

Notes from The NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS

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CARLA HILLS HEADS NATIONAL COMMITTEE BOARD

Carla A. Hills, chairman and chief executive officer of Hills & Company and former U.S. Trade Representative, has been named the new chairman of the National Committee on United States-China Relations' Board of Directors. Ambassador Hills succeeds Barber B. Conable, Jr., who has led the National Committee's board since 1992.

"Carla is the ideal person to become the National Committee's next Chairman," outgoing Chairman Conable said. "She is a recognized leader in the international relations field whose distinguished career combines significant positions in government and the private sector with service to non-profit organizations."

Prior to founding her international consulting firm, Hills & Company, in 1993, Ambassador Hills held a number of significant government posts: U.S. Trade Representative (1989-1993), Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Ford administration and, from 1974-1975, Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division of the U.S. Department of Justice. She co-founded the Los Angeles law firm of Munger Tolles & Hills and

was an adjunct professor at the University of California at Los Angeles Law School.

Ambassador Hills joined the National Committee's Board of Directors in December 1993 and has served as a member of its Executive Committee and as a vice chairman. She has traveled to China with several National Committee delegations, including the U.S.-China Dialogue in 1993 and 2000, and led the Committee's Economic and Trade Relations Study Group in 1995. Ambassador Hills also has been a gracious host to many Chinese delegations the National Committee has brought to Washington, sharing with them her perspective on current economic and trade issues.

"The National Committee has benefited tremendously from Carla's support and dedication for many years," president John L. Holden said following formal approval of Ambassador Hills' chairmanship by the Board of Directors' Executive Committee on May 15. "We look forward to working with her even more closely during her tenure as chairman."

NATIONAL COMMITTEE WELCOMES NEW AMBASSADOR

Former U.S. ambassadors to China Winston Lord, James Lilley, J. Stapleton Roy, and James Sasser, along with Sharon Woodcock and Betty Lou Hummel, widows of former U.S. Ambassadors Leonard Woodcock and Arthur Hummel, served as honorary hosts for the National Committee's luncheon welcoming new Chinese Ambassador Yang Jiechi to the United States. The luncheon followed an example set three years ago when then-Ambassador James Sasser held a luncheon in Washington for the former Chinese Ambassador, Li Zhaoxing.

In addition to the distinguished hosts, the luncheon, held in Washington D.C. on March 29, attracted an audience of more than 100 invited guests, including Asia specialists from the White House and State Department; Senators John D.

Rockefeller IV, Paul S. Sarbanes, and Craig Thomas; media leaders Katharine Graham and Rupert Murdoch; scholars; business representatives; and other National Committee friends. The Coca-Cola Company provided generous support for the luncheon.

In his remarks, Ambassador Yang combined his impressions of key issues in Sino-American relations with personal reminiscences. He recalled his first trip to the United States, as an interpreter for a delegation hosted by the National Committee. "I think I saw more of America on that two-week tour than during my entire time as deputy chief of mission at the Embassy in Washington D.C.," he said. Ambassador Yang stressed that the United States and China should "forge productive, cooperative relations," and em-

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New National Committee Board Chairman Carla A. Hills with John Holden.



John Holden presenting a bicycle as a gift to Ambassador Yang Jiechi with former U.S. Ambassador to China James Sasser.

phasized the commonality of interests between the two countries.

He also recognized the contributions made by American leaders in the field of U.S.-China relations, including Leonard Woodcock, Arthur Hummel, Michel Oksenberg and Doak Barnett and called for new leaders to continue their dedicated efforts.

At the end of the luncheon, the National Committee presented Ambassador Yang with a special gift: a shiny red bicycle for his 12-year-old daughter, who will be joining her parents in Washington, D.C. this summer. Reports are that the Embassy staff is “testing” it out until her arrival!

PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

The April 1 collision of a U.S. reconnaissance plane and a PRC fighter in international air space 65 miles off the coast of China’s Hainan Island marks another important inflection point in the labyrinthine evolution of U.S.-China relations. This unfortunate (and, for the Chinese fighter pilot Wang Wei and his family, tragic) accident, and the ways the Chinese and American governments have dealt with it, laid bare a number of unsightly aspects of U.S.-China relations.

First of all, it is important to state that it was truly unfortunate that the PRC had ignored previous American warnings about the dangerous intercepts its fighters had made. Had the Chinese J-8 fighter flown at a safe distance from the EP-3 the accident simply could not have happened. It is also regrettable that the two countries were unable to deal with the matter speedily and quietly, as officials had handled a number of similar incidents involving Soviet aircraft forced to land in U.S. territory during the Cold War. American Ambassador Joseph Prueher’s attempts to get in touch with a responsible interlocutor at the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs took approximately ten hours. Reliable reports indicate that Secretary of State Colin Powell’s early attempts to use the “hot line” to contact Chinese Deputy Premier Qian Qichen were unsuccessful because Qian was planting trees outside of Beijing and unable to take the call.

In this age of CNN and “web”-woven communications, international incidents can not stay out of sight for long, so it is not surprising that the American Pacific Command informed the public about the incident about ten hours afterwards, thus closing the opening for a quiet resolution.

At this point both governments’ options became considerably more constrained by domestic politics, resulting in a

tense stand-off for ten days and an eventual resolution that had been on the table for some time and could/should have been agreed upon much earlier. Perhaps the principal constraint for the Chinese side was the claim by the PLA that the EP-3 had veered into the Chinese fighter, and was thus responsible for the accident. (The pilot of the other intercepting fighter said he witnessed this; according to aviation experts, it is entirely possible that what he saw was the effect of the collision, not the cause of it.)

