relationships. In fact, it is exactly why we need the FPC and why we should continue to create more programs like the FPC.

The group exercise is one of my favorite times in the FPC. Basically, we were divided into groups of about 12 students. The Colloquium took place before Election Day so each group was asked to select a presidential candidate – Mr. Bush or Mr. Kerry – and to use what we had learned in the FPC to draft a campaign memo for him. It is so amazing for me to find that the group exercise bears so much resemblance to the actual presidential debate.

The FPC and this year’s presidential election have changed my view on politics. Compared with engineering, politics can reach out to many more people and have much more direct and profound impacts on people’s lives. Now, I definitely will seriously consider the option of pursuing a career in public service if I can find the right chance.

If you would like to know whether there is any complaint from us about FPC, the answer is YES! Almost everyone in the group exercise asked to select a presidential candidate – Mr. Bush or Mr. Kerry – to use what we had learned in the FPC to draft a campaign memo for him. It is so amazing for me to find that the group exercise bears so much resemblance to the actual presidential debate.

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in international as in domestic affairs. It leads inevitably to the conclusion that being a "sole superpower" will lead to a loss of respect and abuse of that power if it is not constrained in some fashion. The euphoria that marked the early years of the post Cold War period caused Americans to ignore these concepts and assume that we would only use our power for good.

That is still the American preference, but reality is beginning to seep in as we rediscover the old-age-old principle that ends in themselves cannot justify the means used to pursue them. Increasingly, I believe, the United States will be forced to give more thought to the question of how to strengthen a cooperative global system that will serve the interests of many countries and that can, in the not too distant post Cold War era, help to contain such any extrant tendencies for injurious use of our power.

This is in our own interest, since if we are seen as using our power prudently, in large part because we have resources sufficient to support our goals. We are described as the "high and mighty" in the world, where the mounting costs of the war and our growing budget deficit are making Americans aware of the limits on our resources and our capabilities. Our resources are enormous, but they are not of an order that gives us the luxury of avoiding hard choices between guns and butter, between international and domestic objectives, and between unilateralism and a cooperative approach that not only preserves the sharing of power but also striking a balance between our interests and the interests of others.

Second, sooner or later, Americans will rediscover the political principles that underlie our system of government, which is founded on the premise that power is dangerous and corrupting and that power in the hands of government will inevitably lead to improper use of that power.

The concept that power needs to be checked and balanced is just as relevant today as it was in the 1960s.

Hypothetically, it should be possible for new powers to emerge in a manner that is both peaceful and non-destabilizing.

Combating Money Laundering in China

Economic growth and change are presenting new challenges for China's policy-makers. With the support of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the National Committee developed exchange programs with the Chinese in these challenges: how to institute an effective anti-money laundering regime and how to mitigate unemployment through worker training/retraining programs. The first of these two programs is described below.

Committee's project sends team to Beijing, Dalian, and Shanghai to help strengthen China's anti-money laundering regime

Following September 11, American officials began giving renewed attention to anti-money laundering regimes throughout the world in order to deter and thwart the financing of terrorist organizations. As China had demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with the United States on the anti-terrorism front, and was taking first steps towards developing a full-fledged AML regime, the National Committee combined forces with the U.S. Department of the Treasury to send a team to China for AML training programs. This program applied its collective expertise – in regulation, law enforcement and commercial banking, as well as in AML policies for the securities and insurance industries – to policy discussions and training workshops in Beijing, Dalian, and Shanghai, July 16-27.

The core of the trip was a three-day training program on anti-money laundering for local government representatives returning to Beijing for further discussions with
The Rise of China and the Outlook for U.S.-China Relations

The following text is excerpted from remarks made by U.S. Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy at the inaugural Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture on Sino-American Relations, February 26, 2005, in Shanghai. (For the complete speech, please see our website.) The event was sponsored by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and the Shanghai Association for American Studies, in cooperation with the American Chamber of Commerce, The Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture on Sino-American Relations received generous support from the U.S. Consulate General in Shanghai, AS & E Wine, Cointreau, Shanghai Industrial Development Company, Jack Post, The Portman Ritz-Carlton, Theos, China Development Bank, the Johnstone School of Advanced International Studies. The Committee was pleased to lend its support to this project and delighted that Mrs. Jeanne Barnett and Dr. Lois Oksenberg were able to attend.

It is a special privilege to have this opportunity to return to Shanghai to give a talk in honor of the memory of Doak Barnett and Michael Oksenberg, Professors Barnett and Oksenberg were two close personal friends, two of America's finest China scholars, and two close personal friends, two of America's finest China scholars, and two far-sighted individuals whose energy and commitment have made it possible for us to be here today, who were infected by their role in training and inspiring a generation of students and scholars, some of whom are here today, who were infected by their love of China and their belief that the United States and China can, through patient efforts, work out their problems, contribute to the common good, and advance the interests of both countries and the world. This is a lasting legacy that will be of immense importance in the years ahead.

Now let me offer some comments on the outlook for U.S.-China relations in the light of the incredible transformation that has taken place in China in recent years and that could, if the process continues, make China a truly global superpower. This transformation is symbolized by the changing face of Shanghai, which is now barely recognizable as the city where I was a ninth grade high school student when the People's Liberation Army marched in at the end of May in 1949, nearly 56 years ago. The next twenty years were dark ones in the history of U.S.-China relations. Thirty-five years ago, when possibilities first began to emerge for moving beyond this period of bitter enmity between China and the United States, even Professors Barnett and Oksenberg, with all their powers of discernment, would have had difficulty foreseeing the present situation in China and the current state of U.S.-China relations. Both are far better than even the idealist optimist would have thought possible at that time. And yet both remain vulnerable to world events and to potential changes in leadership, if these should occur. The record suggests that we need not be pessimistic. However, we can be certain that America's relations with China will relationship will face severe tests in the years ahead, just as it has in the past. Under conditions of globalized threat, this task can help in being ready for them.

