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National Committee on United States-China Relations

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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Highlighting the Presidential Candidates Initiative



From left to right: Steve Orlins, Senator John Edwards, and Derek Chollet during a visit to Tiananmen and the Forbidden City.

I want to use my newsletter column to highlight the Presidential Candidates Initiative – a new National Committee program. The Initiative is a direct outgrowth of the debate surrounding CNOOC's failed acquisition of UNOCAL and a reaffirmation of our belief that education of our political leaders is critical to U.S.-China relations. The recent election of a more protectionist Congress, coupled with the news on the same day that the reserves of the People's Bank of China exceed one trillion USD, make the need for education even more important. A trip that the National Committee arranged for the US-China Congressional Working Group in January 2006 (see my President's Column in the Spring 2006 issue of *NOTES*) led

us to conclude that we could uniquely add value in this area.

Through the Presidential Candidates Initiative, the National Committee is providing the opportunity for potential 2008 presidential candidates to visit China in order to engage in direct dialogue with Chinese officials, business executives and specialists in international relations, economic development and other fields. While U.S. relations with China constitute one of the most challenging and complex bilateral relationships, American politicians and policy makers often have limited opportunities to talk directly with the Chinese policy elite; through the Presidential Candidates Initiative, we hope to bridge this gap. The Chinese host organization is the

Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC). The two organizations share the programming tasks: CPAFFC sets up all of the official meetings and the Committee sets up supplementary meetings with National Committee friends and China-based members.

The first potential presidential candidate to accept our offer was former Democratic Senator from North Carolina and 2004 vice-presidential nominee, John Edwards. With his busy schedule before the November 2006 midterm elections, he could only spare six days in late August. Unfortunately, just a few weeks before we were due to leave, our CPAFFC hosts had to cancel the visit because of an unexpected scheduling conflict. Given Senator Edwards' extremely tight schedule, he could not find another six free consecutive days so we finally had to settle for a four-day trip from October 16 to 19.

This meant we (Senator Edwards; Derek Chollet, Senator Edwards' long time foreign policy adviser and a CSIS fellow; and I) only had 50 hours on the ground. But we packed those 50 hours as fully as we could. An hour after arriving in Beijing, the Senator met with C.H. Tung, former chief executive of Hong Kong and currently vice-chairman of the China People's Political Consultative Conference, who delayed his flight home in order to meet with Edwards. From there the group went to the home of National Committee Members Chris and Freda Murck, CEO of APCO Asia and former

COVER PHOTO:
National Committee
president Stephen
Orlins (second from
right) is joined by
(left to right) honoree
Muhtar Kent, PRC
Consul General to
New York Liu Biwei
and honoree
William Weldon.

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz

curator for Asian art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art respectively, for discussion over dinner with other long time China-hands and National Committee members, including my predecessor, John Holden; former deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy, Bill McCahill; CNN bureau chief Jimi FlorCurz; country director and chief of mission for the World Bank, David Dollar; managing director of Shanghai AIAL Information Consulting Company, Andrew Andreasen; and the China bureau chief for the *Wall Street Journal*, Rebecca Blumenstein.

With a combined time of over 150 years of living and working in China and such articulate, thoughtful people, the discussion was outstanding and covered a broad range of issues including China's economy, the media in China, education, human rights, poverty alleviation and Sino-American relations. Despite having just stepped off the plane, Senator Edwards was fully engaged and so the discussion went on well past dinner. The group's insights helped prepare Edwards for a full round of meetings over the next day and a half with the following leaders:

- Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing
- Defense Minister Cao Gangchuan
- Education Minister Zhou Ji
- Vice Minister of the State Environmental Protection Agency Pan Yue
- Commerce Minister Bo Xilai
- Former Shanghai Mayor Xu Kuangdi, and
- CPAFFC President Chen Haosu

The second night's dinner was with several very engaging Chinese scholars: Cui Liru, president of the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations; Peking University economist, Justin Lin Yifu; and Victor Yuan, chairman of Horizon Research Consultancy Group. Given his political back-

ground, the Senator was particularly interested in Victor's discussion on polling in China.

Senator John Edwards was the perfect person to inaugurate the Presidential Candidates Initiative. Having never been to China, he went with an open mind to learn and see first hand what China is experiencing. His ability to absorb information rapidly and ask pointed questions was remarkable. Virtually every meeting quickly delved beneath the surface so that Senator Edwards could understand the assumptions behind the policies. Every minister the Senator saw was forthright, friendly and frank.

The discussion with the foreign minister ranged across all of the issues in U.S.-China relations beginning with North Korea (the meeting was held in the room at the Diaoyutai next to where the six party talks are held); moving on to Iran, Sudan, nonproliferation, Taiwan, trade, energy, China's role at the UN, and human rights; and ending with the upcoming U.S. midterm elections. The meeting with the defense minister focused on transparency, military-to-military exchanges, a hot line between the Chinese Ministry of Defense and the U.S. Defense Department, problems with previous arms sales from the United States to China, and China's defense planning.

The minister of education focused on China's efforts to equalize education throughout the country, its English language training effort, why Chinese choose to study engineering and math and China's ability to train and absorb into the work force thousands of engineers annually. The meeting with the vice-minister of the State Environmental Protection Agency, was also fascinating. He had flown back from Mongolia just for the meeting (and returned to Mongolia that afternoon) and was thrilled to be speaking with a political leader as famous as Senator Edwards, explaining that he regularly meets with other environmental leaders

but rarely with political leaders. He painted a bleak picture of China's environmental situation and the coordination between local and central government environmental agencies and complained that he had far too few workers in his agency to tackle its enormous workload. The minister of commerce laid out China's position on the trade deficit. He explained the role of foreign investors in the deficit, the transfer of the deficit from other Asian countries to China, and the difference in how the United States and China calculate the deficit. Oil and China's increasing reliance on imported oil was another important topic.

Our host, CPAFFC, did a terrific job lining up high level, high quality meetings. The sessions were all substantive and Senator Edwards learned an enormous amount. He left China with an infinitely clearer view of where China is, where it is going and what that means for the United States.

A week after our return, the National Committee and the Asia Society co-hosted an event at which the Senator spoke about the visit to China and was interviewed by *60 Minutes'* Leslie Stahl (see page 23).

This trip helped educate Senator Edwards about China and allowed him to begin to build relationships with senior people in the government of China. Whatever his future, Senator Edwards will remain an influential national political leader, and when China comes up as an issue he will speak from direct experience. ■

40th Anniversary Gala Dinner

*National Committee
Chair Carla Hills
welcomes U.S.
Trade Representative
Susan Schwab.*

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz



The National Committee celebrated its 40th anniversary Gala Dinner in New York City on the evening of October 12, 2006. Nearly 500 guests attended the event, which was also an occasion to recognize the contributions made by two business leaders, Muhtar Kent and William C. Weldon, to strengthening U.S.-China relations. U.S. Trade Representative Susan C. Schwab was the speaker.

Muhtar Kent is executive vice president of The Coca-Cola Company and president of Coca-Cola International, with responsibility for all of the company's operations outside of North America. In China, he oversees a market that has grown to be the company's fourth largest. Coca-Cola was the first American consumer company to return to China after Sino-American relations were normalized in 1979 and it has been an innovative business leader and strong corporate citizen in the years

since then. Coca-Cola has also been supportive of National Committee projects for many years, beginning with the visit of the Chinese Ping Pong team in 1972.

William Weldon is chairman and chief executive officer of Johnson & Johnson, a leading manufacturer of healthcare products and provider of related services for the consumer, medical devices and diagnostics markets. He has held positions in Johnson & Johnson entities in the United States and abroad during his 35-year career with the company. Johnson & Johnson began its China operations in 1985 and now has seven entities in the country; it was named "Employer of the Year" in January 2006 in a Chinese Central Television competition.

Both honorees were presented with scrolls of calligraphy and painting done by famed Chinese artist Wu Huan, who traveled from Beijing for the event.

In her keynote address, Ambassador Schwab picked up on the "responsible stakeholder" theme that then-Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick introduced at our 2005 Gala. In her remarks, she pointed to some of the challenges and opportunities that China and the United States face as joint stakeholders in the global trading system, including the Doha Round of trade negotiations.

Highlights of the evening included letters from President George Bush and Chinese President Hu Jintao, read by National Committee Chair, Carla A. Hills and Chinese Ambassador to the United Nations, Wang Guangya, respectively. Also of interest was the showing of an eight minute clip of an hour-long documentary that is being produced by the Voice of America (to show in China) on the last four decades of Sino-American relations as seen through the prism of the National Committee.

The Gala raised more than \$1.1 million for the National Committee's programs, with 55 companies and dozens of individuals providing support. ■

*Right: Former
Secretary of State
Madeleine K. Albright
talks with Assistant
Secretary of State
Christopher Hill.*

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz



*Bottom Right:
National Committee
Director Tom Gorrie
greets Wang Guangya,
China's Ambassador
to the United Nations,
and his wife,
Madame Cong Jun.*

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz



Members' Meeting Highlights Hank Greenberg

For more than 30 years, Maurice R. "Hank" Greenberg has played a singular role in advancing a healthy and constructive relationship between the United States and China. As a business leader, he has cultivated relations with China's leaders, advocated for opening the country's markets to greater foreign investment and encouraged its integration into the global community. He also has generously contributed his expertise and financial support to dozens of organizations that seek to expand and enhance the bilateral relationship. The Starr Foundation, which he chairs, has been a long-time and generous supporter of the National Committee. This year, Mr. Greenberg and the Starr Foundation once again demonstrated the depth of their commitment to strengthening U.S.-China relations by awarding the National Committee a three-year, \$3 million grant. The Committee will use this money to fund its new Policy Leaders Orientation Program and the Presidential Candidates Initiative, among others.

During the Annual Members Meeting, held November 9 in New York City, Mr. Greenberg shared his experiences, insights, and advice in an interview with Leslie "Les" Gelb, president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations. After a thoughtful introduction from National Committee Chair Carla Hills, Mr. Gelb turned the floor over to Mr. Greenberg who recounted his experiences in Korea during the Korean War and how he became interested in doing business in China. Mr. Greenberg noted: "After Nixon and Kissinger's visit

in 1972, I believed from the very beginning that you couldn't keep a country the size of China out of the world trading system or the world community. It was only a matter of time [before] it had to open and [interact with] the rest of the world."