The negotiations were mainly driven by two differing tactical and two shared strategic concerns. For the United States, the tactical concern was that the 24 members of the American crew be returned safely and quickly in order to avoid a replay of the Iranian hostage incident. For China, the tactical concern was that the government not appear to be humiliated by the United States. In both countries these concerns were complicated—and mitigated—by the strategic needs to avoid escalating the crisis and to preserve the overall bilateral relationship.

For America and China the incident exposed disagreeable and uncomfortable aspects about the other, but also underscored the importance to both countries of their relationship and of finding ways to communicate better and get along better. We hope the two countries will take seriously their joint determination to find mechanisms to handle such accidents in the future. We at the National Committee will continue to sponsor Sino-American dialogue on both civilian and military issues. With our efforts adding to those of the two governments, perhaps the next crisis will be handled without the anxiety of this one.

John L. Holden
July 2001

AMERICA-CHINA FORUM DELEGATION CONSULTS LEADERS IN BEIJING AND SHANGHAI

Following approval by the boards of the National Committee and the America-China Society (ACS), ACS has become the America-China Forum (ACF) of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Founded in 1987 by former Secretaries of State Henry A. Kissinger and Cyrus Vance with the purpose of improving understanding between the United States and the People's Republic, ACS-ACF counts among its directors former presidents, secretaries of state, national security advisers, and business leaders. With its new National Committee affiliation, management of its activities will be handled by the National Committee staff under the direction of ACF president Herbert J. Hansell.

ACF's first major function was a visit to China in March for discussions with senior leaders. Dr. Henry Kissinger led the delegation of American political, business and academic leaders which included W. Wayne Booker, Ford Motor Company vice-chairman; David M. Lampton, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies professor and former president of the National Committee; Herbert Levin, retired diplomat; Kenneth Lieberthal, University of Michigan professor and former senior director for Asia on the National Security Council; William Perry, former Secretary of Defense; J. Stapleton Roy, former U.S. Ambassador to China; Ezra F. Vogel, Harvard University professor; and John C. Whitehead, former Deputy Secretary of State. National Committee President John L. Holden and Vice President Jan Berris also accompanied the group on the March 18-22 trip to Beijing and Shanghai.

The Chinese People's Institute for Foreign Affairs served as the group's host and arranged meetings with President Jiang Zemin, Defense Min-

ister Chi Haotian, Beijing Mayor Liu Qi, First Party Secretary Jia Qinglin, General Xiong Guangkai, Vice Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, and Vice Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-

staff at the Consulate General in Shanghai and some members of the American press. In addition to these meetings, prior to the start of the formal program, members of the group



Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and China expert Kenneth Lieberthal surrounded by students at Peking University during the ACS-ASF delegation's two-week trip to China in March. Delegation members held a roundtable discussion with the students in Beijing.

operation Long Yongtu, as well as a roundtable discussion with Chinese policymakers and academics.

William Perry took over the leadership reins for a day-long visit to Shanghai that featured discussions with former mayor Wang Daohan, who is currently chairman of the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait; Mayor Xu Kuangdi; and several scholars and think tank representatives.

The National Committee supplemented this itinerary with several activities designed to give the delegates a look at changes in Chinese society that have occurred in recent years. The delegation members engaged in a roundtable discussion on U.S.-China relations with students in the American studies program at Peking University. The group also met with many Americans working in China, including the Board of Directors of the American Chamber of Commerce,

enjoyed opportunities to meet with Chinese entrepreneurs and take in some sightseeing at the Ming Tombs and Summer Palace—Dr. Kissinger's first trip there since he visited 30 years ago with Zhou Enlai.

One particular highlight of the trip was a reception commemorating the 30th anniversary of "ping-pong diplomacy," the first people-to-people exchange between the United States and the PRC. This event had special resonance for several members of the group who were directly involved in bringing about "ping pong diplomacy." The festivities included a ping-pong exhibition, at which Dr. Kissinger himself was seen hitting a few ping-pong balls across the table with Chinese Vice Premier Li Lanqing and Director of the Communist Party's Leading Group on Foreign Affairs Liu Huaqiu while cameras flashed all around.

“I THINK THIS IS THE START OF A BEAUTIFUL FRIENDSHIP”

By Helen Ginger Berrigan

The National Committee continued its judicial reform programming with a Ford Foundation-funded program for senior-level judicial officials from the Supreme People's Court of China. The two-week study tour (February 9-23) focused on the management of judicial personnel and judicial work in the United States, during visits to Washington, D.C., New Orleans, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Observation of various trial proceedings gave the group opportunities to see how trials are managed in different court systems (federal, state and specialized local courts). In addition, delegation members attended sessions that highlighted the various responsibilities and concerns of judges, lawyers, the media, bar associations, law clerks and other court personnel with regard to the administration of justice in the United States.

Collaboration with some of the American judges who participated in National Committee-sponsored delegations to China in 1998 and 2000 added continuity to the programming. The one-time guests of the Chinese judiciary found it rewarding to serve as hosts to the visiting judges. The following are the impressions of one such host, the Honorable Helen Ginger Berrigan, United States District Judge, Eastern District of Louisiana.