Just over a month ago, George W. Bush was writing from the Oval Office about the rise of Asia. He observed in the light of the incredible transformation that has taken place in China in recent years and that of the United States in the second half of the 19th century and extending up to a time when China's rise will not only impact on the regional balance of power. Even more important, it makes China the one country that has the potential to pose a fundamental challenge to U.S. supremacy. Moreover, this potential challenge is emerging at a time when neither China nor the United States has adjusted to their new positions – the United States as the sole superpower and China as the rising superpower. Let me develop these ideas further.

U.S. Preeminence in the World

The problem for the United States is that it has been cast into the role of the world’s sole superpower without a corresponding way to exercise global leadership, or control over the administration, on how this power should be used. We now have fewer constraints on use of our power because of the unravelling of our principal opponent, the Soviet Union. This did not happen overnight. It was a long process of confrontation between the two superpowers. On the contrary, it occurred through a process of détente, when Gorbachev was pursuing policies of glasnost and perestroika that were opening up the Soviet Union and could pose unimaginable dangers if the United States will use its power wisely to strengthen international cooperation and to foster a more fair and just global system. Fifteen years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the United States has still not come to grips with the problem that was opening up the Soviet Union and could pose unimaginable dangers if the United States is found itself in a leadership role in a world with far less superpowers. Moreover, the dangers we face at the moment come less from specific countries than from the model of mature western democracies. This in turn enhances the concern, either nationally or worldwide, with our global leadership, and our interests that have helped American foreign policy throughout our history.

The second reason for our current unpreparedness is that we were thrust into the role of the world’s sole superpower not by conquest but because of the changing of the global balance of power. This is not due to any deficiency in the intellectual capabilities of the American people. Itrather stems from two interrelated considerations.

First, the historical experience of the United States has not prepared us for the role of superpower. Never before has the United States found itself in a leadership role in a world with far less superpowers. Moreover, the dangers we face at the moment come less from specific countries than from the model of mature western democracies. This in turn enhances the concern, either nationally or worldwide, with our global leadership, and our interests that have helped American foreign policy throughout our history.

No one, least of all the Chinese themselves, knows what kind of China we can expect in the future and how China will use its new capabilities.
great shifts in the international balance of power in the last 500 years. The first was the rise of Europe, which became the richest, most dynamic, and most expansionist part of the world between the 17th and 19th centuries. The second was the rise of the United States in the second half of the 19th century and extending up to the present time.

Now we are witnessing the third great shift, which is the rise of Asia. This process began with Japan’s recovery from World War II and the successful development strategies of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. It spread to other Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. It is now being led by China, but at a higher speed and on a much larger scale. India is not far behind. This enormous rise in the productive capacity of Asia is beginning to reshape the international landscape in fundamental ways and could become the dominant feature of this century.

For obvious reasons, the United States and Europe, as the leaders of the developed world, are playing close attention to this phenomenon. Like it or not, the rise of Asia will alter the relative positions of the United States and Europe in the world. Moreover, how the United States and Europe respond to this momentous shift in the global center of gravity to Asia could have a profound impact on how the rise of Asia unfolds, and whether it is peaceful. This will remain true whether the European and American responses are similar or different. However, the degree of parallelism in our responses will determine whether the rise of Asia, and of China in particular, strengthens common interests between Europe and the United States or accentuates our differences. The stakes, therefore, are enormous. If the rise of China causes the United States and Europe to drift further apart, while at the same time driving Japan and the United States closer together, the impact on both the global and regional balance will be profound.

There can be no doubt that China’s rise is directly linked to the outlook for U.S.-China relations in a variety of ways. Never before in history has a country risen as rapidly as China is now doing. Never before in history has a rise of this magnitude occurred at a time when the disparity in military strength between the dominant country and the rest of the world is as great as it is today. This means that China’s rise will not only impact on the regional balance of power. Even more important, it makes China the one country in the world that has the potential to pose a fundamental challenge to U.S. supremacy. Moreover, this potential challenge is emerging at a time when neither China nor the United States has adjusted to their new positions – the United States as the sole superpower and China as the rising superpower. Let me develop these ideas further.

U.S. Preeminence in the World

The problem for the United States is that it has been cast into the role of the world’s sole superpower without a consensus, either nationally or within the administration, on how this power should be used. We now have fewer constraints on use of our power because of the absence of a superpower competitor. Some Americans want to use our power to perpetuate U.S. supremacy in the world. Others want to use it to oust unfriendly regimes and spread democracy and freedom. Still others hope the United States will use its power wisely to strengthen international cooperation and to foster a more fair and just global system.

Fifteen years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the United States has still not come to grips with the question of how to adapt its foreign policy to its new role in the world. With his usual prescience, Dr. Kissinger addressed this problem a few years ago in his book Does America Need a Foreign Policy? In it, he noted that “In the face of the most profound and widespread upheavals the world has ever seen, [the United States] has failed to develop concepts relevant to the emerging realities.” This is as true today as when Dr. Kissinger wrote his book.

This is not due to any deficiency in the intellectual capacities of the American people. It rather stems from two intertwined considerations.

• First, the historical experience of the United States has not prepared Americans for the situation we face. Never before has the United States found itself in a leadership role in a globalized world that is not bipolar. Moreover, the dangers we face at the moment come less from specific countries than from issues such as terrorism and the potential proliferation of nuclear weapons. To deal effectively with these issues, we find that we need to cooperate with countries such as China and Russia, whose domestic structures do not fit the model of mature western democracies. This in turn enhances the contradiction between our ideals and our interests that has bedeviled American foreign policy throughout our history.

• The second reason for our mental unpreparedness is that we were thrust into the role of the world’s sole superpower not by conquest but because of the unraveling of our principal opponent, the Soviet Union. This did not happen at a time of confrontation between the two superpowers. On the contrary, it occurred during a period of détente, when Gorbachev was pursuing policies of glasnost and perestroika that were opening up the Soviet Union to outside influences as never before. In looking back through history I have been unable to identify a comparable case where the dominant country achieved its position not through conquest but because of the dissolution of its principal adversary.

