



NOTES

The National Committee on United States-China Relations

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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Reflections on My Tenure

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

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

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

The National Committee could not have achieved what it has without the

support of so many others: Barber Conable and Carla Hills, Committee chairs during my tenure, and our outstanding cast of directors, members, and friends who have helped us in so



many ways. We've also been fortunate to have had the support of many American corporations far-sighted enough to understand the value of our work, and of the U. S. government agencies that have appreciated how the Committee can help them achieve their programmatic goals. And we are grateful to the foundations –

Ford, Freeman, Luce, and Starr, in particular – whose ongoing unrestricted and project funding has been so important.

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

As we look ahead, I am confident that National Committee initiatives such as the Student Leaders Exchange (see page 4), the Young Leaders Forum (see page 8), the Foreign Policy Colloquium (see page 12), the Teachers Exchange Program (see page 19), and the newly announced Public Intellectuals Program (see our website) will enable younger generations of Americans and Chinese to find new ways of building mutually beneficial relations between the two countries.

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

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

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

*Right:
John L. Holden
at the 2003 Young
Leaders Forum held
at Huangshan.*

USTR Robert Zoellick Gives Keynote at Annual Meeting

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

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

Ambassador Zoellick (who has since become Deputy Secretary of State) began his off-the-record remarks by sharing some of the insights from his personal experiences of working with China and then focusing on U.S.-China trade and economic relations. He generously answered questions from an audience clearly fascinated by what he had to say.

Also capturing the audience's attention was the panel of China specialists at the meeting:

- Kenneth Lieberthal, visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, author of *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, and former special assistant to the President and senior director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council;
- Cheng Li, professor of government at Hamilton College, author of *China's Leaders: The New Generation* and editor of the newly published *Bridging Minds Across the Pacific: U.S.-China Educational Exchanges, 1978-2003*; and
- David R. Malpass, senior managing director and chief economist at Bear Stearns & Co.

Professor Lieberthal focused on political reform in China and the initiatives that leaders have begun or are likely to undertake. None of these initiatives, Lieberthal asserted, include

movement toward a multi-party system, at least not for the next few decades. China's leaders will opt instead to look for ways to make the current government and party more efficient, transparent, and responsive to the needs of the people.

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



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

Professor Li discussed China's leadership transition; the skills of

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

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

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

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

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

Malpass suggested that China's banking system, with its non-performing

continued on back cover

U.S.-China Student Leaders Exchange

In March 2004, Chinese Embassy education officials approached the National Committee with a special request: to develop a new program that would send top-notch American students to China. In particular, they were interested in having us work with the U.S. Department of Education's Presidential Scholars Program that annually recognizes up to 141 of our nation's most outstanding high school graduates.

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

The program received tremendous support, financial and otherwise, from the Chinese Embassy; the Chinese Ministry of Education; the Jiangsu Provincial Department of Education; Jiangsu Education Television; and local education bureaus, schools, and host families. On the American side, Laureate Education, Inc., and its partner, Wall Street English, underwrote various aspects of the project, including a two-day pre-departure orientation held in Washington, D.C.

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

Today, six months after my return, I open the folder of digital photos on my computer labeled “Best of China” and marvel at what I see. Was I really there?

It's almost hard to believe, but I can still feel my quads burn as I climb eagerly up and down the Great Wall of China... see the sun rising before 5 in the morning over the city of Shanghai, already so alive with bicycles and vendors on the streets... taste the dumplings we made minutes earlier with students in Nanjing, or the fresh hot sweet bread we purchased for only *yi jiao* on an early morning walk, or the huge juicy white peaches left for us each day in our Beijing hotel... smell the thunderstorm approaching as I watch classical Chinese performances in a

gorgeous Suzhou garden... hear the brilliance and passion in my host Hui Yin's *er hu* performance, or the recording of “*Qing Ba Wode Ge*” and the individual voices of my fellow students over the music, sweetly out-of-tune but earnest and eager to share and to learn.

When I first got home, I overflowed with a new kind of knowledge, vastly different from and far more interesting and relevant than anything I'd learned in

Six months later, I can no longer remember whether we visited the Ming Tombs and the acupuncture clinic on the same day; it's harder to recall which city was known for which “local specialty” (I think we had dozens, most of them delicious); and though I can still write my two-character Chinese name given to me by my first Chinese host, I've forgotten the characters for the Chinese transliteration of my English name, which my second host taught me after we saw it in a newspaper photo caption. However, moments and experiences are etched in my mind; here I'll share only a few.