When I got the phone call telling me that the Supreme People's Court of China was coming to New Orleans, and during Mardi Gras season no less, my reaction was both delight and terror. Delight that I would be hostess to the highest court in China, with the opportunity to compare experiences and enhance international camaraderie; terror at how they would react to my town and its lifestyle. New Orleans at any time is laid back, sensual and often decadent—and during Carnival Season, all the more so. I thought of my own

judicial trip to China in the summer of 1998, courtesy of the National Committee and the Shanghai High Court, and remembered my meetings with the Chinese judges... the formal greetings over tea, the physical reserve, the utmost courtesies and the dignity of every session. With those images in my head, I found it difficult to imagine the judges of the Supreme Court of China on Bourbon Street!

in my life, much less a Louisiana-based meal from scratch. This would be no easy task.

Alas, there was nothing to worry about. New Orleans, our local judiciary and my home could not have asked for more gracious, fun-loving and appreciative guests. From the moment they arrived (though many hours late and in the middle of the night), they were smiling, asking questions, and making friends



The delegation members with United States Supreme Court Justice David Souter. Left to right: Mr. Yang Jianyu, Judge Luo Shuping, Judge Xiong Xuanguo, Mr. Jiang Fukang, Justice Souter, Judge Zhang Jun, Judge Song Jianchao, Mr. Wang Liwen.

Then came the “wish list” of topics the Chinese judges were hoping to cover during their stay. Their interests were so many and so varied that the list could have read “everything anyone could ever want to know about the American judicial system” including federal, state, local and administrative matters. Along with these requests were additional instructions from the National Committee such as to allow double time for serial translation and to schedule sessions with at least an hour and a half for each topic. All this had to be packed into only two days in New Orleans. On top of these other itinerary demands, the delegation had to find time to sleep, although I was not sure when that was going to happen.

As the final source of performance anxiety, I had precipitously suggested to the Committee that I would host the entire delegation at my home one evening for a home-cooked Louisiana meal! I had never cooked for 14 people

with everyone they encountered.

The group truly enjoyed New Orleans and especially loved the Mardi Gras parades! Some of them caught more beads than did natives with years of experience! The crazed excitement of Bourbon Street did not phase them. I do not know the Chinese words for “Laissez les bon temps roulez” (the New Orleans motto: “Let the good times roll”), but the delegation absorbed the idea even without a translation. Physical reserve was no concern either. Within 48 hours, the formal handshakes were gone, replaced by hugs all around and much laughter. Judge Jiang Fukang, a specialist on judicial conduct and propriety, declared with good humor that Chinese judges could hug American judges since we were of equal stature.

The judicial meetings went smoothly too. With little sleep, the delegation began their first day a little after 9:30 a.m. sitting in on a settlement conference in state civil court, coinci-

dentally involving a Chinese-American litigant. From there the group went to the Louisiana Supreme Court, visiting the central staff to learn how state criminal cases are processed. The group also had a chance to take a look through the large library with its vast array of automated resources as well as an extensive hard-copy set of statutes, casebooks, and law reviews from all 50 states. For lunch, we joined the Chief Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, Pascal Calogero, for jambalaya and southern fried chicken and to talk comparatively about what it is like to be “top judge” in a jurisdiction. Then the group went to a state court of appeal, visiting with a judge who is deeply involved with judicial education programs, both domestic and foreign. Next the group visited a federal court for a meeting with two civil magistrate judges to learn how they assist the trial court judges with pre-trial discovery matters. This was a topic of great interest to the delegation members.

The next day’s schedule was equally packed, beginning with a meeting with a federal criminal magistrate

judge, and then observing his jail bond hearings and initial criminal proceedings in court. After that, the group met with a federal trial court judge who is very knowledgeable about automation of court proceedings. The Chinese judges ate lunch with other federal district court judges at the federal courthouse.

During lunch the interpreter had a challenging time trying to translate the menu’s Louisiana “dirty rice” to something that sounded palatable to our guests. They were game though, and tried it. After lunch, the Social Security administration put on a “mock hearing” in my court to show how disability petitions are handled—special request of the delegation. We finished the day with a trip to the federal court of appeal for a meeting with two appellate judges to talk about their jurisdiction and daily tasks. The two days were packed with information, but the delegation always had more questions to ask. Their curiosity and enthusiasm were boundless.

My dinner even turned out fine! With a little help from my friends (actually, a lot of help from my friends), the delegation was served a home-cooked Louisiana meal of shrimp sauce piquant, rice and salad, plus some assorted Louisiana appetizers. I am proud to report that several people even asked for seconds. We drank a lot of wine, my husband offered up some of his finest cigars, we listened to Chinese music, and toasted everything we could think of, having a grand old time!

The night before the delegation’s departure, I thought back on my own judicial visit to China with the National Committee and what I had learned from



Judge Ginger Berrigan with Judge Zhang Jun.

the wonderful experience. Under our system of law, barely 200 years old, we emphasize individual rights—sometimes at the expense of societal values and stability—and we require an independent judiciary to see that those rights are enforced, even in the face of majority opposition. For thousands of years, China has stressed communal harmony and relied upon village elders to pass down wise decisions on disputes, which the villagers have accepted to avoid discord. In our legal system, we call that arbitration or mediation and are only now developing it as an alternative to the often overly adversarial and individualistic system we use.

At the same time, China is struggling to adapt its traditions to the modern world. China is now working to establish a “rule of law” in which objective legal principles are uniformly applied, not just in a particular village, but throughout the country and international community, and where judgments are

respected and enforceable. While visiting the city of Wuhan in 1998, I remember a judge asking how we enforced judgments in the United States. I was puzzled and said something to the effect that we mail them out and people abide by them. The judge shook his head and smiled and asked if I had noticed how in town the drivers ignore the traffic lights. I had. It amazed me that in “broad daylight” drivers would routinely pass through a red light if no traffic was coming the other way, barely slowing down. The Chinese judge said this simple example was indicative of the general Chinese population’s attitude toward “the law.”