In other words, we have been cast into a role that we were not consciously seeking. Experience suggests that sudden accretions of power or money can lead to erratic behavior. We all know the stories of people who win lotteries and soon lose not only the money, but their jobs, their spouses, and their self-discipline as well. The fall of the Shah of Iran was directly linked to the influx of oil wealth after the 1973 war that corrupted the regime from within. Even a highly disciplined society like Japan did not
Rise of China, continued from page 11

The United States is struggling to adapt its position to a new and a cooperative approach that is both peaceful and non-aggressive. The Chinese themselves, know what Madison put it over two centuries ago, that the wealth and power that they are acquiring rapidly, the world now is very destabilizing. In the case of the United States is marking the heady early years of the post Cold War period caused Americans to ignore these concepts and assume that we could only use our power for good. That is still the American preference, but reality is beginning to seep in as we recognize that our resources are insufficient to support our goals. We are disturbed by the handover in Iraq, where the mounting costs of the war and our growing budget deficit are making Americans conscious of the limits on our resources and our capabilities. Our resources are enormous, but they are not an order that gives us the luxury of avoiding hard choices between guns and butter, between international and domestic objectives, and between unilateralism and a cooperative approach that not only shares the burden but entails striking a balance between our interests and the interests of others.

Second, sooner or later, Americans will rediscover the political principles that underlie our system of government, which is founded on the premise that power is dangerous and corrupting and that even the presence in the hands of power will inevitably lead to improper use of that power. The concept that power needs to be checked and balanced is just as relevant in international as in domestic affairs. It leads inevitably to the conclusion that being a "superpower" will lead to abuse of that power if it is not constrained in some fashion. The euphoria that marked the heady early years of the post Cold War period caused Americans to ignore these concepts and assume that we would only use our power for good. It was reflected in the Bush administration's National Security Strategy statement issued in September 2002, which proclaimed the goal of maintaining forces "strong enough to deter but not provoke," the rise of new powers that could challenge our dominance – imperial in fact. This cast the American system that will serve the interests of the new powers as the offspring of a wise and honorable policy will be more effective to the extent that the United States is having difficulty determining how to strengthen a cooperative global system that will serve the interests of many countries and that can, in the not longer bi-polar post Cold War era, help to curb any such extraterritorial tendencies for injudicious use of our power. This is in our own interest, since we are seen as using our power prudently.

Hypothetically, it should be possible for new powers to emerge in a manner that is both peaceful and non-destrlobilizing. If we are widely perceived as relying on our power to pursue narrowly defined national interests at the expense of other countries, this will hasten the emergence of countering checks, a process that is already under way. These checks, or times, that form the heart of the matter that is both peaceful and non-destrlobilizing. The question of whether this is both peaceful. Hypothetically, it should be possible to emerge as a result of the rise of new powers that could challenge our dominance – imperial in fact. This cast the American system that will serve the interests of the new powers as the offspring of a wise and honorable policy will be more effective to the extent that the United States is having difficulty determining how to strengthen a cooperative global system that will serve the interests of many countries and that can, in the not longer bi-polar post Cold War era, help to curb any such extraterritorial tendencies for injudicious use of our power. This is in our own interest, since we are seen as using our power prudently.

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Committee’s project sends team to Beijing, Dalian, and Shanghai to help strengthen China’s anti-money laundering regime

Economic growth and change are presenting new challenges for China's policy-makers. With the support of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the National Committee developed exchange programs in three areas: how to institute an effective anti-money laundering regime and how to mitigate unemployment through worker training/retrofitting programs. The first of these programs is described below.

Following September 11, American officials began giving renewed attention to anti-money laundering (AML) regimes throughout the world in order to detect and thwart the financing of terrorist organizations. China had demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with the United States on the anti-terrorism front, and was taking the first steps toward developing a full-fledged AML regime, the National Committee, combined forces with the U.S. Department of the Treasury to send a team to China for AML training programs. The program applied its expertise – in regulation, law enforcement and commercial banking, as well as in AML policies for the securities and insurance industries – to policy discussions and training workshops in Beijing, Dalian, and Shanghai, July 16-27.

The core of the trip was a three-day training session held in Beijing at the People's Bank of China (PBOC) headquarters and branch offices throughout the country. The program included presentations on the components of an effective AML strategy: the establishment of a financial intelligence unit, and the topics of asset forfeiture, the role of due diligence and AML in financial institutions and training needs. The generous amount of time allowed for discussion enabled delegation members to contribute their perspectives throughout the program, and also provided a lively illustration of the debates that take place within the United States about the best way to implement an AML framework or conduct an investigation.

The audience of about 60 PBOC officials was comprised of economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML rules fit into the broader context of China's financial system development. Members of the delegation were from the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum – and invited reserve economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML rules fit into the broader context of China's financial system development. Members of the delegation were from the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum – and invited reserve economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML rules fit into the broader context of China's financial system development. Members of the delegation were from the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum – and invited reserve economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML rules fit into the broader context of China's financial system development. Members of the delegation were from the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum – and invited reserve economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML rules fit into the broader context of China's financial system development.
The lectures let us better understand how foreign policy is developed. Offline follow-up discussions then provided us an opportunity to exchange our opinions with the speakers and to raise our concerns. In fact, the students from New York City even prepared a petition for visa policy reform and submitted it to many speakers after the lectures.

One of the most exciting moments of FPC was meeting theHonorable Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense. The lesson that we learned from him is that having more open and comprehensive communication always leads to better mutual understanding and relationships. In fact, it is exactly why characterized as peaceful. On the contrary, we acquired our territory through a combination of occupation, purchase, and war.

The Chinese, wisely, have set the goal of developing peacefully, or, as they say, this model has not yet been successfully implemented in the modern world. I think it is fair to say that they have rejected the possibility that they will become more assertive and domineering as they acquire wealth and power. In Chinese minds, they wish to become strong in order to protect themselves against exploitation by other powers, not so much to dominate others. The Chinese are undeniably sincere in this belief, but the fact remains that as China’s power grows, so will its range of options. Like the United States, China will be vulnerable to the intoxicating aspects of power that can manifest themselves in the tendency to inflate and exaggerate itself, and to display less sensitivity for the interests and concerns of others.

At the same time, accomplishing a peaceful and non-destructive rise does not depend simply on the intentions and behavior patterns of the rising power. If other major powers feel threatened by the rise, or are not prepared to accommodate the interests of the rising power, their reactions could precipitate conflict as easily as the conduct of the emerging countries.