In 1974, Mr. Greenberg initiated his first contact with the People's Insurance Company of China (PICC), and in 1975 received his first invitation to visit. Given his leadership in the field, Mr. Greenberg was able to help PICC leaders, as well as senior Chinese leaders, better understand the value of insurance, thus leading to an expansion of the industry within the Peoples' Republic of China. Mr. Greenberg also reflected on the political atmosphere in China during his first visit at the end of the Cultural Revolution, noting that he felt an overwhelming sense of bottled up potential waiting eagerly to reveal itself.

The conversation then moved to Mr. Greenberg's views on the current state of Sino-American relations, and U.S. foreign policy toward China. Mr. Greenberg pointed out that while many Americans have a cursory understanding of China, very few truly understand its leaders, history, and future political and economic aspirations. With its rich, 5,000-year history and distinct culture of its own, Mr. Greenberg also warned against trying to make China over in the American image. "I don't think you can go around the world and try to convince anybody to be like we are. I think you have to take countries as they are and not try to proselytize to them to try to be everything like us. That's a mistake. And I think we've just seen evidence of that in the election."

Mr. Greenberg pointed out that many issues in U.S.-China relations are often exaggerated which creates a lack of understanding and miscommunication. He noted that the United States cannot and should not prevent China from achieving its full potential "You can't say to China or any country, 'we don't want you to be as com-

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Les Gelb (left) and Hank Greenberg (right) take a moment to reflect after the program.

In Memoriam: Raymond P. Shafer



Chinese President Li Xiannian, Zhou Wenzhong (then interpreter now Ambassador to the United States) and Governor Ray Shafer; July 1985.

It is with deep sadness that we announce the passing of Raymond P. Shafer, the longest serving chairman of the National Committee.

The son of a minister in rural Pennsylvania, Ray was raised in Meadville, his lifelong home. His four years at Meadville's Allegheny College were a precursor to the rest of his busy life: he was Phi Beta Kappa, class president for four years and student body president during his senior year, captain of the basketball team and graduated cum laude and with nine academic letters! After receiving his LL.B. from Yale Law School, Ray went into the Navy as an intelligence officer and PT boat commander, winning several decorations for his military service. Perhaps the most notable fact is that he took General MacArthur "back" to Corregidor on his PT boat. He subsequently resumed his law practice in Meadville, working his way up in local politics – as a county district attorney, a state senator, the lieu-

tenant governor and finally governor, an office he held from 1967 to 1971.

Ray was an innovative and progressive governor. He modernized the state's constitution and judicial system, introduced efficient management and sound fiscal planning, and established many successful programs for economic development, environmental protection, education, mental health, and the disadvantaged. During his tenure, Pennsylvania enjoyed the lowest unemployment rate, the highest per capita income, and the largest influx of new business than for any comparable period in the history of the State.

Ray might also have attained national office: Richard Nixon asked him to join the 1968 ticket as the vice presidential candidate, but Ray turned down the offer as he was close to Nelson Rockefeller, whom he later served as counselor (1975 to 1977) when the latter was vice president. Ray became a

partner and senior counselor at the international accounting firm of Coopers and Lybrand in 1977, leaving in 1985 to return to his (and his wife's and three children's) alma mater, Allegheny College, as acting president.

The National Committee asked Ray to serve as our chairman in 1982, two years into the Reagan presidency. It was initially unclear how relations with China might develop, and Ray used his connections to the new administration to great and positive effect. His solid leadership, wise counsel and good will made an enduring contribution to constructive U.S.-China relations and to our organization.

The following are excerpts from remarks made by David M. Lampton, president of the National Committee, when Ray stepped down after a decade of service.

"Ray has been a superb chairman. Under his stewardship the Committee's corporate program has grown, the U.S.-China Distinguished Citizen's Dialogue (the first series of Track II discussions with the PRC) was developed, cutting-edge exchanges in numerous areas have taken place, and the Committee has held to a steady course in heavy seas when it might well have capsized...Beyond seeing his achievements up close, however, working with Ray has given me a broader sense of why he has been so successful. It has to do with three of Ray's basic qualities.

"First, Ray understands people: he is superb in dealing with them and assessing what they can contribute to an organization's mission....Second, he believes in fundamentals and isn't sidetracked by the latest unstable ebb and flow of

In Memoriam

Frederic Wakeman

The China scholarly community lost one of its pillars when Frederic Wakeman died in September at the age of 68 at his home in Lake Oswego, Oregon. A professor emeritus at University of California, Berkeley, Fred was well known for his meticulously researched books, ranging in topic from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty to the philosophical underpinnings of Maoism. Fred was also very influential in the establishment of scholarly exchanges between the United States and China in the 1970s and 1980s. He was a member of the National Committee from 1973 until his death and served on the Board from 1990 to 1993.

Graham Steenhoven

Long-time member Graham Steenhoven died in October at the age of 94. Graham was the president of the U.S. Table Tennis Association in the 1970s and, as such, headed the American ping pong team on its historic visit to China in April 1971. For the next year he worked closely with the National Committee as the two organizations planned the second part of what came to be known as Ping Pong Diplomacy, the visit of the Chinese ping pong team to the United States in April 1972. ■

popular opinion... China is important and it is important to America's future. We therefore must coexist and cooperate with it, but at the same time we must remain true to ourselves and protect our interests. Ray is a uniquely admirable blend of principle and practicality....And finally, like President Eisenhower (who once commented that Ray had 'brains, integrity and guts'), he believes that 'trust is the coin of the realm.' He trusts the people around him, he gives them latitude to develop their skills and creativity, and he is supportive. For all of the above, I and everyone on the staff, thank him.

"One incident strikes me with a force that will never leave me and which is emblematic of Ray's deep character and underlying goodness. He and I had a pre-existing luncheon set up at the Metropolitan Club for June 8, 1989 with Ambassador Han Xu. Everyone was reeling from June 4, and the Chinese Embassy had become a pariah overnight. Ambassador Han, a very proud man, arrived about a half hour late. He apologized, saying that he had to go out the back door of the Embassy to avoid the demonstrators at the front door; it was

clear that he was deeply embarrassed. What most stands out to me about that lunch, and many things do, was the fact that Ray had a choice of whether to eat in a private room or in the main dining room. Without hesitation he chose the main dining room, saying, 'No. We stick with our friends – and I want the table in the middle of the dinning hall!' During the lunch, many of the Ambassador's 'old friends' feigned not to see him as they moved past our table. Ray later evinced a certain contempt for this. He felt, I believe, that this was when our long-standing associates and friends needed understanding, not being tarred with the ill-considered decisions of a few in Beijing, and certainly not rebuke and humiliation."

Mike's comments testify to the deep character of the friend, colleague, and leader that we have lost. Our sympathy is extended to Ray's beloved wife Jane, with whom he celebrated 65 years of marriage this summer, his daughter Dianne, son Phillip, three grandchildren, great grandchild and his many other relatives and close friends. We were honored to count ourselves among the latter. ■



Governor Ray Shafer welcomes Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to a June 1988 National Committee dinner; David Lampton, then National Committee president, looks on.

National Committee Education Programs



*Above right:
Spring 2006
Education Delegation
with members of the
Minnesota House of
Representatives*

The National Committee has enjoyed a productive partnership with the U.S. Department of Education and the Chinese Ministry of Education for over 25 years, implementing programs covered by a bi-lateral Memorandum of Understanding on education. The MOU covers the Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program that sends 16 secondary and post-secondary educators to China for approximately four weeks of seminars and site visits and brings two groups of twelve Chinese educators to the United States for two-week programs annually. In June and July 2006 two delegations traveled to the United States and China, respectively. Funding for these programs comes from the Department of Education's International Education Programs Service of the Office of Postsecondary Education. The National Committee worked with the China Education Association for International Exchange on all three of the following programs.

Public Higher Education Administration Delegation

A group of 12 Chinese educators, comprised primarily of university and provincial level education officials from western China (Chongqing, Gansu, Guangxi, Guizhou, Ningxia, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Tibet, and Xinjiang), and representatives of the Ministry of Education, visited Washington, D.C., Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, and Los Angeles June 3-16, 2006 to explore public higher education administration in the United States. Based on interests expressed by the delegation members prior to their arrival, we designed a program that provided briefings on the following:

- Overview of American public higher education;
- Roles of the state and federal governments in higher education;
- Financing of higher education;
- Student recruitment, academic support and employment counseling.

Visits were made to a range of institutions of higher learning including a community college, a four-year research university, a four-year undergraduate college, a private research university, and a religious-based university.

We were fortunate to have several new and extremely hospitable hosts for the delegation. Metropolitan State College of Denver (known as Metro Denver) is an unusual school in many respects, committed to educating non-traditional students who might otherwise lack access to higher education. It is a four-year undergraduate college that shares a campus with the Community College of Denver and the University of Colorado, minimizing administrative redundancy and therefore functioning very efficiently. The College collaborates with the nearby Front Range Community College on programs that literally cannot fit onto the campus already shared by three institutions. The College's administrators went to extraordinary lengths to welcome the delegation, spending weeks prior to the group's visit in internal briefings on Chinese culture to avoid any *faux pas*, and preparing extensively so that they could present information that would interest the visitors. The delegation members were particularly impressed that the College president, Stephen Jordan, stayed with them throughout their visit for an array of briefings on many aspects of the college's administration, a tour of the campus, and an elegant lunch that made them feel welcome and honored.

We benefited enormously from two "alumni" of the June 2004 Minority Serving Institutions Seminar Abroad program: Dr. Lawrence Geraty, president of La Sierra University, and Dr. William Aguilar, California State University at San Bernardino vice president, both readily agreed to host the delegation. Dr. Geraty, born in China to missionary par-

ents, invited his 91-year-old father to join the group for lunch and everyone in the delegation was delighted to meet and talk with him. The president of CSUSB also devoted much time to the group, focusing on one of the delegation's key interests – the role of the university in the community.

Another major interest was the relationships among the federal and state governments and institutions of higher education. We therefore arranged for briefings from staff members at the U.S. Department of Education and the National Science Foundation, as well as with staff and elected officials of the Committee on Education and the Workforce of the U.S. House of Representatives. On the state level, the group spoke to members of the Houses of Minnesota and Colorado, and to a Colorado state Senator.