As the legal system continues to evolve, China is passing out of the village community into its own individualistic stage, where the village elder no longer commands obedience. I believe we can give our Chinese colleagues hope because, despite our individualistic and adversarial system, individuals by and large respect the legal judgments of our courts. Everywhere our group traveled in China, we found

men and women in the legal community trying to do the “just” thing, regardless of historic and philosophical differences, just as I see people in America doing. With that common goal, we have a lot to gain from spending time with each other and exchanging ideas and experiences.

The delegation was flying out early the last day around 7:00 a.m. Realizing that I already knew I would miss the presence of my new friends, I hurried out to the airport in my jogging gear to see them off. They were as delighted to see me come say hello as I was sad to be saying goodbye. Another round of hugs and laughter and then it was time for them to leave. My last image was of Judge Zhang Jun, head of the delegation, turning back to me as he was about to board the plane, throwing me a kiss and in halting English saying “Next year, Beijing!” Ah, Humphrey Bogart could not have said it better... Judge Zhang, you betcha!

WOODCOCK, HUMMEL AND OKSENBERG: NATIONAL COMMITTEE REMEMBERS THREE GIANTS

The articles on these two pages recall the extraordinary achievements and contributions of Leonard Woodcock, Arthur Hummel Jr. and Michel Oksenberg in the field of U.S.-China Relations. All three passed away this winter.

By Warren Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker

It was a particularly cruel winter for those of us who work on Chinese-American relations. In the span of five weeks, between January 16 and February 22, Leonard Woodcock, Arthur Hummel Jr. and Michel Oksenberg died, three men who played critical roles in establishing and preserving relations between the United States and China. Too few of their stature remain to impress upon American policymakers and opinion leaders the value of engaging China today.

Mike provided national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski with the information and insight into the workings of the Chinese government that Brzezinski needed to persuade President Jimmy Carter that the time had come to normalize relations with Beijing. Once given the green light, Leonard Woodcock handled the negotiations in China and won over Deng Xiaoping. However angry some of us are about what happened in the vicinity of Tiananmen in 1989 or disappointed by subsequent Chinese behavior on human rights issues or toward Taiwan, no one can deny the enormous importance of the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1979 after the absurdity of 30 years of non-recognition. Indeed, Woodcock and Oksenberg opened the way for genuine strategic cooperation between the United States and China in the midst of the Cold War, at a time in which the Soviet threat seemed to be increasing. Chinese assistance was tremendously helpful in shifting the correlation of forces against the Soviets.

The key player in the 1980s was Art Hummel, most obviously during the years he served as ambassador to China. However, as early as 1965, when he was deputy chief of mission in Taipei, he indicated new directions in American policy by making it clear to Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues that the United States would no longer be manipulated by its friends on Taiwan. It would not longer

stand by silently while Kuomintang officials blamed Americans for their defeat on the mainland and insisted the United States was therefore obligated to help them reverse the verdict of the 1940s. Taiwan would have to find a new basis for winning American support and perhaps it was in those days that the seeds of democratic reform took root on the island.

As ambassador in Beijing from 1981 to 1985, Art had the difficult assignment of sustaining Chinese-American strategic cooperation in the face of President Reagan's demonstrations of distaste for the Communist regime and preference for Taiwan. The relationship reached the breaking point in 1982 over the unending issue of American arms sales to Taiwan. Reagan grudgingly accepted the argument of his secretary of state, Alexander Haig, that China was so important strategically that compromise with Beijing was essential. It was up to Art to guide negotiations toward an agreement with Deng: the August communiqué of 1982, in which

the United States reaffirmed its one China policy and declared its intention to reduce arms sales to Taiwan gradually. Neither Deng nor Reagan were satisfied with the compromise, but the two countries, still uneasy about the Soviet threat, maintained their cooperative efforts and strengthened their ties until June 4, 1989.

In 1977, Leonard Woodcock was appointed chief of mission at the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing. He jokingly told friends that given that he had no diplomatic training, "They'll probably throw me out after six months." But his superb negotiating skills, honed during his leadership of America's second largest union (the United Auto Workers), stood him in good stead as he negotiated the agreement that normalized relations between China and the United States. Leonard thus became the first American ambassador to the People's Republic of China when formal diplomatic relations were established in 1979. In 1981, after the defeat of Jimmy Carter's bid for reelection, Leonard returned to Michigan where he actively furthered American understanding of China and of the value to both countries of cooperation. The great labor leader taught at the University of Michigan, chaired the Governor's Commission on China and advised scores of academics, businessmen, and political

Photo not available.

Ambassador Leonard Woodcock with Mrs. Woodcock and Zhu Rongji.

Photo not available.

Ambassador Arthur Hummel

leaders on Chinese affairs.

After the heady years at the National Security Council, Mike returned to academic life and, succeeding his own mentor, Doak Barnett, became the leading figure in the country in the training of students about Chinese politics. No one knew more about the subject. Virtually every prominent scholar in the field today owes something to Mike's teaching. In addition, Mike was consulted on policy toward China by every administration in the 1980s and 1990s and his insights informed businessmen and journalists as well.

Leonard Woodcock, Mike Oksenberg and Art Hummel, three men with vast experience in working with China, were absolutely convinced of the transcendent importance of Chinese-American relations. All three were saddened by China's poor human rights performance, but they considered themselves realists, men who put the interests of the United States first, determined to cooperate with China now and hope for improvement in China's internal situation in the near future.