This is particularly relevant to China because unlike the United States in the late 19th century, China must share its region with other major powers. However, the countries of East Asia have welcomed China’s rise and benefited from the growing trade and investment ties that have accompanied China’s rapid economic development and emergence as a major global trading country. Skilful Chinese diplomacy has also eased regional concerns about an imminent Chinese threat.

At the same time, the recent frictions in Sino-Japanese relations illustrate how difficult it will be to avoid the destructive rivalries of the past. The test will come over the next two decades as China gains more wealth and power, and over when Japan is equally determined to resume the status of a normal country. At this point, China has emerged from the shadow of World War II. The diplomatic challenge will be to ensure that this process can be managed peacefully rather than through military conflict.

Formidable as this challenge will be, meeting it successfully is clearly worth the effort. It is difficult to imagine a stable and mutually beneficial East Asian situation in which the United States and China have a hostile relationship, or in which China and Japan fail in their efforts to overcome the legacy of the past. Conversely a constructive Sino-U.S. relationship that contributes to the preservation of mutually accommodating and mutually beneficial ties between China and Japan could form the basis for a prosperous and peaceful Asia-Pacific region.

To sum up, the most daunting task for the United States will be to recognize the dangers of being a sole superpower and to make the adjustments in our thinking and our foreign policy necessary to contemplate a global system in which there is room at the table for a stronger and more prosperous China. A necessary proviso, of course, is that China continues to respect the interests of other countries.

The world will be a better place if the United States and China can find the wisdom necessary to maintain cooperative and constructive bilateral relations as China continues on the path of peaceful development.

One of the most exciting moments of FPC was meeting the Honorable Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense. The lesson that we learned from him is that having more open and comprehensive communication always leads to better mutual understanding and relationships. In fact, it is exactly why I would like to use this opportunity to thank all of you who have made FPC possible. I also would like to express my wish that FPC continues its success in the years to come.

The lectures help us reopen our eyes to look at major issues from different perspectives. This approach is much more important than the detailed knowledge itself, which can be found in any college textbook.
A Busy Year of Education Exchanges

Education programs always constitute a significant portion of the Committee’s work, but this was especially the case after the SARS epidemic resolved in the rescheduling of two Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars from 2003 to 2004. As a result, the National Committee oversaw five education exchanges supported by the U.S. Department of Education’s International Education Programs Service in 2004. Three of these projects sent American educators to China, while two brought Chinese educators to the United States. The Committee also continued running the Teachers Exchange Program, playing teachers in each country. Below are highlights of some of these programs.

From June 8 to June 24, 2004, 12 chancellors, presidents, vice presidents, and deans of American institutions of higher education with significant minority enrollment focused on the challenges China faces along its path of rapid economic growth, globalization, and educational reform. The Seminar came 30 years after the National Committee sent the first wave of university and college presidents to China in November 1974. The key difference between the two groups was that the 1974 delegation was made up of presidents from institutions that, for the most part, had East Asian and Chinese programs extant while the new group was made up of institutions that were interested in establishing such programs, as well as broadening the U.S. presence. The seminar included a meeting with members of the National Committee’s Asia Studies Committee; a 48-hour flight from Washington, DC to Beijing, China; and a visit to a range of educational institutions.

International Education Delegation to the United States

A group of 12 Chinese education officials, elementary and secondary school teachers, and school administrators came to the United States October 2-15, 2004, to examine how American students are taught about other countries and cultures. The delegation included a focus on university relations, as well as the future. Follow-up, a requirement of participation, was nearly immediate. Even before the group had left China, several people were in the process of writing proposals that would link their schools in some way or one of the institutions the group had visited. Since then, each has set in motion processes for introducing courses on China into their curriculum, increasing the number of courses already taught, or instituting faculty, student, and/or administration exchanges.

Preventive Defense Project Visits Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing

Since 1998, the National Committee has been pleased to work with the Preventive Defense Project (PDP), a joint program of Stanford and Harvard Universities, on security issues in Northeast Asia. In late January of this year, the eighth such cooperative effort took place: a weeklong series of meetings with senior officials, military leaders, academics and businessmen in Taipei, Shanghai and Beijing. The discussions focused on issues of cross-Strait relations, North Korea, and U.S. relations with both the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry led the ten-member American delegation.

The first stop was Taipei, where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which hosted the group, arranged an excellent – and pushed – two-day schedule, highlighted by a meeting with President Chen Shui-bian. The group was briefed by the Minister of Defense Lee Chieh, and had a series of discussions with Speaker of the House Wang Jing-ying, KMT Party Chairman Lien Chan, People First Party (PFP) Vice Chair Chang Ching-chung and a contingent of the PFP, various Legislative Yuan members, the head of the National Security Council, AIT head Doug Paal, and representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce. The next stop was Shanghai for a two-day conference organized by the PRC host, the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (CFISS). Delegation members were very pleased that former Shanghai Mayor Wang Daohan was present to open the conference and to listen attentively to the concerns and messages the delegation relayed. As chairman of ARATS (Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait), Wang has been a senior advisor to Chinese presidents about cross-Strait issues. He has also been the moving force behind the CFISS-PDP-National Committee relationship.