In Wuxi, I practiced the characters of my Chinese name in my journal, over and over, in front of the TV. While my host showered, I scooted next to her mother to show her my work; she smiled and took



American Student Leaders Exchange participants begin their two-week visit to China in Shanghai.

Front row (L to R): Jason Misium (Dallas, Texas), Hannah Ma (Upper Arlington, Ohio), Katie Huston (Royal Oak, Michigan); Middle row: Katie Booth (Lake Mary, Florida); Back row: Henry Jicha (Chapel Hill, North Carolina), Bryan Lee (Westminster, Colorado), Dean Thongkham (Mesa, Arizona), Nicola Ulibari (El Prado, New Mexico), Jessi Reel (Atlanta, Georgia), Joanne Luckey (Columbia, Kentucky), Jake Schuman (Huntingdon Valley, Pennsylvania), Ben Pope (Newton, Massachusetts).

books or on TV: knowledge borne of immersing myself in another culture, of living with Chinese hosts, of asking questions, of connecting with people. The evening my parents brought me home from the airport, I couldn't wait to pop the CD of photos into my computer and tell them about my experiences; after two solid hours, we had only gotten through half the pictures.

the pen to show me how to write it properly. I can still hear her repeating it over and over, “*Meng Xi*,” laughing kindly at my inability to hear the subtle differences between her pronunciation and mine.

In Nanjing, my host Fanny and I spent four hours shopping at the night market; we took a taxi home rather than the group tour bus because we were having way too

much fun to go home. I remember the way we laughed when we got lost together on a curvy side street, the way we hunted for a perfect pair of shoes for her, the way she ran off to get a water bottle for the sweaty craftsman as he meticulously carved my name into a stone chop.

In Beijing, we waited in line for 45 minutes to see Chairman Mao's Mausoleum; I was astonished to see hundreds of Chinese behaving as though on a religious pilgrimage, wide-eyed children bearing flags and parents cradling flowers in their arms to leave near someone I had always thought of as an indescribably evil tyrant. I remember the conversation I had with Hannah Ma, a Chinese-American student in our group whose parents lived in China through the Cultural Revolution, and Jon Lowet, our group leader who lived in Beijing at the time of the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989. I was fascinated by the insight I gained from their perspectives and arrested by the realization that the Western way of looking at the world, of judging people, is not the only way.

When I fell down at the Beijing roller disco (awesome final-night-in-China activity!), before I could even prop myself up, a young Chinese woman held out her hand, her smile glowing brighter than her white sweater. We may have exchanged eight words we both understood, but we skated hand-in-hand for fifteen minutes. I can still hear my laughter blending with hers when we were joined by a Chinese man, a far better skater than either of us, who took my other hand and pulled us behind as he wove agilely through the crowds; I can still remember how fast we skated, that shared thrill that transcended any language barrier.

Six months later, I have a better sense of how my trip to China has changed me. I'm more adventurous, more independent. Before the trip, I ordered a

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

Traveling to China has also given me a completely different outlook on America and my life here. When I've traveled to different parts of the United States and Canada, I've noticed and marveled at what was *different*; in China, we delighted in anything that was *the same*. I suppose that suggests that I was going through some culture shock while I was in China, but that doesn't compare to the feeling I had once I returned home. Having experienced a different lifestyle with my Chinese host families and having learned about China's vastly different political, economic, and social paradigms, I now see my American home through new eyes. I can more critically evaluate my lifestyle and my nation. I realize how petty my problems can be and how much bigger the world is. Yet at the same time I've stopped taking many things for granted. I waste less water and use fewer paper towels. Even as I can be a critic, I recognize what is good about the political and social framework within which I live.

I'm still not certain what I want to do with my life, but my trip to China this summer made me realize that I want to interact and learn on a global level, and it inspired me to make a difference in the world, somehow. ■



My trip to China made me realize that I want to interact and learn on a global level, and it inspired me to make a difference in the world.