America—and China—have lost three men who made possible the good relations of the 1980s and who contributed mightily to holding the relationship together during the more troubled 1990s. They knew how important it was to both countries and to the peace of East Asia for China and the United States to cooperate. We can only hope that we will find, on both sides of the Pacific, men and women of comparable wisdom and judgment to replace them.

By Jan Berris

We asked Nancy Tucker and Warren Cohen, diplomatic historians and friends of Leonard, Art and Mike, to write about the important role these three men played in Sino-American relations. All three also played important roles in the National Committee on United States-China Relations, between them serving a combined 39 years on the Board of Directors and 15 years on the Executive Committee. The following are just a few personal reminiscences about these friends whose wise counsel will be so sorely missed at the Committee.

When invited to join the National Committee in 1971, Leonard Woodcock wrote to then chairman Alexander Eckstein, "There are few things more important, in my opinion, than to open lines of communication between China and the United States." Thus, in 1976, when we were asked for some out-of-the-box suggestions to head the American Liaison Office in Beijing, Leonard's name was a natural—for his stature and skill as a labor leader, his support for Jimmy Carter's campaign, and his strong interest in China. We can no longer claim sole credit for being responsible for that appointment; at Leonard's memorial service, Ambassador Stapleton Roy mentioned that he, too, had suggested Leonard for the position. But that is not important; what is important

is that Leonard Woodcock was in the right place at the right time with the right set of skills.

Upon his return to the United States, Leonard joined the National Committee Board and could always be counted on to provide thoughtful, straightforward advice in a no-nonsense manner. Whenever we might be wavering on an issue or unsure of the best way to proceed, Leonard was there to offer the unvarnished truth and lead us in the right direction.

Leonard was seen by many as a quiet, taciturn, even aloof man. But those who knew him well, and especially those who came to know him after his marriage to the warm, outgoing Sharon Tuohy (the nurse at the Liaison Office), saw a much different persona. Indeed, upon taking up residence in Ann Arbor, he became the most popular man in the neighborhood among young and old alike. His and Sharon's home became a gathering place where everyone knew they would find a cheerful welcome and interesting conversation. He was known to all the children as Lao Wu – Wu being his surname in Chinese and Lao being the adjective placed in front of family names to indicate both respect and affection. And Lao Wu will always have the respect and affection of those of us who were fortunate enough to work with him.

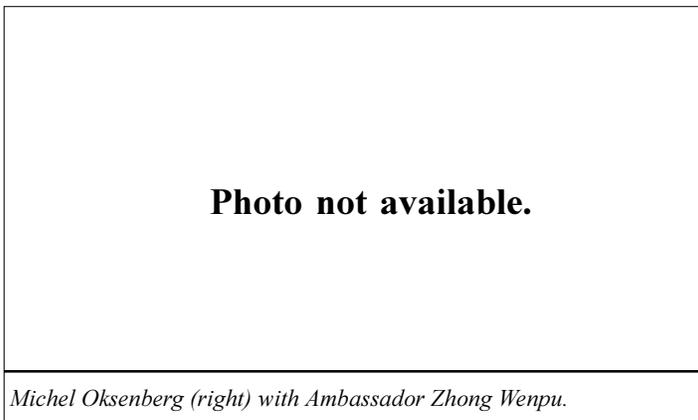
Art Hummel was born in China, where his father, after whom he was named, was a Congregational minister. The elder Art later became a distinguished scholar, heading the Orientalia division of the Library of Congress and writing one of the most important reference books on the Qing dynasty. However, younger Art had more of a rebellious, less academic nature, and his life was filled with excitement. He was thrown out of prep school twice and dropped out of Antioch College to hitchhike across the Midwest. That was pretty adventurous, but nothing compared with the next stage of his life. Returning to Beijing to study Chinese,

Art was there in 1940 when the city was overrun by the Japanese and he spent two years in an internment camp before escaping and joining a Nationalist guerrilla unit.

The adventures continued when he joined the State Department. One of his first assignments was to find material that would support the testimony of Foreign Service officers during the McCarthy hearings. While Ambassador to Pakistan, radicals there shot and killed a Marine guard and set fire to the embassy. His coolness in such situations was recognized. He was awarded with many ambassadorships and senior posts in the Foreign Service (two deputy assistant secretaryships, assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific, and ambassador to Burma, Ethiopia, Pakistan and the PRC).

Like Leonard Woodcock, Art Hummel's outwardly quiet demeanor shielded an inner core of steel and strength and also like Leonard, Art could always be counted on to speak

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Michel Oksenberg (right) with Ambassador Zhong Wenpu.

AMERICAN AND CHINESE EXPERTS SHARE IDEAS ON NATURAL DISASTER RELIEF

During recent years, the National Committee has run several programs that have brought together people from mainland China, Hong Kong SAR, and Taiwan who share similar professional interests. The most recent of these was a group of seven senior government and non government organization leaders in the field of natural disaster management who came together to exchange ideas with their American counterparts about how to best prepare for and respond to the floods, earthquakes, fires and typhoons that have plagued the region throughout history.

The program participants met with American professionals involved in disaster management in Washington, D.C.; Miami; and San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento, Calif. National Committee staff Marilyn Beach put together a two-week program in March that examined how the public and private sectors work together to address the effects of natural disasters in the United States. The delegation met with federal, regional, state, and municipal government organizations; research and training institutions; locally based departments of emergency management; relief organizations; and independent groups working to coordinate public and private efforts in the aftermath of disasters. Participants learned about practices designed to limit human suffering and economic loss, such as rapid assessment of needs, prioritizing actions and information sharing, and explored policy issues related to funding disaster work, service provision and private sector involvement.