Many NGO's in Washington and beyond are involved in education policy making. The delegation met with representatives of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities and the American Council on Education in Washington, and with the Education Commission of the States and the Colorado Commission on Higher Education in Denver.

Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad

The theme for the 2006 Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad (June 26-July 31) was "Tradition and Transformation," so lectures and site visits for the 16 secondary and post-secondary educators addressed the major social, economic, and political changes of contemporary China. Beijing, Xi'an, and Shanghai are always part of the Seminar Abroad itinerary; the fourth city is either Chengdu, Kunming or Guilin. This year, however, we sent the Fulbrighters to Qinghai province – to the capital, Xining, as well as Tongren and Minhe Counties.

The delegation spent half a day visiting the English Training Program (ETP) for Tibetan students at Qinghai Normal University in Xining. ETP trains Tibetan students to teach English in their own communities and to create community development projects. One student completed thirteen projects, benefiting more than 20,000 people, in medicine, solar energy, schools, libraries, and distribution of second hand clothes; several other students set up local, grassroots NGOs; and another is involved in language preservation. The Fulbright participants were extremely impressed with the program and several of

them hope to find ways to keep the connections that were made going and to engage their own students in collaborative programs with the ETP students.

Also in Xining the group met with the deputy director of the Education Bureau in Qinghai province, Mr. Zhao Haiping, who was a participant in the Fall 2005 education delegation to the United States. Mr. Zhao discussed the challenges that the Bureau faces and stressed the need for increased educational exchanges.

From Xining the group proceeded to Tongren for a program that included home stays, thangka painting workshops, and a meeting at the Tibetan Cultural Preservation Center. The highlight of the day and a half there was attending the last day of a weeklong festival for the mountain gods in a neighboring village. Each village has its own mountain god, and during the course of the celebration, which includes dancing, drumming, and burning incense and juniper branches, the mountain god makes itself manifest through a village intermediary. Villagers report many of the past year's events to the mountain god (via the intermediary), who comments on the events and gives advice.

The group traveled next to Minhe County, where they were met by Mr. Zhu Yongzhong and many residents of Guanting Township, who had lined up on the street to welcome the visiting Americans, and then feted the group with a banquet hosted and prepared by the village elders. Mr. Zhu is a participant in the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum (YLF). He is an indefatigable man who founded and runs his own NGO, the Sanchuan Development Association. The Association is involved in small-scale community development projects, including



*Left:
2006 Fulbright-Hays
Seminar Abroad
Program participants
at the Qinghai
Bureau of Education.*

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*National Committee Educational Programs,
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constructing primary schools in very poor villages, providing solar-powered cooking devices to residents in the area, and building water collection systems to trap and utilize rainwater.

The Fulbright participants were able to meet with other YLF participants, as well as former Time Warner interns, at an informal dinner on the last evening of the Seminar in Shanghai. This provided a good opportunity to meet with very bright, young Chinese and learn their views about life, careers, and the future of China.

The optional extension to Hong Kong in which all 16 delegation members chose to participate this year, was once again very successful. We are fortunate to have excellent partners in the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office, as well as at Hong Kong University, who are committed to the Fulbright program and who work hard to set up informative briefings for the group. Participants gained an understanding of Hong Kong's relationship with the Mainland, its political and economic transformation since the handover in 1997, and its unique education and legal systems. The group also went to the U.S. Consulate for an informative briefing on Hong Kong's history.

Teachers Exchange Program

With generous support from the Freeman Foundation, as well as contributions from participating schools and program "alumni," the Teachers Exchange Program is now in its 11th year. The 24 Chinese teachers invited to the United States for the 2005-2006 school year completed their sojourns and returned home during the summer. Eighteen of them chose to participate in our annual study tour to Williamsburg, VA; Washington, D.C.; and New York City prior to their departure. It was clear from their thoughtful questions and insightful observations that the year had made a deep impression on the participants, and stimulated serious reflection in many areas.

This year we have eight American teachers in Beijing, Luoyang, Hefei, Nanjing, and Suzhou. Their program began with an orientation in July held at the Thayer Hotel on the grounds of West Point. The teachers left for China in late August, and are settling in very well.

There has been much press in recent months about the increasing demand for Chinese language instruction in American K-12 schools. Whereas in the past we sometimes had to explain why American children should even consider studying Chinese, now we are in the happy but unfamiliar position of having far more placement possibilities for our Chinese exchange teachers than we can possibly accommodate.

We have teachers in three new – and very different – locations this year: Brockton, Massachusetts; Douglas County, Colorado; and Norman, Oklahoma. Brockton is a working class city about 60 miles south of Boston. There are two exchange teachers at the Gilmore Academy there, a public middle school with a large "Talented and Gifted" (TAG) program. The original plan was for the teachers to work

exclusively with TAG students, but the regular students were so interested in studying Chinese that two elective classes for them were added, one for each teacher.

Douglas County is an affluent and fast-growing area between Denver to the north and Colorado Springs to the south. The district has made a very public commitment to foreign language instruction in general, and to Chinese in particular. Chinese is taught at three high schools in the district now; at least two middle schools and another high school will add Chinese next year.

Norman, Oklahoma, home of the University of Oklahoma flagship campus, has a quite international and cosmopolitan population. The principal of an elementary school that borders the university was very eager to receive an exchange teacher. We usually place more than one teacher in a given locale so that they may provide mutual support in a very unfamiliar environment far from home, but Norman could accommodate just one person; we decided to take a chance, selecting a teacher who seemed both strong and flexible. Thus far the match has been wonderful.

In addition to the five teachers in Brockton, Douglas County, and Norman, we have 19 others thriving in other parts of Massachusetts and Oklahoma as well as in Connecticut, Florida, New Hampshire, New York, and Wisconsin. ■



*Above and below:
2006-2007 TEP
teacher, June Miles,
teaches students about
Halloween at Hefei
Number 2 Middle
School in Anhui
province.*

HIV/AIDS and the Media

A grant from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs provided the National Committee the opportunity to conduct a two-way exchange project focusing on the media's role in HIV/AIDS prevention and care. The first phase brought seven Chinese journalists to the United States in March and April 2006 and the second sent a delegation of five American media and communication specialists to

professionals covering HIV/AIDS, we hoped our project would achieve a trickle-down effect.

The group included an excellent mix: we had representation from dailies, weeklies, and bi-monthlies; from both print and television; and from some of the most-watched/read publications in the country: *Caijing* magazine, *Southern Weekend*, and CCTV's "News Probe" (a Chinese equivalent of "60 Minutes") were a few of

Washington, D.C. The Chinese met with journalists and other media professionals whose coverage of HIV/AIDS has had an impact on policy debates, as well as on public awareness and attitudes. The group also visited HIV/AIDS service providers, public health officials, medical researchers, and others whose organizations are on the forefront of the fight against HIV/AIDS to learn about the ways that AIDS-related stigma and discrimination have been addressed in the United States and elsewhere. Participants also received a two-day training session organized by our partner organization, the Johns Hopkins-based Center for Communication Programs (CCP) at the Bloomberg Center for Public Health, on ways of designing and implementing strategic communication programs that influence discourse and behavior. The Center's main programs are concerned with health communications projects such as educational entertainment programs (e.g., soap operas with strong HIV/AIDS and reproductive health messages inserted throughout) and Public Service Announcements.

Other highlights of the 2-day training session include the following:

- Laurie Garrett, a Pulitzer-prize winning AIDS reporter for *New York Newsday* now at the Council on Foreign Relations (and sister of China specialist Banning Garrett), talked to the delegation about the "AIDS Superhighway" developing along newly opened drug trade routes between China and Burma.

- Two men living with HIV met the group at D.C.'s Whitman Walker Clinic for a very thoughtful discussion of how the disease has affected their lives and their relationships with others. Of particular interest to the delegation was their experience with antiretroviral (ARV) drug therapies and the descriptions of their side effects.

- The director of the Magnet Clinic, a storefront drop-in center in

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China to lead workshops in Beijing, Changsha and Guangzhou for two weeks in May.

Participants in the first phase were selected by the Committee from among those with experience reporting/producing stories on HIV/AIDS in some of China's more sophisticated media markets, as they tend to serve as role models for media elsewhere. We also favored individuals from organizations with a track record of independent, investigative reporting. By focusing on the top end of Chinese media

the publications represented. Some of these publications/shows enjoy national audiences, others provincial; some operate with significant independence, others under stricter state control.

We arranged a variety of meetings in New York and San Francisco (the two epicenters of the American HIV/AIDS epidemic and home to many experienced journalists covering the disease), as well as in Baltimore (home of U.S. project partner Johns Hopkins University) and nearby

*Left:
The HIV/Media delegation, accompanied by the vice mayor of Changsha, at a site visit to Changsha City Center for Disease Control.*

San Francisco, explained how the rapid HIV test is administered. One of the Chinese journalists in the group wanted very much to take the test himself as a role-playing exercise to see exactly how the technology functioned. The request was refused, but it led to an interesting discussion on false positives, privacy, and international law.

- Two lawyers who run Lambda Legal's HIV/AIDS division led a session on how the organization uses the court system to fight stigma and discrimination and the criminalization of HIV infectors.

- The founder and three members of Positive Voices, Positive Choices, a Baltimore nonprofit that sends HIV-positive men into Baltimore City public schools to talk frankly about HIV/AIDS, discussed their advocacy and educational work.

The second phase of the program, the workshops in China, was also extremely successful. Our delegation was made up of five very experienced experts: two representatives from our CCP partner and three journalists. Ms. Alice Merritt, deputy director of the CCP, has over 20 years of field experience in behavior change communication for HIV prevention and other public health issues across 20 countries, and Dr. Benjamin Lozare, associate director and chief of training at the CCP, was previously the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of the Philippines and the first director-general of the Philippine Information Agency. Given their years of working with developing countries, both are sensitive to local cultures and conditions and their substantive knowledge in the field and emphasis on leadership, prevention and strategic communication complemented the journalists' presentations on the role of media in efforts against HIV/AIDS and the techniques of its coverage.