The delegation made full use of its one day in Beijing, meeting with Premier Wen Jiabao, Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff Xiong Guangkai, and Minister of Defense Cao Gangchuan. The trip took place against the backdrop of a number of important developments: Taiwan’s December legislative elections had returned an opposition majority, likely thwarting pan-green initiatives that would have provoked Beijing; Taipei and Beijing had worked out arrangements for direct charter flights between the island and the mainland (the first of which lifted off during the group’s meeting with the deputy director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council); shortly after the visit, the PRC sent two high-altitude warplanes to the memorial service of Koo Chen-fu, chairman of Taiwan’s Straits Exchange Foundation; and China’s Anti-Secession Law was set to be passed at the upcoming meeting of the National People’s Congress. Other developments relating to UPRs included the use of weapons, deteriorating Sino-Japanese relations, and Sino-American trade tension added to the rich content of these Track II discussions.
Steve Okun (left) and staff member Chhoan. Lu Hongyan, Verna, how to rope a steer. Right: Flanked by Todd Sigaty, VFI before their team herding event. Above Right: Flanked by her a cowgirl on Fowlkes, a visual artist from New York City, said these two varying approaches to prototype urban laboratory. Stephan how to incorporate diverse cultures into its curricula. The schools that the delegation visited provided excellent examples of how American education is able to incorporate diverse cultures into its curricula. The ninth year of the Teachers Exchange Program (TEP) has been a busy one. In August, 10 American-K12 teachers were placed in five cities in China to teach English and 22 K-12 Chinese teachers came to eight cities and two rural areas in the United States to teach Chinese. New sites were added in both countries: two in Hefei (which held its first two Chinese teachers) and three in Tulsa. This academic year TEP began an interesting experiment. In past years, all TEP teachers from China have been teachers of English in China; the logic is that they understand the challenges of teaching a foreign language and would not have a language barrier when adjusting to life in the United States. This year, however, the program accepted two Chinese language teachers from China. It’s an exciting development; it will mean that TEP can draw its Chinese teachers from a much broader pool of candidates.

One further TEP development: in 2004, at Woodstock Elementary School in Portland, Oregon, began hosting its third TEP teacher from Suzhou Experimental Primary School (and its fourth from TEP), the two schools decided to formalize their affiliation by setting up a Sister School relationship. The program draws on the fact that Portland and Suzhou have been Sister Cities for nearly two decades. The formal agreement between the two cities will expand the their exchanges of people, material, and strategies in both directions. 

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The Rich Experiences of a Time Warner Intern

The Time Warner Internship Program, developed and administered by the National Committee for the past seven years, selects students from Fudan University with an interest in journalism and media to participate in a three-month internship at various Time Warner divisions in the United States. In 2004, students interned at HBO, Fortune, Warner Bros. Studios, Time, and CNN from September through December. And, just as the program is wholly underwritten by Time Warner Inc., the National Committee made great efforts to expose us to as much American history and culture as possible. We were sent to different Time Warner offices in Arkansas, Los Angeles, New York, and Atlanta. The following is excerpted from a longer report by Chen Xin (Gillian), a Fudan senior who will graduate in June 2004.

Interests begin with a 14-day orientation about American history and culture, followed by a two-week on-the-job training and conclude with a three-day wrap-up session in Los Angeles. The following is excerpted from a longer report by Chen Xin (Gillian), a Fudan senior who will graduate in June 2004.

Orientation

The day finally came to depart for America. I still clearly remember the non-stop phone calls from my folks the night before the departure. Suddenly I realized that I was going to start a new journey, which would hopefully be the turning point in my life. As my dad said, “The girl is going to meet the world.” On September 7, I traveled to my parents and boarded the plane heading for America with a heart filled with expectations and confidence for the future.

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The National Committee launched the Young Leaders Forum (YLF) in 2002 as a way of building professional and personal bridges between the next generation of leaders in the United States and China. The venue for the annual four-day Forum alternates between the United States and China, and membership lasts for a minimum of two years, allowing each YLF to attend a conference in each country. At the third annual Forum in October, 31 YLFers convened in Sedona, Arizona. Alexandra Harvey, a second-time participant (and a Hong Kong-based journalist working for The Financial Times) described the event:

The group I met has accomplished enough to intimidate anyone, but somehow it felt warm and inclusive. Within an hour with the Young Leaders, I was already focusing on the loss of bone density during space travel with an American astronaut, talking about six-park tours with a colonel in the PLA, discussing anti-corruption legislation with a Peking University professor, chatting about the development of China’s high-technology shuttle Endeavour, is currently preparing for its second space shuttle flight, scheduled for July 2005.

Stacy Kemery, a president and CEO of Hendrick Holdings, a holding company focusing on globally recognized brands, spoke about the remarkable innovations in the high-tech and software industries. Li Hong (Audrey) is a lawyer in Concord & Partners’ Shanghai office where she specializes in international corporate and intellectual property law.

Sharon Yibo, the chairman of China Everbright, is currently preparing for his second space shuttle flight, scheduled for July 2005.

The June 30 conference was co-sponsored by the National Committee and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and was held at New York Life’s corporate headquarters. National Committee Director Meridith Chalmers and CSIS President John Roys opened the program with a discussion of the recommendations that came out of a delegation they led to China earlier in the year for CSIS.

This was followed by a panel that included Dr. Linda Duffett-Leger, Vice President, Global Health Policy, Merck & Co., Inc.; Mr. Kevin Frost, Vice President, and Mr. Walter Chow, Division of HIV/AIDS Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. They spoke about innovative next steps in the fight against AIDS, highlighting some of the models that governments, private companies, and foundations have used in various parts of the world, and discussed their potential applicability for China.

With organizations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation donating several million dollars for AIDS work in China these days, one of the panelists confirmed that it is a lack of capacity—not money—that now causes the greatest bottleneck in China’s response to AIDS.

In his keynote address, Dr. Ho, who heads up the China AIDS Initiative (CAI) as well as the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center that coordinates it, described both his organization’s ambitious research agenda and its public education efforts. After discussing the testing, treatment, and care programs in Henan, Yunnan, and other affected provinces set up by CAI, Dr. Ho proudly showed stills from two recent public service announcements that CAI has had a hand in creating, aimed at reducing the stigma of AIDS in China. In one, viewers see former President Bill Clinton shaking hands with a Chinese AIDS patient; in the other, viewers see former President Clinton shaking hands with a Chinese basketball player, viewers see basketball superstars Yao Ming and Magic Johnson playing basketball together, embarrassed, and sharing a meal. Dr. Ho hopes that these ads will change the way ordinary Chinese look at HIV/AIDS.
China’s Recent Developments: A U.S. Judge’s Perspective

Helen Ginger Berrigan, Chief Judge, U.S. District Court

The National Committee and Chris Lin, director of the

The Americans brought with them the American concept of looking at regulations…and what we

More Exchanges

Since the publication of our last issue of NOTES, the Committee has been host to several delegations from China, as well as sending several there. Below are photographs of two groups that came to the United States in the last two months of 2004.