The group met with officials at American Red Cross in Washington D.C., where they discussed the International Disaster Response Unit, which helps respond to foreign disasters by working with foreign governments and non-governmental organizations and learned about the Disaster Operations Center, which acquires and assigns resources for the relief effort to help vic-

tims of disasters around the world. In Miami, where hurricanes often wreak havoc, the delegation members met with Miami-Dade County officials, the National Hurricane Center/Tropical Prediction Center, and a local insurance company, offering a view of how Miami agencies work together to help the city recover from hurricanes. In Oakland and Sacramento, they visited sev-

Alameda, Calif., viewing first-hand how one organization handles emergency responses.

The collision of an American reconnaissance plane and a Chinese fighter jet and the subsequent political fallout happened while the group was in the United States. However, the delegation members never lost sight of their purpose and remained committed



Members of the Natural Disaster Relief delegation at Everglades National Park.

eral emergency services agencies to learn how American federal, state, and county governments divide tasks to deal with disasters such as earthquakes and fires.

The program also gave delegation members and American organizations a timely opportunity to share information. Delegation members were especially pleased to visit the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), an independent government agency based in Washington D.C. that is responsible for responding to, planning for, recovering from, and mitigating against disaster. Both the Chinese participants and the contacts at FEMA were excited to finally have a chance to meet and talk about dealing with floods since previous attempts to meet had failed.

The group was able to combine work with pleasure in a day at Everglades National Park, learning how rangers protect the park's unique natural environment during disasters. Another highlight of the program was a ride-along with the National Coast Guard's search and rescue team in

to cooperation. Upon hearing about the incident, they stated that they would leave politics to the politicians and stay focused on their business: finding ways to work together to prevent as much damage and injury as possible when natural disasters strike their region.

Members of the delegation were Chen Hsingjye, chief of Nantou Fire Department, Taiwan; Gu Renfa, associate general secretary, The Amity Foundation, PRC; He Tongxing, vice president of China Charities Foundation, PRC; Hseih Kuo-hsing, chief secretary, National Alliance for Post-Earthquake Reconstruction and Professor at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan; Ng Sheung-lok, director, Emergency Support Unit, Hong Kong Security Bureau, Hong Kong SAR; Wong Mok Fai, assistant secretary general, International Relief Services Division, Hong Kong Red Cross, Hong Kong SAR; and Zhang Xiaoning, deputy division chief, Disaster Relief Division, Disaster and Social Relief, Ministry of Civil Affairs, PRC.

WINNERS OF FIRST ANNUAL A. DOAK BARNETT ESSAY CONTEST ANNOUNCED

American and Chinese graduate students shared their perspectives on problems in U.S.-China relations and suggested possible means to resolve them in the inaugural A. Doak Barnett Memorial Essay Contest. The 50 thought-provoking essays submitted addressed a range of specific issues, such as the status of Taiwan, trade, human rights, the role of other countries in the region, fundamental differences in the way the two countries perceive one another, and the goals of the bilateral relationship. This essay competition honors Doak Barnett, an internationally recognized scholar and loyal supporter of the National Committee from its founding to his death in March 1999, and draws on contributions made to the memorial fund established in his name.

The top American and Chinese essayists, Helen Shaw of Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and Yuelin Zhu of George Washington University, received awards of \$1,000 and special recognition at the National Committee's luncheon welcoming China's new ambassador to the United States (*see story p. 1*). Their essays were ranked highest by the panel of judges, which in-

cluded Doak's widow Jeanne Barnett, Harry Harding of George Washington University, Hao Yufan of Colgate University, David M. Lampton of SAIS and Lucian Pye of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Ms. Shaw's essay, "Chinese Migrant Smuggling: An Opportunity for U.S.-China Cooperation," examines the impetus for the multi-billion dollar business of human trafficking and recommends that the two countries act together to reduce the "push" and "pull" factors that affect international migration flows. The sharing of immigration information and legal expertise, together with American support for China's economic development, are some of the measures she advocates. In "The Antipathy of Images," Yuelin Zhu writes that since the Sino-American relationship is much more than government-to-government contacts, more attention should be paid to the way citizens in both countries view each other. His practical recommendations include broader access to movies and cultural exhibits, a more proactive role for Chinese immigrants and students in the United States and increased support for people-to-people exchange programs.

Two other students, one American

and one Chinese, received honorable mentions for their essays. In "A Walk Through Chengdu," Harvard University student Craig Simons used his firsthand impressions of Chengdu to demonstrate the great changes underway in Chinese society and outline ways that the United States and China can help ensure the success and stability of China's reform program. Li Jia, a student at East China Normal University, addressed "The Taiwan Issue: A Sensitive Barometer of U.S.-China Relations." To facilitate a peaceful solution to cross-Strait tensions, she recommends that Beijing avoid setting a public deadline for reunification, that the United States play a greater role in promoting cross-Strait dialogue and that both the United States and China take active roles in Track II dialogue.

These four essays have been combined in a special National Committee publication and are also posted on the website (www.ncusr.org). Guidelines for the 2001 competition will be announced in the fall. If you are interested in receiving a copy of the essay publication or providing support for this annual competition, please contact Anne Phelan at the National Committee (aphelan@ncusr.org).