*Top:
Dumplings 101:
Jason Misium gets
a lesson on how to
make jiaozi from
his Chinese host*

*Bottom:
After a lecture on
traditional Chinese
medicine at the
Nanjing Acu-
puncture Clinic,
Jessi Reel opts
for cupping
(moxibustion).*

grilled chicken sandwich nearly every time I ate out; now when I'm presented food that looks strange, I remind myself I've tried much stranger: duck tongue, shark fin soup, snail, and about three

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

U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project

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

In May 2004, the project's initial programmatic activity took place – a three-day workshop in Qingdao that brought a team of top American labor inspection specialists together with senior government representatives from MOLSS and the State

labor compliance issues in the United States, Asia, and Latin America; and Tom Nagle, deputy labor commissioner at the California Department of Industrial Relations, who worked for many years as a field inspector at the state level and

drafted regulations: guidelines for labor inspectors throughout China that establish, for the very first time on the national level, a legal basis for the enforcement of standards in the areas of wage, hour, child labor, employer social insurance pay-in, and more.

The Americans were particularly impressed by the candor of several of the inspection chiefs in discussing their problems, and by their determination to overcome nearly overwhelming obstacles. In spite of the many differences between the two systems, the Americans commented over and over that many of



*Right:
U.S.-China Labor
Law Cooperation
Project at the Great
Wall (L to R): John
Fraser, Tom Nagle,
and Louis Vanegas*

Council, directors of key provincial and municipal labor inspectorates, labor lawyers, and academics to discuss and comment on a draft of new labor inspection regulations. The American team consisted of John Fraser, former deputy assistant secretary for employment standards at the U.S. Department of Labor and former head of the Department's Wage and Hour Division for 11 years; Louis Vanegas, former director of the Wage and Hour New York District Office with over 15 years of field inspection, supervision, and training experience, now a consultant on

who, as a hearing officer, deals with sweatshop wage, hour, and child labor issues on a daily basis. Mary Gallagher, assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan and then a Fulbright fellow specializing in Chinese labor issues at Shanghai's East China University of Politics and Law, helped brief the Americans and stayed on at the workshop as an observer.

After briefings designed to bring the U.S. team quickly up to speed on the Chinese labor conditions and labor enforcement systems, the workshop sessions focused squarely on the newly

the problems and issues faced by their Chinese colleagues were quite similar to ones they had faced in their own work.

In the end, the significance of the Qingdao seminar went far beyond that of a simple opportunity to make a few comments on a set of draft regulations. For the Americans, it provided a rare perspective from which to learn about the Chinese labor standards enforcement system and the challenges the government faces in the legal reform process; for the Chinese, the workshops provided an opportunity, for many their first, to share their views with the drafters

and each other, as well as to interact with Americans experts in this field.

Moreover, as this was the first time that the MOLSS had invited this kind of foreign feedback in such a public forum, the workshops also provided the Chinese with the opportunity to see other takes on the drafting process. "It was like a breath of fresh air in the Chinese labor legal reform process. The Americans brought with them different ways of looking at regulations. Some of the questions they asked were questions that no one else had asked during the time the regulations were being drafted, and what we learned from these new ways of looking will be useful to us long after this particular drafting process has been completed," said Mr. Lu Yulin, director of the General Planning Division of the Legal Affairs Department at the Ministry and a key figure in the U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project.

Given the obstacles of time, language, limited understanding of all the intricacies of the Chinese labor inspection system, and because of the sheer enormity of the challenges facing the Chinese labor law reform process, it was a challenge for the American team members to provide useful ideas and information. But Lu Yulin told the Committee that the American team's input played an important role in the final stages of the drafting process. Premier Wen Jiabao signed the regulation on November 1, 2004, and it was put into effect 30 days later.

Days after the new labor regulations went into effect, the second National Committee portion of the U.S. China Labor Law Cooperation Project took place. In December 2004, the Committee welcomed a delegation of ten labor officials from the Ministry, the Chinese Academy of Labor and Social Security, and several provincial and municipal labor bureaus on a two-week wage and hour laws training course in the United States.

Working closely with the Department of Labor, the National Committee designed a program to give the participants a comprehensive

understanding of how U.S. wage and hour laws and regulations are administered and enforced at the federal, state and local levels and, more generally, how workers' rights are protected in the United States. An additional goal was to nurture Chinese inspection leaders who will continue to play an important role in future Labor Law Cooperation Project activities.

Most of the meetings were held at the Department of Labor's Employment Standards Administration's Wage and Hour Divisions in Washington, D.C., Houston, and San Francisco, with several more informal sessions at non-government organizations working with labor standards enforcement, such as the Berkeley Center for Labor Education and Research and the International Labor Rights Fund.