The three journalists each have extensive experience covering the HIV/AIDS epidemics: Mr. Sabin Russell, a 30-year veteran who writes about medical science and health policy for the *San Francisco Chronicle*; Ms. Huntly Collins, who spent 18 years reporting for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* before becoming a journalism professor, and who has trained journalists from sub-Saharan Africa as well as minority communities in the United States how to cover the AIDS epidemics; and Mr. Kai Wright, a freelance journalist in New York who contributes regularly to leading publications as well as community press and has authored a number of

As a result of the workshop, the American group came to understand more about the challenging environment in which their Chinese counterparts who report on HIV/AIDS operate.

books on the state of AIDS and other topics of concern to the African American community.

The delegation arrived in Beijing during the weekend of May 20-21, fortuitously the same weekend that Beijing was hosting the 2006 International AIDS Candlelight Memorial. The Memorial's objectives – "to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS, to spread the important message of prevention and ultimately to decrease the stigma and discrimination associated with the infection" – made it a particularly appropriate event to kick off our program. The event was organized by Positive Art Workshop, a non-governmental HIV support group that uses art and other creative efforts to inspire and help persons living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). The delegation members took the opportunity to talk to many officials of AIDS

organizations who attended, including people from UNAIDS, the CDC's Global AIDS Program, the Clinton Foundation and the U.S. Embassy.

The workshop in Beijing was held at Tsinghua University in collaboration with our Chinese partner, Tsinghua's School of Journalism and Communication. Supported by a generous grant from Mr. David A. Jones, Jr., of the C.E. & S. Foundation, we were able to expand significantly the scope of the workshop by extending it to two and half days and by inviting more than half of the participants from outside Beijing. The 28 participants in the Tsinghua workshop came from across the country, representing the provinces of Gansu and Xinjiang in the northwest; Guangxi, Hunan and Sichuan in the south and southwest; Jilin in the northeast, as well as Zhejiang in eastern China. They work in print, radio, TV and on-line journalism. The potential impact of the workshop was much enhanced with the inclusion of these journalists from outside Beijing.

As a result of the workshop, the American group came to understand more about the challenging environment in which their Chinese counterparts who report on HIV/AIDS operate. In China today, government interference with news reportage remains strong; some participants cited specific examples of their stories not being allowed into print, often not as a matter of policy, but because they ran afoul of local protected interests. On the other hand, there has been a greater openness and tolerance in public health reporting following the SARS crisis, which has been frequently cited as a defining moment in China's efforts to contain the AIDS epidemics.

Greater obstacles come from the general public, whose fear of and intense prejudice against PLWHA make AIDS reporting imperative, but whose general apathy makes AIDS reporting a hard sell to editors.

It also comes from the nature of Chinese journalism, where most reporters are required to produce a certain number of articles per week, with their pay linked accordingly. Most reporters therefore can hardly afford the luxury of spending weeks preparing an investigative or human-interest piece that puts a human face on those living with HIV, even though they recognize it as an effective way to dispel prejudice and discrimination.

Still, within the great constraints every reporter faces, there is room for each to improve by learning effective reporting strategies. This became the focus of the presentations and discussions, an area the American experts could speak to with great authority. Both Mr. Russell and Ms. Collins started covering AIDS in the earliest stage of the epidemic in the United States, when it was not a welcome topic in most papers. Ms. Collins' husband died of AIDS in the early 1980s, a revelation that brought brief, yet palpable silence to the audience and added extra meaning to everything she said. Her revelation, together with personal stories related by other experts, opened up the participants considerably during the Q&A and breakout sessions. Among the many issues discussed were how to turn medical jargon into language that the general public would understand and relate to, how to avoid unintentional stigmatization and remain truthful when telling human interest stories, how to foster a sense of professional responsibility and ethics among reporters, and how to tread the thin line of permissibility in reporting sensitive topics. In addition to the five American experts on the National Committee delegation, the workshop at Tsinghua also

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Fourth U.S. Foreign Policy Colloquium



Since its inception in 2003, the annual U.S.-China Foreign Policy Colloquium (FPC) has proved to be an exciting and influential program. Organized in partnership with the Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University, the FPC is designed to help Chinese graduate students better understand the complex forces that influence and shape American foreign policy. We are extremely grateful to The Coca-Cola Company, FedEx Corporation, and the Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., for funding this year's program.

From June 7 to 10, 2006, about 150 PRC graduate students from around the United States convened in Washington, D.C. for a three-day interactive conference combining lectures, panel discussions, group exercises, off-site briefings, and a farewell social event. One of the strengths of the program has always been direct interaction with current and former Administration officials, members of Congress, diplomats, and representatives from academia, the military, think tanks, the media, and lobbying groups.

This year's program opener was a candid discussion with Representatives Mark Kirk and Rick Larsen, co-chairs of the US-China Congressional Working Group. Subsequent sessions included Mr. Dennis Wilder (National Security Council), former Congressman Stephen J. Solarz (APCO Worldwide), and Major General William Nash (Council on Foreign Relations), among others. Off-site briefings included the U.S. Departments of Defense and State, U.S. Trade Representative, Senate International Relations Committees, Center for Strategic and International Studies, The Coca-Cola Company, and Human Rights Watch. ■



Left: FPC participant interviews Dennis Wilder, Director for China, Taiwan, and Mongolia Affairs, National Security Council.

Public Intellectuals Program Update

The Public Intellectuals Program is comprised of 20 young scholars of China who participate in various activities geared toward expanding and deepening their knowledge of aspects of China beyond their own specialties and encouraging their active engagement as public intellectuals. Since our last issue of NOTES, we have completed the first of two planned Fellows trips to China, several Fellows have run their required local outreach projects and two have served as escorts on National Committee projects.

Some people were surprised when we made a trip to China an integral part of the Public Intellectuals Program (PIP). After all, each of the twenty PIP fellows has not only traveled to China, but all twenty have lived there for varying lengths of time. So why take them on a group visit? Two reasons – both of which fulfill the two primary goals of the program. The first is that few of them have had the opportunity to meet Chinese policy leaders. Earlier in their careers, many of today's established scholars were able to meet senior Chinese leaders and policy-makers by participating in delegations of the National Committee and the Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's

Republic of China (CSCPRC). With the phase-out of the CSCPRC and the limited number of slots on National Committee high-level delegations, such opportunities are much rarer these days and it is unusual for the younger generation of scholars to have the chance to meet anyone but their academic counterparts in China. Thus, an important aspect of such a trip is to give the Fellows an opportunity to meet and interact with people who make and implement policy in various fields in China.

A second important aspect of the trip stems from the program's purpose of broadening the perspectives of the various PIP fellows beyond their specialty. Changes in American graduate education and in the China field over the past two decades have meant that younger American scholars focus primarily on their specific areas, without the opportunity for the cross fertilization that earlier generations enjoyed. Area Studies are no longer as important as they once were in American higher education and most universities channel young scholars into focusing on their disciplines early on. So the jam-packed schedule was designed to be eclectic as well as productive, fulfilling our goal of instilling more breadth in the younger scholars and

creating more connections among those who focus on different aspects of China.

This, perhaps, turned out to be the most successful aspect of the trip. We took advantage of the National Committee's extensive contacts, but also heavily relied on the range of contacts amongst our PIP fellows, in some cases having them set up meetings within their own area of expertise. Thus, the ten-day trip to Beijing, Shanghai, Wenzhou and Hong Kong in June featured meetings with artists, choreographers, public health specialists, dot com entrepreneurs, environmentalists, manufacturers, public interest lawyers, playwrights, novelists, journalists, judges, government officials at the central and local levels, NGO leaders, academics, think tank analysts....and that list isn't exhaustive. The Committee is grateful to our counterpart organization, the Chinese Foreign Affairs University (CFAU), for its assistance and to the many members and friends of the Committee who were so generous with their time.

We are also most grateful to the Luce and Starr Foundations for their generous underwriting of the program and we were very pleased that National Committee Board member and Luce Vice President Terry Lautz could accompany the group as one of its escorts.

The grant proposal had called for the inclusion on the trips to China of a senior China scholar who could be a role model for the PIP Fellows. We decided to go for the most senior of that group, the founding chairman of the National

PIP Fellows with escort Bob Scalapino (far left) and colleagues at the Shanghai Institute of International Studies.



Committee and public intellectual par excellence, Robert Scalapino. Those who heard him speak in May at the kick-off of the Committee's 40th Anniversary celebration know that he is still going strong at the age of 86! Bob was, indeed, a great role model at the intellectual level, always asking thoughtful penetrating questions and regaling the Fellows about various aspects of his fascinating career during long bus rides or the occasional meal where there was no speaker. He also set the standard as the ideal delegation member: he was generally the first one up in the morning and always ready and waiting for the group to assemble, and he showed how one can ask a politically sensitive question in a way that will not irritate people and maximize one's chances for a useful response.

We are looking forward to the second tranche of PIP Fellows going to Beijing, perhaps Fuyang (where one of the vice mayors is a Fellow in our Young Leaders Forum), Guangzhou (where former National Committee staff member Robert Goldberg is now Consul General), and Taiwan in 2007. In the meantime, all of the PIP Fellows are working on fulfilling their commitment to run a local education outreach project or series of projects; the following outlines those that have been held over the past few months.

Allen Carlson (Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University) organized a two-day teacher training workshop that targeted secondary teachers from upstate New York, but also included some teachers from as far away as Colorado and Indiana. The first session focused on China's rise and the implications for the United States and the rest of the world: it featured MIT's Taylor Fravel (security issues related to China's rise) and CFR's Adam Segal (economic issues). The second session consisted of a panel discussion including Allen and his colleague

Chen Jian (history of U.S.-China Relations, Cornell); Richard Bush (Brookings); Minxin Pei (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace); and Jia Qingguo, Wang Jisi, and Zhu Feng (International Security Program, School of International Relations, Beida). Another session focused on source materials for teaching about China. Allen's outreach program provided the teachers with an invaluable opportunity to learn from some of the most respected Chinese "America watchers" and American "China watchers" and to acquire new knowledge and materials to improve their curriculum on China.

Allen also worked in conjunction with Cornell's International Labor Relations School (ILR) to organize a program that brought together the heads of labor unions based in Syracuse and Rochester together with visiting Professors Jia Qingguo and Wang Jisi for a roundtable discussion of U.S.-China trade relations. The goal was to provide an opportunity to address the deep concerns of upstate New Yorkers regarding jobs and the perceived looming economic threat from China. The very successful discussion helped improve understanding on both sides as it was the first time that the union leaders had had a chance to talk in person with Mainland Chinese and hear their perspective and the problems that China faces and vice versa.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce Hank Levine met with the PIP group during its initial meeting in Washington, D.C. in September 2005 and impressed everyone with his knowledge, forthrightness and humor. Based on that meeting, PIP Fellow David Pietz (Assistant Professor of History, Washington State University), in partnership with the Spokane International Trade Alliance, the World Affairs Council of Spokane, and Washington State University, conceived of a program that brought Hank to Spokane for a day packed with three different events.