Members of the HVLSACS Community Planning Delegation at a international summit in Providence, Rhode Island. The four-person group, from Beijing and four from Yunnan, included representatives from the China Centers for Disease Control, a local AIDS Hospice, and an AIDS NGO staff members. Delegation members spent two weeks visiting sites in Atlanta, Providence, Boston, and Los Angeles, exploring the retirement of community involvement in HIV/AIDS prevention and care. As a follow-up, a team of four American experts, all of whom were involved in the November program, will visit Beijing and Yunnan in late May 2005 to participate in a series of workshops on the same subject and to continue the dialogue that their Chinese colleagues.

Members of the Worker Training/Retraining Delegation – six Chinese labor officials from the central and provincial governments – on a tour of the factory that produces Boeing’s 737s in Renton, Washington. The delegation’s work itinerary included stops in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Seattle, and San Francisco. This was the final segment of a three-part project that included American specialists in worker training and retraining going to Tianjin in April 2005 and a similar group going to the PRC in June 2004.
U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project

As reported in an earlier issue of NOTES, the National Committee is part of a consortium grant from the United States Department of Labor for a multiple-year project on labor law in China. Founding the U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project is provided by the United States Department of Labor under a cooperative agreement with the Chinese Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MOLSS). The National Committee’s American partners are Worldwide Strategies, Inc., and the Asia Foundation; our component of the project focuses on enhancing China’s capacity to develop laws and regulations based on internationally recognized workers’ rights and to enable those charged with implementation and enforcement of those laws and regulations to operate more effectively. In May 2004, the project’s initial programmatic activity took place—a three-day workshop in Qingdao that brought a team of top American labor inspection specialists together with senior government representatives from MOLSS and the State Council, directors of key provincial and municipal labor inspectorates, labor lawyers, and academics to discuss and comment on a draft of new labor inspection regulations. The American team consisted of John Fraser, former U.S. labor commissioner at the Wage and Hour Division for 11 years; Louis Vanegas, former director of the Wage and Hour District Office with over 15 years of field inspection, supervision, and training experience, now a consultant on labor compliance issues in the United States, Asia, and Latin America; and Tom Nagle, deputy labor commissioner at the California Department of Industrial Relations, who worked for many years as a field inspector at the state level and drafted regulations guidelines for labor inspectors throughout China that came into effect on April 1, 1994. As a member of the U.S. delegation for the first time on the national level, a legal basis for the enforcement of standards in the areas of work, hours, child labor, and social insurance pay-in, and more. The Americans were particularly impressed by the candor of several of the inspection chiefs in discussing their problems, and by their determination to overcome nearly insurmountable obstacles. In spite of the many differences between the two systems, the Americans commented over and over that many of the problems and issues faced by their Chinese colleagues were quite similar to ones they had faced in their own work. In the end, the significance of the workshop in Qingdao went far beyond that of a simple opportunity to make a few comments on a set of draft regulations. For the Americans, it provided a rare perspective from which to learn about the Chinese labor standards enforcement system and the challenges the government faces in the legal reform process for the Chinese; the workshops provided an opportunity, for many of them, to share their views with the drafter and regulators, prosecutors, and lawyers. The passing rate is very low, he tells me, sending a clear message to China’s upward-comers that they must be well-educated and well-qualified if they expect to be part of China’s future legal system.

In Hong Kong, the National Committee and the HKETO arranged a series of very informative meetings with lawyers and judges. When I was there back in 1998, after the handover, there was a great deal of jitters about how merging back to mainland China was going to work. While not perfect, it appears to have worked quite well overall: the “two systems” have indeed remained two systems yet a lot of effort goes into smoothing out the rough edges between them. For example, at the 1997 International Arbitration Centre, the topic we discussed was the glitches in enforcing arbitration decisions rendered in Hong Kong on parties in mainland China. The Hong Kong Legal Forum is a relatively new organization that encourages more interaction between lawyers from Hong Kong and mainland China. At the City University of Hong Kong, the discussion centered on Hong Kong’s legal system and the hopes for mainland China’s role in law reform. And in meetings with the Honorable Justice Geoffrey Ma Tao-li, chief judge of the Hong Kong High Court, Mr. Philip Dykes, chairman of the Hong Kong Bar Association; Mr. Stephen Lam, secretary for Constitutional Affairs, and Mr. Robert Allcock, solicitor general of the Department of Justice, I found them all optimistic that Hong Kong’s legal system would remain intact and, in fact, would continue to have a positive influence on the development of the rule of law on the mainland. It was only at the Hong Kong University law school that the focus was elsewhere. I led a seminar on the constitutionality of same sex marriage in America – their choice of topic? My discussions in Beijing and Hong Kong about the rule of law were completely different in nature from – and more mature than – those I had had in 1998. Judges, attorneys, law faculty and students all seem much more engaged in the issues surrounding the rule of law to a degree that sometimes surprised and always delighted me. Certainly the discussions needed to be different, but it is tremendously exciting to watch and be a small part of their journeys.

Corporate Programs: Ambassador Randt Speaks at Informal Session

After a few brief remarks about the construction of a new American Embassy in Beijing, U.S. Ambassador to China Clark T. “Sandy” Randt Jr. fielded questions from a group of National Committee directors and corporate members who joined him for an off-the-record lunch in New York last October. The 20 attendees, most of whom knew Ambassador Randt from his pre-embassy days in Hong Kong, and the PRC, peppered him with questions on a broad range of subjects.

Responding to questions about economics, Ambassador Randt identified textile safeguards as a strong Chinese concern and intellectual property rights and trade distribution rights as priority items on the U.S. agenda.

On the political/security front, he gave a strong endorsement to the multilateral approach being pursued by the Bush administration with respect to North Korea. An additional benefit of the six-party talks, the Ambassador said, is the engagement of the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia in discussion of mutual security concerns, a dialogue that has developed a vitality of its own. ■

Left: The Honorable Clark T. Randt Jr., U.S. Ambassador to China

Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of State

■ Condi 2005

Condoleezza Rice meets with President Hu Jintao during her first visit to China as Secretary of State. She also meets with Premier Wen Jiabao and Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing to discuss key issues affecting U.S.-China relations.

Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of State

■ Condi 1988

Condoleezza Rice, associate professor of political science at Stanford University, makes her first trip to China as part of a National Committee-sponsored delegation of American Soviet specialists to discuss the implications of the Gorbachev reforms for Sino-Soviet, Soviet-American, and Sino-American relations.

Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of State
An Interview with 2004 MacArthur Fellow John Kamm

Our approach is now pretty well established. We are in touch with anyone who needs help; it is also very important that you do not hurt anybody. I think on that score I can say I have got a very good record. In one case, the Chinese government needed to have actually managed to help get sentence reductions, better treatment, parole, etc., I am probably backing around 400. I don’t think that’s that great, but it’s something, I suppose.

NC: Are you optimistic that the human rights situation will improve in China?

JK: I think it’s a mixed bag. We've got a lot of good news, but also a lot of bad news.

NC: What do you attribute this change to?

JK: It’s very hard to say. In this particular case, I have been having a 15-year conversation with Chinese officials. It goes something like this: “Here I am, asking you about 100 people and trying to get you to tell me who has been released, and who has had a sentence reduction. Certainly, we will continue this way. But why don’t we also try another way?” That is, you tell me about, say, sentence reductions you’ve carried out. Just tell me about it.”

Of course, when they do tell me about reductions, what happens is that they often choose political prisoners who are serving very long terms. One of the guys we joined in January 1994, and he is serving a very long sentence for using superstitions ideas to commit counter-revolutionary acts. They disclosed his existence and said that he is being a sentence reduction. Now, that to me is a significant change in the way they have responded to the international community.

NC: After 15 years of engaging the Chinese on this issue, that must be incredibly exciting and gratifying...

I'm more adventurous, more independent. Before the trip, I ordered a dozen delicacies I had no name for. I'm more eager to embrace new experiences. Before the trip, I was a little afraid of China, and I had no particular interest in it above my curiosity about all other nations, now my head turns whenever I hear about China. After spending time in a nation where everyone stared at me for being white, where I was often greeted by smiles from everyone but my host, I'm no longer afraid to do things on my own.

As I sometimes like to say. We conduct a high degree of success you've had? I'm still not certain what I want to do with my life, but my trip to China this summer made me realize that I want to interact and learn on a global level, and it inspired me to make a difference in the world.

My trip to China made me realize that I want to interact and learn on a global level, and it inspired me to make a difference in the world.
In March 2004, Chinese Embassy education officials approached the National Committee to ask if I would be interested in helping to create a new program that would send top-notch American students to China. In particular, they were interested in working with us on a program with the U.S. Department of Education’s Presidential Scholars Program that annually recognizes up to 120 of our nation’s outstanding high school graduates.

In response, the National Committee created the U.S.-China Student Leaders Exchange—an opportunity for 12 Presidential Scholars to spend two weeks in China prior to commencing their university studies, and to begin a dialogue with their Chinese counterparts in Shanghai, Suzhou, Wuxi, Nanjing, Xian, and Beijing.

The program included tremendous support, financial and otherwise, from the Chinese Embassy of the Ministry of Education, the Jiangsu Provincial Development of Education, Jiangsu Education Telecommunications, and local education bureaus, schools, and local families. On the American side, Laureates Education, Inc., and its partner, Wall Street English, underscored various aspects of the project, including a two-day pre-departure orientation held in Washington, DC.

The following piece is written by Katie Houston, a student from Royal Oak, Michigan, who is now completing a holy freshman year at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Today, six months after my return, I open the folder of digital photos on my computer labeled “Best of China” and marvel that I can still feel my quads burn as I climb eagerly over the city of Shanghai, already so alive see the sun rising before 5 in the morning. I can still hear her repeating it over and over, in front of the TV. While my host showered, I scooted next to her mother to show her my work; she smiled and took a picture of my name written in English. “Xiao Yang,” she wrote. “I’ll remember this.”

In Nanjing, my host Fanny and I spent four hours shopping at the night market; we took a taxi home rather than the group tour bus because we were having too much fun! We’d eaten two huge juicy white peaches left for us fresh hot sweet bread we purchased earlier with students in Nanjing, or the over the city of Shanghai, already so alive see the sun rising before 5 in the morning. Still feel my quads burn as I climb eagerly still feel my quads burn as I climb eagerly marvel at what I see.

In Wuxi, I practiced the characters of my Chinese name in my journal, over and over, in front of the TV. While my host showered, I scooted next to her mother to show her my work; she smiled and took a picture of my name written in English. “Xiao Yang,” she wrote. “I’ll remember this.”

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Below is just a partial listing of the many books National Committee members have authored over the past year. For an expanded Members’ Bookshelf going back to 2000, please visit our website. Committee members who have additions to the web listings and/or submissions for the next edition of NOTES may contact Jonathan Lowet (jlownet@ncuscr.org).

Members’ Bookshelf

**Business / Economics**

**Chinese History**

**Social Sciences**

**Misc.**
- Jeffrey A. Segal, *Taiwan’s Place in the Pacific: Concepts and Issues* (University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

**Security Studies / International Relations**

**USTR Robert Zoellick Gives Keynote at Annual Meeting**

Panel of experts assesses China’s recent political and economic developments

U.S. Trade Representative Robert B. Zoellick and a panel of distinguished China specialists addressed nearly 200 National Committee members and invited guests at the annual Members Meeting—fortuitously timed for November 10, between the 2004 U.S. Presidential elections and the APEC Leaders Summit— to assess recent political and economic developments in China. Ambassador Zoellick (who has since become Deputy Secretary of State) began his off-the-record remarks by sharing some of the insights from his personal experiences of working with China and then focusing on U.S.-China economic issues in the U.S.-China relationship and to assess recent political and economic developments in China. Zoellick remarked that at present, all suggested reforms are aimed at reducing or removing the political obstacles to continued economic growth. The leadership “clearly and explicitly opens for limited reform, carefully phasing in, very mindful of related underlying risks, very mindful of the dangers of creating a momentum that then gets out of hand, and that focuses on changing only those things necessary to change in order to sustain overall economic growth.”