In their written and verbal evaluations, the Chinese inspection chiefs commented that much of what

they learned about the American wage and hour system had direct applicability in what they do in China, especially those aspects

that relate to back wages; investigator training, monitoring, and evaluation; and the handling of worker complaints.

Future phases of the project are being planned for this year. In the spring, the project will place four Chinese legislative drafters, two from the central government and two from provincial-level governments, into five-week internships in U.S. state legislatures and academic institutions. Over the summer – and building on the success of the Qingdao program – we will hold another China-based seminar, this time to discuss labor contract law. This will be followed by a U.S.-based training course for contract labor specialists and a follow-up seminar in China. Later in the year, specialists from China, the United States and other countries will meet to develop a training curriculum for Chinese labor inspectors; in subsequent years, sessions will be held at two different Chinese provincial centers devoted to training the trainers on this curriculum. ■

More Exchanges

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



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



Members of the Worker Training/Retraining Delegation – six Chinese labor officials from the central and provincial governments – on a tour of the factory that produces Boeing's 737s in Renton, Washington. The delegation's two-week itinerary included stops in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Seattle, and San Francisco. This was the final segment of a three-part project that included American specialists in worker training and retraining going to Taiwan in April 2003 and a similar group going to the PRC in June 2004.

Young Leaders from the U.S. and China Gather in Sedona



Right:
YLFers at the 2004
Forum in front of
Sedona's Red Rocks

The National Committee launched the Young Leaders Forum (YLF) in 2002 as a way of building professional and personal bridges between the next generation of leading citizens from the United States and China. The venue for the annual four-day Forum alternates between the United States and China, and membership lasts for a minimum

of two years, allowing each YLFer to attend a conference in each country.

At the third annual Forum in October, 31 YLFers convened in Sedona, Arizona. Alexandra Harney, a second-time participant (and a Hong Kong-based journalist working for The Financial Times) described the event.

What is most striking, stepping out of Arizona's Phoenix Sky Harbor International Airport, is the heat. As intense as a hair dryer and nearly as relentless, it overpowers the first-time visitor with the sense that this is a place unlike any other.

That feeling of otherworldliness followed me for my entire trip to the state last October for a meeting of the Young Leaders Forum (YLF), a conference organized by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

The annual meeting, of which last year's was the third, brings together a diverse and highly accomplished group of people under the age of 40 from China and the United States. Its aim: to build a foundation of communication and understanding across the two countries, whose relationship has become one of the most important in the world.

I joined YLF for the first time in the fall of 2003, when I had just arrived in Hong Kong as a reporter for the U.K. newspaper *The Financial Times*.

The group I met has accomplished enough to intimidate anyone, but somehow it felt warm and inclusive. Within an hour with the Young Leaders, I was comfortably discussing the loss of bone density during space travel with an American astronaut, talking about six-party North Korea talks with a colonel in the PLA, discussing anti-corruption legislation with a Peking University professor, chatting about the development of China's high-technology

YLFers at the 2004 Conference

2004 Fellows

Angela Chao is senior vice president at Foremost Maritime Corporation, a New York-based shipping company.

Elizabeth Gaffney is a novelist, translator, and editor-at-large. Her first novel, *Metropolis*, was published in March.

Adam Kaplin is an assistant professor in the Department of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.

Hu Kanping is the founder and editor of *Green China Times*, an environmental newspaper in China.

Jin Luo is a director in the international department of the People's Bank of China.

Tang Haisong is founder and CEO of Etang.com, a Shanghai-based online game company.

2003 Fellows

Roger Barnett is the chairman and CEO of Shaklee Corporation, a health products company based in Pleasanton, CA.

Roslyn Brock, director of System Fund Development for Bon Secours Health System, Inc., is the youngest person and first woman ever to be elected vice chair of the NAACP Board of Directors.

Stephan Fowlkes is an award-winning artist residing in New York City.

Gabrielle Giffords, the youngest woman ever elected to the Arizona State Senate, is also a managing partner at Giffords Capital Management.

Alexandra Harney is the Hong Kong-based South China Correspondent for *The Financial Times*.

Mark Kelly, a U.S. Navy commander and NASA astronaut who piloted the Space

Shuttle *Endeavour*, is currently preparing for his second space shuttle flight, scheduled for July 2005.