Now retired from his long government career and a senior vice president at Stonebridge International, Hank nonetheless kept his commitment and on September 13 was part of a two man team that held an executive roundtable over lunch and an afternoon seminar, both on U.S.-China trade and both targeted at the local business community. Hank's partner for those two activities was Joe Borich, now executive director of the Washington State China Relations Council and Hank's predecessor as Consul General in Shanghai. These events were followed by an evening address Hank gave for the general public on "The China Trade and America's Foreign Policy."

On the same day, Elizabeth Economy (C.V. Starr Senior Fellow and Director for Asia Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations) flew to Kentucky for two back to back public outreach programs organized by Kristin Stapleton (Associate Professor of History, University of Kentucky) in collaboration with the Louisville Committee on Foreign Relations, Crane House, and the World Affairs Council of Kentucky and Southern Indiana. Elizabeth first spoke on "U.S.-China Relations – Opportunities and Challenges" to a group at the Kentucky Center for the Arts. The second program was held at the University of Louisville, where Elizabeth addressed faculty and students on the state of China's environment and efforts to improve it.

Wu Weiping (Associate Professor of Urban Studies, Geography, and Planning, Virginia Commonwealth University), in collaboration with the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, organized a public education program for K-12 teachers on September 30 and October 1. Additional funding came from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities. The workshop, attended by 26 educators from across the state of Virginia, was scheduled to coincide with the Second Annual

Conflict Resolution Conference Held in San Diego

The National Committee convened a nine-day training program in conflict management and conflict resolution this past August in San Diego. Participants were ten students each from Mainland China (selected from those already studying in America), Taiwan, and the United States. For this innovative program, funded by the U.S. department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the National Committee collaborated with the Joan B. Kroc Institute of Peace and Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego and the National Conflict Resolution Center (NCRC). IPJ provided conference space for workshop sessions and the NCRC provided professional trainers.

The program agenda was comprised of three main components: formal conflict management and resolution training through instructional lectures and breakout sessions; guest speakers; and informal group bonding activities to establish a sense of camaraderie, trust, and friendship amongst all three groups.

The first component was ably handled by Lisa Maxwell of NCRC and her fellow trainers who lectured on various topics including conflict theory, the influence of culture on conflict, game theory, negotiation, mediation, and international dialogue. Traditional lectures were supplemented by role-playing activities and small group breakout sessions where participants engaged in hands-on practice of newly learned concepts and interacted informally with other students.

The second component gave participants a way to relate what they were learning in the formal training sessions to issues and events in the real world. Stephan Haggard (Lawrence and Sally Krause Professor of Korea-Pacific Studies at the University of California – San Diego) gave a very pertinent dinner talk on resolving the North Korean conflict; Barry Naughton (Professor of Chinese Economics at UCSD) spoke on using cross-strait economic ties to manage conflict; and Richard Madsen (Professor of Sociology and Department Chair at UCSD) joined

National Committee President Steve Orlins and Gene Martin (Director of the Philippine Facilitation Project at the U.S. Institute of Peace) on a panel on living and working in the Greater China area from three different perspectives (Richard – academic, Steve – businessman, Gene – diplomat). Gene also gave a talk on his experiences working as the lead mediator helping facilitate the negotiations between the Filipino government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) with the group. In addition, Brig. General Frank Kisner (Deputy Director, Strategic Planning and Policy, U.S. Pacific Command, Hawaii) talked to the group about the American military presence in the Pacific region.

The final component of the program provided an environment conducive to teamwork and relationship building. Activities included a packed half-day of a team-building kayak workshop, volleyball and Ultimate Frisbee, followed by a beach bonfire that provided both warmth and fuel for the hot dogs, corn on the cob and S'mores. Other bonding activities included a late afternoon excursion to Balboa Park for an outdoor barbershop quartet concert, an evening at the San Diego Zoo, and an afternoon of surfing and whiffleball at La Jolla Beach.

The program was a huge success. We were extremely pleased with the selected students both in terms of their intellectual capacity and sociability. Participants learned conflict management skills that will be useful in their future professional and personal lives and the value of the "bonding" component of the program cannot be overestimated. From the very first night, students mixed freely and there was a strong desire to communicate among all three groups. As one Mainland student put it, "I've learned so much from being here this week and we all really do get along...in the future we may find ourselves working side by side and we will understand each other as similar people, not adversaries." ■



*Right:
A set of participants
looks over their group
activity results before
sharing them with the
rest of the workshop.*

What I Did on My Summer Vacation

by Rachel Mans



Since 2004, the National Committee has selected 12 U.S. Presidential Scholars (a designation conferred annually on 141 outstanding graduating American high school seniors by the U.S. Department of Education; see www.ed.gov/programs/pspl/ for more information) to participate in the annual U.S.-China Student Leaders Exchange (SLE). Rachel Mans, a participant in the 2006 SLE program, wrote the following essay shortly after her return from China in August.

I've been home for a couple of weeks now. The pictures have been developed, the souvenirs handed out, and my suitcase finally unpacked (only to be repacked the following week when I head off to college). A common orientation question has been, "So how was your summer?" and each time I'm asked it I find myself pausing for an uncomfortable amount of time,

considering how to answer. Do they want to hear about my adventure to China and back, my mastery of chopsticks (finally), and how it felt to run hand-in-hand with my host sister down the Great Wall, soaked with rain and enjoying every second? I usually answer with a summarized, "Awesome."

When I first received the SLE acceptance letter from the National Committee, I read through the information eagerly. The trip was planned around three Chinese cities. Later, Sameer Gupta, one of the other SLE participants would put it like this: "There was a great variety: Beijing, the current capital; Xi'an, an ancient capital; and Qufu, a spiritual capital." I remember reading the names on paper for the first time, trying to work out how to pronounce them. Was it Koofu or Kwoofu? And Xi'an I didn't even attempt, and explained I was going to somewhere starting with an X.

The days leading up to the trip were surreal. I kept saying to people, "I'm leaving for China," but I didn't believe it myself. I didn't believe it until I got off the plane in Beijing. It was such a Dorothy in Oz moment, a "I'm not in Kansas anymore" kind of realization. I couldn't read the signs or understand the babble of voices around me. On the streets of Beijing, people would stop to stare at us and we would stare right back. I was amazed that we actually stuck out in the crowd (which is hard to do in a city of more than 12 million people).

I made it a priority to keep a journal of the trip, and I started two weeks before we left by listing the things I was anxious about. At the top of my list was how I would get along with my host families. What if I offended them, or just couldn't communicate at all? The first night, I met my host sister Cammy. The Chinese teacher pointed her out to me in the crowd. "Look, a perfect match. She's very tall, too." She looked over at me and smiled, and immediately I knew we were going to be friends. On the ride to her south Beijing apartment, we talked and laughed like old friends. She spoke amazing English, and had just finished her first year at the University of Toronto.

Over the next few days, with Cammy at my side, I would meet her entire family, have my first Beijing duck, and get my hair cut and colored. I'd say the latter was one of the most memorable experiences of the trip. I was extremely nervous, having no ability to speak Chinese and having never colored my hair before. Cammy sat in the chair next to me, making small talk with the barber while I flipped through Chinese Cosmo magazines.

The whole family adopted me as one of their own. They welcomed me warmly, offered to help with anything, and even laid out a pink toothbrush for me by the sink.

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*Above right:
2006 Student Leaders
Exchange participants
with their host
family siblings at the
Forbidden City in
Beijing.*



*What I Did on My Summer Vacation,
continued from page 17*

One night we sat around looking through family photo albums for hours. The day I left my host mother gave me the charm of a tiger with their family name woven onto the top of its head. "It will keep you safe when you are far away." Cammy gave me my Chinese name: Wang Ruixue. "Ruixue" means "the beauty in the first snowfall," but my favorite part is "Wang," meaning I'm a part of their family.

I had another host family in Xi'an. One of my best memories of the trip is walking near the Xi'an city wall at night with my host family. There were groups of people spinning lighted tops, singing Chinese songs, and dancing. We stopped to watch the long line of people snake around, kicking, turning, and laughing. "Looks like fun," I said and, before I knew what was happening, my host sister was dragging me into the line. I was suddenly submerged in a dancing mob of middle-aged women, young children, and old men. I was trying to make something up and failing horribly. People around me were laughing and pulling on my arm, trying to show me the proper steps. After a few minutes, I was dancing down the line, losing myself in the swarm of laughing voices.

*Bottom Right:
Student Leaders
Exchange participants
learning Taijiquan
("Tai Chi").*

It's funny that none of my experiences on this trip seem really tied to specific places, but more to the people. I never start off telling a story, "I was on the top of Mount Tai..." I always start, "I was talking with my host family, and..." Of course, the beauty of the sites was not lost on me. In fact, I was awed by the history attached to each location. Every location has a story to it far older than the history of our country.

Yes, I enjoyed all of the scenic views and ancient temples, but looking back on this trip, I'll always remember the feeling of love and friendship that developed there. My host sister in Xi'an, Cran, told me the story of the *liu shu*, the weeping willow. She said that in Xi'an it used to be a custom to exchange willow branches with friends going far away to remind them of their homes. Our last day in Xi'an, we picked branches off of a tree on the campus when no one was looking and traded them. I remember how long we hugged goodbye at the airport, how she cried. "I had a sister for three days," she said. I hugged her and reassured her, "No, you have a sister forever."

If I'd been told three months ago that I'd be spending fifteen days in China forming lasting

friendships, I wouldn't have believed it. But when the opportunity presented itself, I felt an immediate pull. Reading through those initial articles and explanations about the trip, I knew this program would change me, but I could've never imagined how much. Before this trip, I never would've sung karaoke songs at the top of my lungs. Before this trip, I never would've tried pickled fried chicken feet. Before this trip, I never really questioned the way the world was being run, or our role in world affairs.