This type of approach, Lieberthal pointed out, makes a bold assumption, that the Chinese population will be clearly fascinated by what he had to say. Zoellick answered questions from an audience then focusing on U.S.-China trade and some of the insights from his personal experiences.

Lieberthal remarked that at present, China’s leaders will opt instead to look for movement toward a multi-party system, at least not for the next few decades. China’s leaders will opt instead to look for ways to make the current government and party more efficient, transparent, and responsive to the needs of the people. Lieberthal remarked that at present, all suggested reforms are aimed at reducing or removing the political obstacles to continued economic growth. The leadership “clearly and explicitly opens for limited reform, carefully phasing in, very mindful of related underlying risks, very mindful of the dangers of creating a momentum that then gets out of hand, and that focuses on changing only those things necessary to change in order to sustain overall economic growth.”
A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Reflections from My Tenure

Stepping down after nearly seven years in the post, National Committee president John Holden notes that the Committee’s work remains as vital as ever.

The National Committee has, for nearly four decades, played important roles in helping build bridges of understanding between the United States and China, and it has been an honor to have been part of its work. In this, my last message in WORLD, I would like to offer brief observations on some of the people, events, and issues that I have encountered during my tenure as president.

We have been extremely fortunate over the years that so many talented and engaging people have been willing to work so hard for the Committee. Space does not permit me to mention them all, but I must single out vice presidents Jan Berris and Ros Daly. Jan has been with us since 1971; what is most remarkable about her is not the longevity of her service or the legions of people she knows, but the passion, integrity, and dynamism she brings to her work day in and day out. Jan is a marvelous resource and key to the success of the Committee’s programs. Since 1979, Ros Daly has worked behind the scenes with great dedication to the myriad administrative and financial tasks that help the organization accomplish so much with so little. Ros’s contributions in the “boiler room” of the organization earn her the moniker “Unsung heroine of the National Committee.” It has been a delight working with Jan and Ros, and with the other extremely dedicated members of the Committee team.

The National Committee could not have achieved what it has without the support of so many others: Barber Conable and Garla Hills, Committee chairs during my tenure, and our outstanding cast of Directors, Members, and friends who have helped us in so many ways. We’ve also been fortunate to have had the support of many American corporations that have assisted in helping the Committee help them achieve their programmatic goals. And we are grateful to the foundations – Ford, Freeman, Luce, and Starr, in particular – whose ongoing unrestricted project funding has been so important.

Furthermore, Sino-American relations would not have advanced to where they are today without the efforts of a great many talented and perceptive Chinese policymakers, educators, and analysts; it has been my privilege to have worked with many of them.

As we look ahead, I am confident that the Committee on U.S.-China Relations’ work remains as vital as ever. Wise leadership in both countries is required to prevent unexpected events, such as the United States’ mistaken bombing of China’s Belgrade embassy and the collision of a Chinese jet fighter with an American reconnaissance aircraft off Hainan Island, from spiraling out of control. A review of the past four decades of Sino-American interaction leads an optimist like me to claim that the relationship is robust enough (and leadership good enough) to withstand major shocks; another observer might say, however, that it will only be a matter of time before an event is so big – or is handled so poorly – that a crisis becomes a disaster.

But what concerns me today is not the likelihood of a single event precipitating a disaster in U.S.-China relations; instead, it is the possibility of unresolved issues accumulating in number and intensity to the point that they reach a critical mass and set off a chain reaction. From an American perspective, the two countries need to make significant progress on such sensitive matters as North Korean nuclear weapons, China’s growing trade surplus with the United States, and related questions such as the Chinese currency’s pegged exchange rate and intellectual property rights violations. Although not a bilateral issue, growing tensions in Japan-China and cross-Strait relations is also a matter of concern to the United States.

Whether China and America can continue to maintain a successful relationship – one that identifies and addresses mutual interests and resolves or finesse competing ones – is a question that will have major bearing on the prospects for world peace and prosperity this century. Leaders in China and the United States, from both inside and outside of government, must find ways to make progress on the above matters so that the overall calculus of U.S.-China relations remains positive. The National Committee on U.S.-China Relations’ unique capabilities ensure that it will continue to make important contributions toward this end. In the years ahead, although I will no longer be involved as president, I look forward to doing what I can to help.

Extending Our Thanks for Their Service

We are very proud of two of our Directors – Governor Thomas Kean and Representative Lee Hamilton – for their distinguished service to this country as chair and vice chair, respectively, of the September 11 Commission.

The two overviewed the work of the Commission, formally known as the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, laboring for nearly two years to complete its charge: to “make a full and complete accounting of the circumstances surrounding the attacks, and the extent of the United States’ preparatory for, and immediate response to, the attacks” and to make “recommendations for corrective measures that can be taken to prevent acts of terrorism.”

When the Commission issued its final report in July 2004, it had pore over 2.5 million pages of documents and conducted over 1,200 interviews.

The country owes them and their fellow Commissioners an enormous debt of gratitude for their tireless work.

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loans, is not destabilizing the Chinese economy and that others’ concern over inflation is “somewhat overstated.” Added Malpass: “My expectation is that there will continue to be massive non-performing loans, and that the system will continue to be stable.”

On China’s pegged exchange rate, he suggested that changing the yuan/dollar exchange rate would pose difficulties for both the United States and China—to a degree that neither side will actually materially change the exchange rate. He applauded China’s recent efforts that allow foreign banks, foreign investment banks, and other types of institutions to do business directly in China. Such liberalization in the financial system encourages China’s private sector to flourish, as it can be used to bypass the state-owned banking system. Malpass concluded his remarks with a review of where he thought current trends were heading: “Fast GDP growth, higher interest rates, strong non-urban consumption growth, financial market innovation, liberalization of capital outflows, and more regulatory constraints on fixed investment. I expect the currency to remain relatively stable and trade tensions to increase a bit as the U.S. continues to run a large bilateral trade deficit with China.”

Following the panelists’ remarks, John L. Holden, National Committee president, moderated a lively discussion that engaged all three panelists and the audience.