Stacy Kenworthy is president and CEO of Habersham Holdings, a holding company focusing on globally diversified investments in the high-tech and software markets.

Li Hong (Audrey) is a law partner in Concord & Partners' Shanghai office where she specializes in international corporate and intellectual property law.

Shao Yibo is the chairman of eBay EachNet, China's most popular online auction house, which he sold to eBay in 2004.

Weng Ling is director of the Shanghai Gallery of Art at Three-on-the-Bund, a showcase for contemporary Chinese artists.

industry with Intel's former chief technology officer for the country, hearing about the latest trends in art from the director of the Shanghai Art Gallery and learning about land use legislation in Cambodia from the lawyer that helped draft it.

These personal exchanges are a hallmark of the forum. So, too, are the more formal discussions and presentations structured around a particular theme, which changes each year. The latest meeting, held at L'Auberge de Sedona, an award-winning hotel on the banks of Oak Creek about two hours north of Phoenix, focused on communication.

The topic resonated with Jin Luo, a director at the People's Bank of China, the country's central bank, and a 2004 YLF Fellow. "I was surprised by how little these Americans knew about China," she told me over the telephone from Beijing. "You can imagine for the large population of America, they must have very little or misleading information about China." But Jin Luo, who goes by the name Zanna, says she found the YLF group uniquely open to deep discussions – to a depth she had not found with her fellow students at the London Business School, where she completed a two-year master's in finance in 2002.

The theme becomes the starting point for a series of panels, in which every

Young Leader participates. The diversity of the group ensures that these sessions vary enormously: in the session about "Rising Above the Roar: Getting Your Message Heard in a Crowded Marketplace," for example, the panelists split the group into smaller teams, challenging



each to devise a plan that would communicate an appropriate message for a health products company that was trying to sell into China.

Another session led to a debate about the most effective ways to channel aid to developing countries. And the last session, on the art of diplomacy, split the group into teams again, this time to devise an emergency plan for how the United States and China would hypothetically respond to an unidentified bomb blast in Taipei that killed some of the Taiwanese leadership. The trick: American YLFers

had to play the role of Chinese diplomatic advisors, and Chinese YLFers had to play the role of American diplomatic advisors.

In between panels, the National Committee arranged activities that brought the forum into contact with its extraordinary surroundings. The group hiked around – and, being young leaders, over – some of the majestic red rocks that surround Sedona. I even took the opportunity to test the group's adherence to the theme of communication by getting lost in the trails around Bell Rock, which some believe is a "vortex" of spiritual energy. Fortunately, by speaking to other hikers in the area, the group was able to figure out where I had run to and picked me up in the van.

As guest speakers with a special expertise in communication, Olympic documentarians Bud Greenspan and Nancy Beffa showed and talked their way through extraordinarily moving video clips that illustrated some of the universal themes embodied by the Games. Already working as consultants to the Beijing Olympic Committee, the two reminded the audience that mastering the craft of storytelling, not the latest hi-tech cameras and equipment, is the key to successful communication.

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*Above Left:
Team Presentation
(L to R): Shao Yibo,
Elizabeth Gaffney,
Mark Kelly, and
Tang Haisong
(standing) talk about
how technologies, new
and old, change the
way we communicate.*

Xu Qiyu, a major in the People's Liberation Army, is a lecturer at the National Defence University and a research fellow at its Institute for Strategic Studies.

2002 Fellows

Fu Jun is professor, deputy dean, and chair of the political economy department at Peking University's School of Government.

Paul Haenle, a major in the U.S. Army, is currently serving as the executive assistant to the National Security Advisor, Stephen Hadley.

Darryll Hendricks is a senior vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Jack Hiday is co-founder and managing director of Vista Research, Inc., a company that he just sold to Standard & Poor's.

Guo Xinning, a colonel in the People's Liberation Army, is associate professor at the National Defence University and a research fellow at its Institute for Strategic Studies.

Verna Kuo is an investment manager at Stanford Management Company, the company that manages Stanford University's financial and real estate assets.

Liu Yadong is managing director for Medley Global Advisors' Asia Group.

Lu Hongyan, founder of several environmental NGOs, is currently project manager for the Institute of Applied Material Flow Management at Trier University.

Philip Reeker is the deputy chief of mission at the American Embassy in Budapest.