Now I'm back in the United States and adapting to the whole new world of college but I haven't and won't ever forget the experiences of this past summer. I'm planning on taking Chinese next semester. As chance would have it, my roommate here at college lived in Taiwan for ten years and speaks beautiful Chinese. I hear her talking to her mother on the phone in what she's dubbed "Chinglish." I'm already thinking about my next trip to China, for study abroad or for the 2008 Olympics. Maybe even after college to teach English. I promised my Beijing host family that next time I visited, I'd be able to speak Chinese and I plan to keep that promise. ■



"Do Good Well"

An Interview with National Committee Director Geraldine Kunstadter

National Committee Director Geraldine S. Kunstadter is chairman of the Albert Kunstadter Family Foundation. Her husband, John, who died in 2003, was her partner in directing the foundation and could often be found at her side at National Committee programs over the years. In a recent interview with National Committee Director of Corporate and Public Programs, Anne Phelan, Mrs. Kunstadter reflects on the course of the foundation's work, recalls some of the projects and people she has found most meaningful and shares some lessons for other small foundations and donors. The Committee has been very fortunate to have someone with Geri's wisdom, compassion and generosity on our board.

Has the foundation been a family foundation in practice as well as name?

Oh yes. It was started in 1952 by John's grandparents. John and I, even though we were newly married and had almost no money, were donors for the first two or three years. We gave stocks, so we had some ownership in it, but John's grandparents put in the major part of it. It has operated as a family foundation, run by John's father, at first, then John and myself, and now I am running it. It will continue until I die, and then my children will finish it off as they see fit. It's too small to go for another generation. We're down to a million dollars. That means we should give away about \$50,000 a year, but we've been giving away \$250,000 to \$300,000.

So the decrease in core funds is intentional?

The decrease is intentional. Particularly during John's illness, we decided to do all the things that we really wanted to fund, in the amounts that we wanted to fund. So for three years, we were very profligate; we just spent and spent and went from \$4 million down to about \$2 million. Since then, we've gone down further to \$1 million. So we're down to kind of bare bones and mainly funding internationally or for international purposes.

In the beginning, the funding was U.S.-directed.

All for Chicago. John's grandfather was born in 1872 just after the Chicago fire. His mother was pregnant with him and had to go stand in Lake Michigan to get away from the fire. He grew up with Chicago. He had such a love for that city, as he had a love for history. He wanted to devote his money to making Chicago better, doing whatever he could for the city.

When was the international dimension introduced?

It was in the early to mid-1970s. The first grant was for the Yale-China Association and that was my interest, China was my interest. Then we did the International Peace Academy and then it grew.

So that grant for China came about from your interest?

Yes. Sixty years ago, when I was an undergraduate at MIT, there were no dorms for women. So MIT bought a house on Baystate Road in Boston, just over the Harvard Bridge. There were 18 of us living

there, and one was the most extraordinary woman, Li Ying, a graduate student from China. Once she touched your life, you were never the same. She touched my life and I developed a connection to China that I never lost and that I was able to pick up on.

She had trained at St. John's University as an architect and was in the States studying for two years at MIT and one year at Harvard. I was going to visit her in China when she finished but that was 1949. She decided that after liberation she wanted to go back, to work for the new China, to build low-cost housing for the poor Chinese. So she went back and that was the



Left: (from left to right) Ambassador Ding Yuanhong, former Chinese Ambassador to Belgium and the European Union, Geri Kunstadter, and John Kunstadter.

last we heard. But I started looking for her 1981 and I managed to find her in 1983.

That's why we are supporting the Architectural Society of China (ASC), I personally since 1983 and the foundation since 1987. It was the first grant we made in China. At that time they had no books in their library, just dusty things you wouldn't want to pick up, that had no value. When they were beginning to see journals again in the 1980s, they had no idea how architecture got to be what it was from what it had been in the 1950s. There was a big gap and they didn't understand the process. So they asked me to fill in books between 1950 and 1980. The MIT library was wonderful to me. They let me take all their books for deaccession,

continued on next page

so we could fill in the gap for the ASC. Then an architect here introduced me to a librarian at Columbia and she let me do the same thing. I would hire a student on work-study and we would fill up boxes and make lists and send them off to China. I did that for four years, until I couldn't lift them any more! Then we started to make our direct grants in 1987, and they could buy the new books. That's how we started. We are still funding them. Not for the library, but for special things, for prizes for young architects. Most recently our grant went toward the costs of a student jamboree at a conference they had in September.

Has your giving in China changed over the years?

It hasn't really changed. We did several libraries after that first one; other people asked us to help them with libraries, so we gave grants for those. We did environment, we made a number of grants to Friends of Nature.

We've supported an organization, the China International Center for Economic and Technical Exchanges (CICETE), that was originally set up to entice foreign NGOs to come to China to devise projects in the rural poverty areas that would be self-sustainable. What they would do is travel around to the very poor areas and ask the local people to give them a simple proposal. What did they need? Always it was either something like water or to make money because their incomes were still in the double digits per year. When I first met people from CICETE, they were on a trip around the States. Of all the projects they had, the cheapest was around \$50,000. I said we can't do that, but we can do \$2,000 or \$3,000. Most of these proposals were written in Chinese; in China they could get it translated very cheaply, but they just didn't have the money to do that here. So we gave them translation money for a number of years.



*Above right:
Geri Kunststadter and
fellow National
Committee Director,
Robert A. Levinson.*

Now CICETE has evolved into something called the China Association for NGO Cooperation (CANGO). It is totally privately funded, run by a very dynamic, extraordinary man, and trains Chinese NGOs on how to function.

When you consider which grants to make, what do you find most appealing, most compelling?

I always look for people. It didn't matter what they were doing, because we didn't have a specific focus. But if somebody wonderful was doing something wonderful, that's what we would do.

What about your giving in Southeast Asia, did that come about after China?

China started in 1987. Next was Vietnam, and that started here about 1989 and direct grants there started in 1993. That was for English language training and for medical equipment. We've done some things like mathematical modeling of environmental situations, with a group of about 18 top mathematicians; they did the most esoteric, wonderful work. We had one major project there that just ended this year, after six years. A professor of environmental chemistry was out looking at the water system in Hanoi and found there were several places in which the concentrations of arsenic were seri-

ously bad. So they went around quietly asking people if they had any rashes. They worked for six years to figure out exactly where it was coming from, and worked out a project to take the arsenic out of the water at each of the eight or nine sites at which the water is purified in the city.

Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, a very wonderful, spirited Communist lady, is the former vice president of Vietnam. She's now retired but working very hard for children. She started something called the National Fund for Vietnamese Children, because in her work with the government she found that there was a very large amount of childhood blindness in Vietnam. They couldn't figure it out until they realized it's simply because of a lack of vitamin A. That was the first thing they did, they went everywhere and gave children vitamin A. Then they started a lot of water projects. We've done now about 20 or so water projects, where we funded the distribution of clean water through underground piping systems or building water towers.

In Cambodia, we worked with the University of Fine Arts. The vice dean came to me on one of my trips and I said, "What's the most important thing that you need to do?" He said, "It's so embarrassing

– we don't have a lavatory for the professors. We're used to that, but we have foreign professors here, and I have to say to them, our lavatory is broken, you have to go over to the trees." He had been trying for two years to get the money from the ministry. I said, "We'll try to help, but how much is this going to cost?" Only \$458! And the next time I came he very proudly showed it to me.

In Laos we did English language, we did a lot of books. The head of the Institute for Cultural Research was a wonderful scholar and he was complaining that the Lao oral tradition had died after the government changed. He said that today, Lao children have no idea of who they are, where they came from, why they are who they are. Up in Luong Prabang, their old capital, there are walls of mosaics that tell all the Lao stories and he said he wanted to write books about them. So we funded six books of Lao folk tales. He would go up for two weeks at a time, photograph certain sections, research all the stories and then write the stories.

Some of the big stories in philanthropy this year have been Warren Buffet's contribution to the Gates Foundation and the Clinton Global Initiative raising billions of dollars in commitments at its meeting this past fall. With billions of dollars going into major efforts, where is the role for small family foundations, what niche should they occupy?

They should do what they can do. They should not try to change the world. They can change little parts of the world by addressing a need somewhere and if they can take care of it, you've changed that world a little bit.

I sit on five non-profit boards and I'm always trying to raise money for them. It's getting harder and harder because foundations today (and I'm not talking about the super foundations because we haven't approached them) are often deciding that they are the experts,

and they are going to tell the various organizations what they want them to do. Non-profits today are having problems because if they go to a foundation with a wonderful project, the foundation doesn't want to do it because they didn't initiate it. That is not the role of foundations and that distresses me enormously. I find this everywhere, that these foundations have set themselves up as authorities: they are the ones who know what the ills of the world are, and they have the solution, and you have to do that. But they don't know. And I am just so concerned about that Buffet/Gates money simply because there is so much there and they have so many people working, that they are all the authorities. But they don't always know.

For a small foundation today, you can do a million things! Just look around you – there are NGOs everywhere. There are soup kitchens and food pantries, and just read the *New York Times* Neediest Cases, there are all sorts of wonderful organizations helping people. You can find wonderful things to do with your money, small amounts or large amounts, that really make a difference. People say my \$5,000 or \$3,000 isn't going to make a difference. It is – if you go visit that organization and you see what they are doing. And that is the important thing – we have met with all of our grantees, we don't give money when we don't know them. And when you actually see them in operation, you know that your \$2,000 or \$3,000 makes a difference.

Are there other individuals who have made a lasting impression on you?

Yes, in Vietnam, there are two men I've known since 1992. They are two teachers of English, the most entrepreneurial, fine, thoughtful, smart young men that I have met in a long time. They were teachers of English at the Foreign Languages University. They were asked by the university, shortly before I met them, to set up

an English language center in Hanoi, where there would be books and tapes. There was nothing like that in Hanoi in 1992. They managed to find a wonderful spot on a lake and they set up a center and charged people the equivalent of five cents to become members. It got to be so important and so popular that they had to move, and they found some wonderful space in which they now are and they've enlarged their center. They've become a preeminent teaching-of-English establishment. These two men were able to get the Australians to give a whole language lab, and somebody else to give this and the Swedes to give that. They themselves would stay up all night translating business companies' documents to earn \$1,500, when their salary was \$15 or \$20 a month. They would earn large amounts of money, which they would plow into the Center.