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the plain, unadorned truth. Those characteristics, along with his vast knowledge of China and the Chinese people were of tremendous help to the National Committee and he was always gave generously of his time and advice, even after his years of service on our Board.

When I joined the National Committee staff in 1971, Mike Oksenberg (a junior faculty member at Columbia University) was already very engaged in Committee activities and his fertile, creative mind was evident even then. He had ideas galore, many of which became important Committee projects: to name just a few, the 1972 conference on China's developmental experience (though the book that resulted from that conference is long out of print,

the Committee still receives requests for the publication); the U.S.-China Dialogue, the first sustained Track II talks between China and the United States (begun in 1984 and still continuing today); the 1994 New Generation meeting which brought together talented young people from the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the United States to discuss changes in their respective societies and how these changes had an impact on their relations with the others.

Mike was the only person to participate in both the first and second National Committee Board delegations to China (1972 and 1973), and I was thrilled to join him on the latter — the first of many wonderful visits to China we took together over the next 28 years.

He was one of my favorite people to travel with—always ready for an adventure. Mike could not pass up any opportunity to engage in conversation with people, no matter their age, gender, occupation or status, and open doors beckoned irresistibly. Most of the time it was great fun; occasionally it landed us or the Chinese we met in a spot of trouble. Like the time we climbed out of the window of a guest house (the front gate being locked) in Henan's Lin Xian at 5:30 a.m. to go walking around in the fields, talking to the folks threshing the grain. That evening we were asked by our hosts to please not do that again since the presence of foreigners was so novel (this being 1973) that the peasants weren't getting any work done

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and this would mean they might not reach their weekly quota. Or the time he wandered into an unguarded compound in a small city and opened a door to a room which turned out to be the men's shower: it was a toss up as to who was more surprised – Mike and his American pals or the guys taking a shower!

At his memorial his sister recalled how as a young child Mike created an imaginary baseball team, complete with players, owners, coaches, etc. and used to come to the

breakfast table each day, relating not just the scores of recently played games, but analyzing the recent trades that had taken place and the reasons behind them. Anyone who knew the adult Mike could see the genesis of his fascination with the intricacies of China's leadership changes.

Mike's joyful exuberance, insatiable curiosity, passion for China, and enthusiasm in proselytizing that passion made him one of the guiding lights of the Committee and his untimely death leaves us all diminished.

BOARD NEWS

Former Board Members Take Bush Administration Posts

President George W. Bush has appointed former National Committee Director Andrew H. Card, Jr. to serve as his Chief of Staff. This appointment marks a return to government service for Mr. Card, who held the posts of Assistant to the President, Deputy Chief of Staff and Secretary of Transportation in the administration of President George Bush and served as Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs in the Reagan administration. His most recent position was as vice president of governmental relations for General Motors.

Elaine L. Chao has been named Secretary of Labor, the first Asian-American woman to hold a cabinet position. Before taking that post, she was a distinguished fellow at the Heritage Foundation, president and chief executive officer of the United Way of America and director of the Peace Corps. She also held the positions of Chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, Deputy Maritime Administrator in the Department of Transportation, and Deputy Secretary of Transportation in the administration of President George Bush.

New Position for Matt Salmon

Former U.S. Congressman and current National Committee director Matt Salmon has opened the Phoenix office of APCO Worldwide, a public affairs and strategic communications firm. Mr. Salmon will focus on APCO's projects in the United States and Asia. While in the House of Representatives, he served on the International Relations Committee, including its Subcommittee on East Asia and the Pacific and Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. Mr. Salmon joined the National Committee board of directors in January 2001, after three terms in Congress.

Directors' Bookshelf

In *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform* (Stanford University Press), editor David M. Lampton and 15 contributing authors consider changes in China's policy-making processes and evaluate the effects of these changes on key issues. China's policy-making processes presents two faces, Lampton contends; while the senior elite retains considerable influence in setting the broad agenda and in crisis management, pluralization of policy-making means that Beijing more frequently speaks with multiple voices on a range of issues. The authors examine the roles of institutions and localities, the patterns of elite and societal opinion, and the influence of the international system and assess how these variables have played out in policies related to Taiwan, World Trade Organization accession, arms control and the Korean peninsula.

Several National Committee directors have gained a wider audience for their writing on U.S.-China relations with the recent Chinese publication of *Living with China: U.S.-China Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (Xinhua Publishers). The 1997 volume, edited by director Ezra Vogel, was prepared for a meeting of the American Assembly. More than 60 people, drawn from diverse constituencies, met for four days to develop a statement on long-term U.S. interests with respect to China. Current and former directors who contributed chapters to this book include Julia Chang Bloch, Harry Harding, David M. Lampton, Kenneth Lieberthal, Douglas Paal, Dwight Perkins and the late Michel Oksenberg.

The National Committee has added a Members' Bookshelf feature to its website. Committee members who have had a book published since January 2000 may contact Anne Phelan (aphelan@ncuscr.org).

The National Committee will celebrate its 35th anniversary at our biennial Gala Dinner on October 2 at The Plaza in New York. Please contact the National Committee for information and tickets.

PROGRAM CALENDAR

This calendar briefly describes major National Committee events since our last edition. Programs were held in New York City unless otherwise indicated.