Rui Chenggang, a director, producer, and news anchor for China Central Television (CCTV), helped launch China's first 24-hour news channel.

Todd Sigaty is founder and executive director of Village Focus International, a nonprofit organization that provides training and capacity building to vulnerable rural and urban communities in Southeast Asia.

Orlando Wang is managing director in Rabobank Nederland's Shanghai branch office.

Damian Woetzel is a choreographer and principal dancer for the New York City Ballet Company.

Zheng Baohua is director of the Center for Community Development Studies, an organization that promotes sustainable development and natural resource management in Yunnan.

NOTES



*Young Leaders Gather in Sedona,
continued from page 9*

*Above Left:
YLF "City Slickers"*

*(L to R):
Lu Hongyan, Verna
Kuo, Alex Harney,
and Angela Chao
receive instructions
from a cowgirl on
how to rope a steer.*

*Above Right:
Gabrielle Giffords
and Xu Qiyu
before their team
herding event*



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

"Who is that guy?" the chief cowboy wanted to know. He had his eye on Wang Yang, better known as Orlando. Turns out, the mild-mannered Shanghai-based Rabobank Nederland managing director

was a natural at herding cattle. The real cowboy offered Orlando, whom he called his "Shanghai cowboy," a job at the ranch.

For some participants, the meetings did not end there. Gabrielle Giffords, the Arizona state senator and Young Leader, took those YLFers who were able to extend their stay to the Grand Canyon for a fixed-wing flight and hike. From there, the group continued to Biosphere II, an experimental living environment, and then to Arcosanti, which calls itself "a prototype urban laboratory." Stephan Fowlkes, a visual artist from New York City, said these two varying approaches to

how people live – Biosphere's focus on the future of human space travel, and Arcosanti's response to the problem of urban sprawl – reminded him of the Forum's efforts to bring two very different countries closer together.

"Here we are, two very different cultures, trying to approach similar topics," Stephan said. Perspectives from both sides are "being shared, and as a result, we're learning the benefits from one another so we can move ahead more informed and more well-rounded." ■

Beyond the Forum

*Right: Flanked by
Steve Okun (left) and
Todd Sigaty, VFI
staff member Chhoan
proudly displays the
new laptop donated
by YLFers.*



When Steve Okun, a vice president for UPS in Singapore, began planning a vacation to Cambodia with his wife Paige, he contacted fellow YLFe Todd Sigaty about spending some time together. Todd is the executive director of Village Focus International (VFI), an NGO that operates in Cambodia and other parts of Southeast Asia, establishing programs,

& crafts and medical supplies -- items that are all hard to come by in Cambodia.

Steve thought that Todd and his program deserved better, so he contacted other YLFers to see if they would share the cost of a new laptop. Their response was overwhelming. Suddenly Steve had enough money for a new state-of-the-art laptop...along with a scanner, printer, ink

among others, for street kids and HIV/AIDS education.

Steve also asked whether there was anything he and Paige could bring, and Todd requested that they look in Singapore for a used, inexpensive laptop, as well as some arts

cartridges, other office supplies...AND enough left over for a motor bike, something Todd's local staff could use for HIV awareness and legal rights outreach in the villages. Steve also carried two copies of Microsoft Office donated by a friend who works for Microsoft.

If that weren't enough, Steve and Paige also lugged over 50 kilograms in crayons, clay, band-aids, antiseptic lotion, and various other things that Paige collected from her friends in Singapore.

All told, the value of the donations was well over \$5,000. Todd's Khmer staff was in tears when they realized that people they had never met would be so giving and supportive.

In a short amount of time, the nature and strength of the bond these YLFers have forged with each other is amazing; the intensity of the YLF experience has transformed their relationships into something very rich. ■

Preventive Defense Project Visits Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing

Since 1998, the National Committee has been pleased to work with the Preventive Defense Project (PDP), a joint program of Stanford and Harvard Universities, on security issues in Northeast Asia. In late January of this

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which hosted the group, arranged an excellent – and packed – two-day schedule, highlighted by a meeting with President Chen Shui-bian. The group was briefed by the Minister of Defense Lee Chieh, and had

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

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

The trip took place against the backdrop of a number of important developments: Taiwan's December legislative elections had returned an opposition majority, likely thwarting pan-Green initiatives that would have provoked Beijing; Taipei and Beijing had worked out arrangements for direct charter flights between the island and the mainland (the first of which lifted off during the group's meeting with the deputy director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council); shortly after the visit, the

year, the eighth such cooperative effort took place: a weeklong series of meetings with senior officials, military leaders, academics and businessmen in Taipei, Shanghai and Beijing. The discussions focused on the issues of cross-Strait relations, North Korea, and U.S. relations with both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. Former U.S. Secretary of Defense William J. Perry led the ten-member American delegation.