Today, one of them is a very important official at the Ministry of Education in the international affairs department. The other one is the rector of what is now called Hanoi University. He is amazing – so energetic, you can hear the mind ticking. The two of them are still a pair, they are as different as chalk and cheese, but they are a pair. They have been so inspirational to me. That's been so exciting to see these two young men become the future of Vietnam. And we still support the Center.

A quote from your husband in a profile of the foundation published by the National Center for Family Philanthropy said, "It has been a wonderful education for the entire family to follow in my grandfather's footsteps for all these years." I'd like to ask about your own imprint on the foundation – when your grandchildren or others look at the course the foundation has taken, what traces have your own footsteps left?

All the international part of it. I've had these connections, the

continued on back cover

Recent Activities

The National Committee is engaged in a broad range of public education efforts, intended to inform specialists, policy-makers and the public about relevant issues in Sino-American relations. This outreach is done through a variety of means, including public programs, seminars, website postings and electronic briefings. The following are brief descriptions of the National Committee's most recent public programs.

"China's Judiciary: Current Challenges and Reforms"

Discussion with Judge Song Jianli, Supreme People's Court, People's Republic of China

July 17, 2006

Co-sponsored by Jones Day

China's judiciary is a key component in furthering development of the rule of law throughout the country. In recent years, the educational and professional standards of judges and the quality of judicial opinions have been raised, yet much work remains to be done in order to improve the administration of the courts, ensure enforcement of laws and judgments, and remove corrupt influences from the courts. During the program, held at Jones Day, Judge Song Jianli discussed the reforms designed to meet these challenges. Judge Song also touched upon topics such as judicial independence, the role of adjudication committees and intellectual property rights.

E-mail Broadcast on The Shanghai Cooperation Organization

July 26, 2006

This year's meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

(SCO) drew greater attention than in the past, reflecting the growing importance of Central Asia in global energy markets and the inclusion of Iran as an observer state. We asked a Chinese and an American specialist to share their perspectives on the organization and its role. Shen Dingli of Fudan University discussed how the organization's objectives coincide with China's foreign policy goals; Phillip Saunders of the National Defense University looked at what the SCO means for U.S. interests in Asia. Professor Shen indicated that the SCO represents China's efforts to shape its peripheries. Russia/Central Asia has become the sole neighboring region where China has been able to rid itself of concerns about territorial disputes, thereby paving the way for China to engage in security and economic cooperation with these countries. Dr. Saunders said that the SCO is unlikely to coalesce into a military alliance or regional bloc aimed against the United States, because of the strong stake member countries have in the success of the U.S.-led effort to stabilize Afghanistan and because the divergent interests of members will restrain their ability to act collectively.

Roundtable Discussion with a Delegation from the Foundation on International and Cross-Strait Studies

August 23, 2006

After a presentation on cross-strait relations by Tsai Ming-Yen, associate professor at the Graduate Institute of International Politics at National Chung Hsing University in Taiwan, other panel members discussed the steps being taken to

improve cross-strait relations, and Taiwan in the general context of U.S.-China relations.

Much of the discussion with specialists from the Foundation on International and Cross-Strait Studies (FICS) looked ahead to the potential for change in cross-strait dynamics after the 2008 Taiwan presidential election. Some specialists thought that the election of KMT chairman Ma Ying-jeou could provide the means for the PRC to take a fresh look at cross-strait relations, but others said that as a candidate for president, Ma is not going to cede ground on the core issue of sovereignty. The challenge will be for both sides to find a framework to move discussions beyond functional issues.

Breakfast Roundtable with China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations Delegation

September 18, 2006

The China Institutes for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) is a Beijing-based think tank that specializes in strategic, political, economic and security studies, country and regional studies, and China's relations with other countries. The CICIR delegation was led by Professor Cui Liru, an articulate and thoughtful interlocutor on U.S.-China relations, China's



*Right:
CICIR President Cui
Liru with National
Committee Director
Robert A. Levinson.*

regional outlook and other issues. Professor Cui was joined by several senior members of CICIR's research team. The informal discussion, held at the National Committee's office, focused on Northeast Asian security issues including Sino-Japanese relations and China's relationship with North Korea.



Chinese Lessons: Five Classmates and the Story of the New China

Discussion with Author John Pomfret
Tuesday, September 19, 2006
Co-sponsored by Jones Day

As head of *The Washington Post's* Beijing bureau from 1998 to 2003, John Pomfret reported on the major political, economic and social developments that were transforming China. In his new book, *Chinese Lessons*, he illustrates these changes with the personal stories of five of his former Nanjing University classmates. Members of the class of 1982, these individuals grew up during the Cultural Revolution and embarked on their careers during the new era of "opening and reform." Mr. Pomfret said that during his time in China, he sensed

among Chinese a lack of interest in the recent history of their country or even their family members' personal histories. As a reporter in Bosnia, he had found that all answers to his questions were prefaced with 800 years of history; by contrast, Chinese are much more focused on the present and have not yet fully considered the influence of Mao Zedong's leadership, Tiananmen or other events on their current status. One reason he thinks that his five classmates were so willing to be interviewed is that they had waited a long time to tell their stories and had found their own children were relatively uninterested in them.

Sino-Japanese Tensions and Implications for U.S. Policy

September 21, 2006
Co-sponsored by the Japan Society

The National Committee and the Japan Society's co-sponsored program on Sino-Japanese tensions and their implications for U.S. policy featured three terrific panelists: Mike McDevitt highlighted some of Japan's views of the source of tensions, Alan Romberg looked at China's views, and Jim Kelly presented some of the Center for Naval Analyses working group's recommendations for U.S. policy. The panelists said that the working group process made it clear that the problem of Sino-Japanese tensions is even more complicated than participants fully realized at the outset. It is necessary for the United States to continue its strong relationship with Japan and to continue its 30-year effort to build relations with China; this triangular relationship is not a zero-sum game in which better relations with one country come at the expense of the other. Americans need to be more aware that Asia is becoming the center of gravity in the world on a number of levels and that it consequently requires greater attention.

To reduce tensions in the region, the panelists said the United States might quietly encourage Japan to make some reform with respect to the Yasukuni shrine (such as moving the war criminals to another place); pay closer attention to competition for energy resources in the East China Sea, which has the potential to become a flashpoint; and underscore that the American "nuclear umbrella" applies to Japan, so that it does not seek its own nuclear capability.

"The Future of U.S. China Relations" with Senator John Edwards

October 31, 2006
Co-sponsored by the Asia Society

At this program for National Committee and Asia Society members, former Democratic Senator from North Carolina and 2004 Vice-Presidential nominee, John Edwards, discussed his recent trip to China, organized by the National Committee (see page 2). Senator Edwards discussed some of the key issues in the relationship, stressing that the Bush administration needs to focus more on the relationship and that the strategic dialogue that has been set up between Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson and Chinese Vice Premier Wu Yi is a good idea. Lesley Stahl of *60 Minutes* interviewed the Senator for about 15 minutes, touching on North Korea and Iran's nuclear programs, the humanitarian crises in Darfur, Uganda, and Iraq, as well as U.S. domestic issues that are affected by relations with China such as job security and the growing trade deficit. A topic of particular interest to both the Senator and the overflowing audience was China's increased economic involvement in Africa and the impact this has on China's foreign policy. ■

*Left:
Author John Pomfret
addresses National
Committee members
and friends at
Jones Day.*

Members' Bookshelf

The following is a brief selection of books authored by National Committee members over the past year. The comments below are based on the publishers' descriptions.

For an expanded Members' Bookshelf dating back to 2000, please visit our website. Committee members who would like to submit a listing for the website and/or the next edition of NOTES may contact info@ncuscr.org.

Localities at the Center: Native Place, Space, and Power in Late Imperial Beijing

Richard Belsky
Harvard University Asia Center,
2006

A visitor to Beijing in 1900, Chinese or foreign, would have been struck by the great number of native-place lodges serving the needs of scholars and officials from the provinces. What were these native-place lodges? How did they develop over time? How did they fit into and shape Beijing's urban ecology? How did they further native-place ties?

In answering these questions, the author considers how native-place ties functioned as channels of communication between China's provinces and the political center, how sojourners to the capital used native-place ties to create solidarity within their communities of fellow provincials and within the class of scholar-officials as a whole, how the state co-opted these ties as a means of maintaining order within the city and controlling the imperial bureaucracy, how native-place ties transformed the urban landscape and social structure of the city, and

how these functions were refashioned in the decades of political innovation that closed the Qing period. Native-place lodges are often cited as an example of the particularistic ties that characterized traditional China and worked against the emergence of a modern state based on loyalty to the nation. The author, a history professor at Hunter College in New York City, argues that by fostering awareness of membership in an elite group, the native-place lodges generated a sense of belonging to a nation that furthered the reforms undertaken in the early twentieth century.

Professor Belsky has escorted the National Committee's Fulbright Hays Seminar Abroad groups to China and his vast knowledge of Beijing is always a great boon to those fortunate enough to travel with him.

Rightful Resistance in Rural China

Kevin J. O'Brien
and Lianjiang Li
Cambridge University Press, 2006

How can the poor and weak "work" a political system to their advantage? Drawing mainly on interviews and surveys in rural China, Kevin O'Brien, a professor of political science at Stanford University and former National Committee board member and Lianjiang Li, a professor at Hong Kong Baptist University, show that popular action often hinges on locating and exploiting divisions within the state. Otherwise powerless people use rhetoric and commitments of the central government to try to fight misconduct by local officials, open up clogged channels of participation, and push back the frontiers of the permissible.

This "rightful resistance" has far reaching implications for our understanding of contentious politics. As O'Brien and Li explore the origins, dynamics, and conse-

quences of rightful resistance, they highlight similarities between collective action in places as varied as China, the former East Germany, and the United States, while suggesting how Chinese experiences speak to issues such as opportunities to protest, radicalization, tactical innovation, and the outcomes of contention. Although the focus of their rich, ground level analysis is contemporary China, O'Brien and Li make a compelling argument that wherever a gap between rights promised and rights delivered exists, there is room for rightful resistance to emerge.