*Taiwan's Political Turmoil and Economic Troubles
Washington, DC
January 9, 2001*

Nine months after taking office, Taiwan's President Chen Shui-bian faced major challenges on several fronts. The National Committee and the Heritage Foundation cosponsored a half-day public program in Washington, D.C. to discuss these developments. Panelists Harvey Feldman of the Heritage Foundation, Shelley Rigger of Davidson College and Bruce Dickson of George Washington University discussed Taiwan's domestic politics; Nicholas Lardy of the Brookings Institution, John Tkacik of China Business Intelligence and Vincent Wang of the University of Richmond spoke about economic concerns; and John L. Holden of the National Committee, Nancy Bernkopf Tucker of Georgetown University and Stephen Yates of the Heritage Foundation addressed cross-strait issues.

*Book Discussion with
David M. Lampton
Washington, DC: January 9, 2001
New York: January 29, 2001*

Former National Committee president David M. Lampton introduced his new book, *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations 1989-2000*, to National Committee members and friends in Washington, D.C. and New York. Dr. Lampton noted that while both the United States and China have enormous stakes in their bilateral relationship, neither has been particularly deft in dealing with the other. He identified several turning points in the relationship to illustrate the fundamental differences in the views of the two countries. The Washington event was cosponsored with The Nixon Center and the New York program was cosponsored with the Council on Foreign Relations.

*Corporate Briefing with
Justin Yifu Lin
New York
January 10, 2001*

Justin Lin, founder of the China Center for Economic Research at Peking University and professor of economics at Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, shared his assessment of China's current economic situation with National Committee corporate members. Prof. Lin focused on some of the major challenges that China faces, including the need to address deflation without hurting growth, bringing its economic structure into compliance with World Trade Organization regulations and reducing state-owned enterprises' capital costs.

*Corporate Briefing with
Ambassador Joseph W. Prueher
New York
February 14, 2001*

Ambassador Prueher joined National Committee corporate members in New York for a breakfast briefing on political and economic developments in China. Participants raised questions about the final hurdles to China's World Trade Organization accession, the Chinese government's incentives for investment in western China, cross-strait relations, and China's growing recognition of the roles that Congress and business play in developing American policy toward China.

*Seminar and Luncheon Address by
Zhou Mingwei, Vice Minister,
Taiwan Affairs Office
of the State Council
New York
February 20*

The National Committee hosted two programs for Zhou Mingwei during his first visit to the United States since being named head of the Taiwan Affairs Office. Mr. Zhou expressed his views on the outlook for cross-strait relations

during a seminar with American specialists and a luncheon for National Committee members and friends. In both presentations, he emphasized Vice Premier Qian Qichen's recent remarks on cross-strait relations, which said "...there is but one China in the world, both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China." Zhou added that under the PRC's proposed formulation for reunification, Taiwan would retain its own legislature and military and would pay no taxes to Beijing.

*Current Issues Briefing
The Tiananmen Papers
Boston: February 23, 2001
New York: April 26, 2001
San Diego: May 29, 2001*

The Tiananmen Papers publication captured media attention, ignited debate about the source of the documents and timing of their release and reminded Americans about the lasting significance of China's 1989 democracy movement. The National Committee convened public programs in several cities with editors Andrew J. Nathan and Perry Link and other experts on China's democracy movement. The editors discussed the lengthy and secretive process of producing the volume, their determination to protect the identity of their Chinese collaborator and the decision to publish both English and Chinese editions of the papers. Commentators generally agreed that while the documents do not provide much new information, they do reveal much about the tone of the discussions and the personalities involved.

For more information on the speakers at each program, please go to www.ncuscr.org and click on "Events."

*Book Discussion with
Nancy Bernkopf Tucker
New York
March 12, 2001*

The National Committee and the Council on Foreign Relations cospon-

sored a program for their New York members with author, historian and National Committee Director Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. She discussed her new book, *China Confidential: American Diplomats and Sino-American Relations, 1945-1996*, which examines U.S.-China relations through the eyes of the diplomats who formed U.S. policy. She drew upon oral history interviews conducted by the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training to present the recollections and insights of American diplomats on such events as the Chinese civil war, the Taiwan Strait crisis, Nixon's 1972 trip to China, normalization of U.S.-PRC relations and the 1989 protests at Tiananmen Square.

Luncheon Address
Vice Premier Qian Qichen
Washington, DC
March 23, 2001

China's Vice Premier Qian Qichen addressed the outlook for Sino-Ameri-

can relations during a March 23 luncheon in Washington, D.C., cosponsored by the National Committee, The Nixon Center, the U.S.-China Business Council and the U.S.-China Policy Foundation. The vice premier said that "the Taiwan question holds the key to a healthy China-U.S. relationship" and urged the United States to adhere to the three joint communiqués. He also identified areas where the Chinese and American governments share common interests, such as United Nations reform, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and preventing and solving transnational crimes.

Lecture Series on Sino-U.S. Relations
Chicago
April 11, May 8 and June 5

The National Committee and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations cosponsored a three-part lecture series on U.S.-China relations, featuring presentations by former U.S. Ambassador to China James R. Sasser; Univer-

sity of Michigan professor Kenneth Lieberthal, the former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Asian Affairs on the National Security Council; and China's Ambassador to the United States, Yang Jiechi. Speaking on the day the release of the EP-3 reconnaissance plane crew was announced, Ambassador Sasser speculated about how this incident might affect the course of U.S.-China relations. On May 8, Dr. Lieberthal said China is a high maintenance relationship for the United States, but added that a downward spiral in relations should be avoidable through diplomacy. Ambassador Yang, speaking on June 5, said the Sino-American relationship has been characterized by "peaks, valleys, ups and downs, twists and turns" and urged better communication and more exchanges between the two countries.

For more information on National Committee programs, please see our website at www.ncuscr.org.

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