The first stop was Taipei, where the

a series of discussions with Speaker of the House Wang Jing-pyng, KMT Party Chairman Lien Chan, People First Party (PFP) Vice Chair Chang Chao-hsiung and a contingent of the PFP, various Legislative Yuan members, the head of the National Security Council, AIT head Doug Paal, and representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce.

The next stop was Shanghai for a two-day conference organized by the PRC host, the China Foundation for

PRC sent two high level envoys to the memorial service of Koo Chen-fu, chairman of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation; and China's Anti-Secession Law was set to be passed at the upcoming meeting of the National People's Congress. Other developments relating to DPRK nuclear weapons, deteriorating Sino-Japanese relations, and Sino-American trade tension added to the rich content of these Track II discussions. ■



Front Row (L to R): Dr. Kurt Campbell, Center for Strategic and International Studies; Dr. Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, Stanford University; Dr. David M. Lampton, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University; Adm. Joseph Prueher, U.S. Navy (retired); Gen. Xiong Guangkai, People's Liberation Army; Dr. William Perry, Co-Director, Preventive Defense Project (PDP), Stanford University; Premier Wen Jiabao; Dr. Michael H. Armacost, Stanford University; Dr. Ashton B. Carter, Co-Director, PDP, Harvard University; Secretary to Premier Wen; Mr. John L. Holden, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; Amb. Robert D. Blackwill, Barbour Griffith & Rogers International.

Back Row (L to R): Mr. Chen Zhiya, China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies; Ms. Jan Berris, National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; Ms. Deborah Gordon, PDP, Stanford University; Ms. Gretchen Bartlett, PDP, Harvard University; General Qian Lihua, Ministry of National Defense; Gen. Erik K. Shinseki, U.S. Army (retired).

2004 Foreign Policy Colloquium: A Participant's Perspective

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

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

First, we heard some short lectures/seminars given by the experts in the field or from academia. The guest speakers explained the factors that play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy, without trying to convince us of what is good or bad policy. Before coming to FPC 04, I believe every participant had already formed his or her own views of many issues. These seminars and lectures help us reopen our eyes to look at many problems from different perspectives. This approach is much more important than the detailed

knowledge itself, which can be found in any college textbook.



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

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

we need the FPC and why we should continue to create more programs like the FPC.

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

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

If you would like to know whether there is any complaint from us about FPC, the answer is YES! Almost everyone in the



group agrees that we should extend the program to one week. Half a week is just TOO short.

I would like to use this opportunity to thank all of you who have made FPC possible. I also would like to express my wish that FPC continues its success in the years to come. ■

Top: The Honorable Samuel R. Berger, former National Security Advisor, delivering the 2004 FPC keynote address

Bottom: FPC participant Liu Tong raises a question at this year's colloquium

Combating Money Laundering in China

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

Economic growth and change are presenting new challenges for China's policy-makers. With the support of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the National Committee developed exchange programs to address two of these challenges: how to institute an effective anti-money laundering regime and how to mitigate unemployment through worker training/retraining programs. The first of these two programs is described below. (Information about the Worker Training/Retraining Delegation is available on our website.)

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

The core of the trip was a three-day training workshop in Dalian for AML staff from the People's Bank of China (PBOC) headquarters and branch

offices throughout the country. The program included presentations on the components of an effective AML strategy, the establishment of a financial intelligence unit, and the topics of asset forfeiture, the role of commercial banks, bank supervision, regulatory oversight of the securities and insurance industries, and training needs. The generous amount of time allowed for discussion enabled delegation members to contribute their perspectives throughout the program,

Following September 11, American officials began giving renewed attention to anti-money laundering regimes throughout the world in order to detect and thwart the financing of terrorist organizations.

and also provided a lively illustration of the debates that take place within the United States about the best way to implement an AML framework or conduct an investigation.