Debating Political Reform in China: Rule of Law versus Democratization

Suisheng Zhao
M.E. Sharp, 2006

The growing disconnect between China's market oriented economy with its emerging civil society, and the brittle, anachronistic, and authoritarian state has given rise to intense discussion and debate about political reform, not only by Western observers, but also among Chinese intellectuals. While some expect China's political reform to lead to democratization, others have proposed to strengthen the institution of single party rule and provide it with a solid legal base. This book brings the ongoing debate to life and explores the options for political reform. Offering the perspectives of both Western and Chinese scholars, it presents the controversial argument for building a consultative rule of law regime as an alternative to liberal democracy, provides several critiques of this thesis, and then tests the thesis through empirical studies on the development of the rule of law in China.

Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait

Richard C. Bush

Brookings Institution Press, 2005

Untying the Knot explores the significant differences and many similarities of Mainland China and Taiwan and the difficulties that must be resolved to calm the Taiwan Strait. What might the legal status and international role of the Taiwan government be in a future unified China? Given the growing military power of the Asian behemoth, how could Taiwan be made to feel secure? Complicating the resolution of these issues are each government's domestic politics and decision-making systems and the leverage game that they play with each other in the international arena. Thus multiple obstacles prevent the two from even getting to the negotiating table, much less reaching a mutually acceptable resolution of their conflict.

The role of the United States as mediator is severely restricted by the nature of the dispute and the relations between the United States and the two parties involved; moreover, it is open to question whether either party would accept the United States in such a capacity. This comprehensive analysis by the chairman of the board and managing director of the American Institute in Taiwan from 1992 to 1997, should be required reading for anyone endeavoring to unravel the tangled knot of Chinese-Taiwan relations.

Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea

David M. Finkelstein
and Kristen Gunness, eds.
M.E. Sharp, 2006

In 1937 Mao Zedong penned his famous treatise, "On Guerrilla Warfare," in which he likened the

Red Army to "fish" that must swim among the "sea" of the people in order to survive. That "sea" has changed many times over since China began its reforms in the late 1970s, and so too has the People's Liberation Army. Yet, until now, no full exploration of the changing civil-military landscape in today's China has been produced by the community of specialists on Chinese military affairs. The authors, director and deputy director respectively of CNA's Center for Strategic Studies, take the reader on a fascinating tour of the economic, social, and political changes in today's China in order to construct a fresh mosaic of the new civil-military dynamic and goes beyond Beijing's ring roads into the provinces and districts, to examine grass roots issues such as the challenges of military conscription and demobilization, and look at the new face of military professionalism and political work in the Chinese military. This volume will be of interest to those who study the Chinese armed forces, those focused on social change in China, as well as students of political science.

Rising China and Asian Democratization: Socialization to "Global Culture" in the Political Transformations of Thailand, China, and Taiwan

Daniel C. Lynch
Stanford University Press, 2006

Professor of political science at the University of Southern California, Dan Lynch asks the core question of whether China's rise will be accompanied by democratization. In examining political change in Thailand and Taiwan, Lynch has found that democratization occurred in those Asian societies as a result of elites accepting socialization to the democracy esteeming "global culture" which originated in the West some two centuries ago. Thai and

Taiwanese elites experience this culture as universally valid, and they see democracy as the appropriate political system for all societies. In contrast, elites in China contend that a truly global culture is impossible: all culture must serve some state, since states are the irreducible primary actors in world politics. As a result, accepting full socialization to global culture would be equivalent to accepting subjugation to Western domination. This belief impedes Chinese democratization and motivates PRC elites to try to build a brand-new political civilization that would incorporate elements of "Western democracy" but be superior to it and authentically Chinese.

National Committee Publications

Michael A. Glosny, *Meeting the Development Challenge in the 21st Century: American and Chinese Perspectives on Foreign Aid*, China Policy Series No. 21, August 2006. This monograph is based on interviews of the author (a Ph.D. candidate in political science at MIT) and informed by a conference on comparative foreign aid policies in China and the United States. The conference, generously underwritten by the Ford Foundation and co-sponsored by the National Committee and the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, was held in Beijing in November 2005.

Forty at Forty. This is a compilation of messages from 20 Chinese and 20 Americans who have participated in National Committee programs over the past four decades. It was put together in honor of our 40th anniversary. ■

Electronic versions of both of the above National Committee publications can be found in the publications section of the Committee website; print versions are available upon request.

*Above right:
National Committee
Board members
(from left to right):
Nicholas Lardy,
Herbert Hansell,
David Lampton,
Harry Harding, and
John Thornton.*



*Members' Meeting Highlights Hank Greenberg,
continued from page 5*

petitive as you are.' Now they are taking steps, they are gradually revaluing their currency, bit by bit. They can't do it overnight. It would destabilize the country. It would be wrong from their point of view and from our point of view. The worst thing that could happen would be to have a failed China. A failed China would be a disaster for the world."

Toward the end of the conversation, Mr. Gelb turned to Mr. Greenberg's most recent trip to China, asking what he views as the current priorities of China's leaders. Mr. Greenberg noted that political and economic stability are the top

priorities for China's leaders, followed by promoting sustainable development and improving environmental conditions. Mr. Greenberg highlighted his involvement in the Mayor of Shanghai's Advisory Board and the upcoming meeting that will focus on making Shanghai more environmentally friendly and promoting the growth of "green cities." Above all, Mr. Greenberg stressed that with all of the work China is doing and must do to resolve its internal issues in areas of environment, social unrest, poverty, etc., the United States should not treat China as a rising threat, but rather encourage China to become a responsible stakeholder and promote diplomatic engagement. ■

New Board Appointments

Muhtar Kent

President, Coca-Cola International. Executive Vice President, The Coca-Cola Company

Douglas H. Paal

Vice Chairman, JPMorgan Chase & Co. Former Director, Taipei Office, American Institute in Taiwan

James R. Sasser

Former United States Ambassador to China

I. Peter Wolff

Senior Vice President, International, Office of Global Public Policy, Time Warner Inc.

Recent News

On November 7, Young Leaders Forum (YLF) Fellow Gabrielle Giffords was elected to serve as a Representative to the United States Congress from Arizona's 8th Congressional District. This was an eventful few months for Gabrielle, as she also became engaged to another YLF Fellow, Commander Mark Kelly, a navy fighter pilot and NASA astronaut who piloted the July 2006 Space Shuttle Discovery

*The YLF flag that
Mark Kelly took with
him into space this
summer on the Shuttle
Discovery.*

flight to the International Space Station. As an active participant in the YLF, Commander Kelly carried a YLF flag, specially designed for the occasion, into space with him. Gabrielle was busy campaigning during the most recent Forum (see the next edition of *NOTES* for highlights from the October Young Leaders Forum in Santa Cruz, California), but Mark flew in to Santa Cruz and presented Steve Orlins with the flag and a photo commemorating the Space Shuttle flight.

While the Young Leaders Forum intends to bring together outstanding American and Chinese profes-

sionals from a range of fields, Mark and Gabrielle's recent engagement has revealed an additional benefit to participants! Everyone associated with the Forum is delighted to share Gabrielle and Mark's joy and takes great pride in their accomplishments. ■



HIV/AIDS and the Media,
continued from page 13

benefited from the expertise of several Beijing-based specialists in HIV/AIDS and/or journalism.

The National Committee's five experts repeated their presentations in the days that followed in workshops in Changsha and Guangzhou, receiving a great deal of local support and enthusiasm. After their return to the United States, the delegation members continued making efforts to maintain or deepen the ties formed during their China trip. Mr. Russell wrote a long

The two sides are exploring possible ways to work together on HIV/AIDS and other public health issues in China, with the National Committee lending its support.

piece in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on China's recent efforts to fight HIV/AIDS, drawing from his interviews in Changsha and elsewhere. Ms. Collins met Chinese reporters again in August during the international AIDS conference in Toronto. Some seeds of future collaboration were also planted during the trip between Xiangya School of Medicine in Changsha and Johns Hopkins University. The two sides are exploring possible ways to work together on HIV/AIDS and other public health issues in China, with the National Committee lending its support. ■

Public Intellectuals Program Update,
continued from page 15

China-America Festival of Film and Culture in Richmond.

PIP Fellows are also encouraged to serve as scholar escorts, rapporteurs and participants in various National Committee events. Evan Medeiros (political scientist, RAND Corporation) was one of about 25 participants in the U.S.-China Strategic Security Issues Workshop. The day and a half meeting, held in Honolulu September 28-30, was the eighth in a series of meetings sponsored by the Preventive Defense Project (a research collaborative of Stanford and Harvard Universities, chaired by former Secretary of Defense Bill Perry and Assistant Secretary Ash Carter) in cooperation with the National Committee and the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies.

Susan Whiting (associate Professor of Political Science, University of Washington) went directly from the June China PIP trip to Beijing, where she attended a conference on Central-Provincial Fiscal Relations cosponsored by the National Committee and Renmin (People's) University. Funded by the Ford Foundation, the conference examined central-provincial relations in the United States and China from the perspective of fiscal relations between the central government and individual localities.

In addition to activities directly tied to the program, our twenty fellows have kept themselves busy with "public intellectual" activities including publishing articles and appearances at congressional hearings, television and radio shows, academic fora, and each other's events. ■



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Corrections to the winter/spring 2006 issue of *NOTES*:

National Committee member and Associate Professor at Towson University, Steven Phillips' name was spelled incorrectly in the listing of his book *Dangerous Strait: The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis*. We also inadvertently left Margot Landman's name off the staff list. Our apologies for these errors.



National Committee on United States-China Relations

*"Do Good Well" –
An Interview with National Committee
Director Geraldine Kunstadter;
continued from page 21*

China connection. And I have a very special feeling in Asia.

As far as the philosophy, my philosophy has always been "do good well." Reach out to people, that's the most important thing. It's not for you – the people who live there are all smart enough to know what they need, we don't need to tell them what they

need. So we should respond to them. That's what I hope they will take away.

I used to say two things to my children when they were young: do unto others as you would have others do unto you and I am my brother's keeper. To me that's almost more important, because I am my brother's keeper. You cannot go through life just satisfying your own needs. It's so much more thrilling to work with other people and to help them

do what it is they want to do. I hope that's what they will continue to do in their lives.

The other thing is to listen. I'm awfully good at listening when I travel. I ask questions, I really want to hear what they have to say. And it has worked remarkably well. I have had the most wonderful experiences with all the people that we work with abroad, just by listening to them. ■

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