The audience of about 60 PBOC staff, with backgrounds in law, finance, accounting, and foreign languages, demonstrated substantial interest in the “nuts and bolts” of AML. Participants frequently raised questions about how to determine the level of penalty to be assessed, requested a brief risk-rating exercise during the wrap-up session and responded enthusiastically to examples drawn from actual AML cases.

After the Dalian workshop, the delegation split in two, with the U.S. government representatives returning to Beijing for further discussions with

Chinese government officials and the rest of the group continuing on to Shanghai, where they reprised the highlights of the Dalian workshop in a shorter session with the Shanghai Financial and Legal Research Institute (SFLRI).

About 40 members of SFLRI took part in the seminar, which focused on the links between corruption and money laundering and on AML programs in the commercial banking and securities industries. Perhaps reflecting the variety of professions represented in the audience (financial industry professionals, members of the judiciary, and law practitioners), a good portion of the discussion focused on coordination of the multiple agencies and organizations that play a role in AML regimes.

Briefings in Beijing and Shanghai gave the delegation members a better understanding of the forces shaping China's economy and its financial sector. These included a discussion with PBOC officials on the steps China

has taken to date in dealing with money laundering and on potential next steps in the exchange of ideas in the AML field; a roundtable program with Cheng Wenhao – a member of the National Committee's Young Leaders Forum – and his colleagues at Tsinghua University's Anti-Corruption Research

Center; and a wrap-up session with economists at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences on how AML issues fit into the broader context of China's financial system development.

Members of the delegation were James Currie, Federal Reserve Bank of New York; William Gilligan, Treasury Department; David Hsu, Citigroup; Mari Maloney, American International Group (AIG); Rena Miller, Treasury Department; Peter Nunez, law enforcement consultant; Richard Seaman, Treasury Department; Alan Sorcher, Securities Industries Association; Anne Vitale, banking consultant; and Anne Wallwork, Treasury Department. Supplemental support was provided by the Treasury Department, AIG, and Citigroup. ■

The Rise of China and the Outlook for U.S.-China Relations

The following text is excerpted from remarks made by Ambassador J. Stapleton Roy at the inaugural Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture on Sino-American Relations, February 28, 2005, in Shanghai. (For the complete speech, please see our website.) The event was sponsored by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and the Shanghai Association for American Studies, in cooperation with the American Chamber of Commerce. The Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture on Sino-American Relations received generous support from the U.S. Consulate General in Shanghai, ASC Fine Wines, Corning, Shanghai Industrial Development Company, Jade Peak, The Portman Ritz-Carlton, Three-on-the-Bund, and Unison International, Inc.

The idea for the lecture series, which we hope will become an annual event, came from Mr. Paul Liu, a former National Committee intern who had been a student of Mike Oksenberg at the University of Michigan and Doak Barnett at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. The Committee was pleased to lend its support to this project and delighted that Mrs. Jeanne Barnett and Dr. Lois Oksenberg were able to attend.

It is a special privilege to have this opportunity to return to Shanghai to give a talk in honor of the memory of Doak Barnett and Michel Oksenberg. Professors Barnett and Oksenberg were two close personal friends, two of America's finest China scholars, and two far-sighted individuals whose energy and vision had a profound influence on the development of U.S.-China relations.

I want to pay special tribute to their role in training and inspiring a generation of students and scholars, some of whom are here today, who were infected by their love of China and their belief that the United States and China can, through patient efforts, work out their problems, contribute to the common good, and

advance the interests of both countries and the world. This is a lasting legacy that will be of immense importance in the years ahead.

* * *



Now let me offer some comments on the outlook for U.S.-China relations in the light of the incredible transformation that has taken place in China in recent years and that could, if the process continues, make China a truly global superpower within a few decades. This transformation is symbolized by the changing face of Shanghai, which is now barely recognizable as the city where I was a ninth grade high school student when the People's Liberation Army marched in at the end of May in 1949, nearly 56 years ago. The next 20 years were dark ones in the history of U.S.-China relations.

Thirty-five years ago, when possibilities first began to emerge for moving beyond this period of bitter enmity between China and the United States, even Professors Barnett and Oksenberg, with all their powers of discernment, would have had difficulty foreseeing the present situation in China and the current state of U.S.-China relations. Both are far better than even the wildest optimist would have thought

possible at that time. And yet both remain vulnerable to world events and to potential failures of leadership, if these should occur. The record suggests that we need not be pessimistic. However, we can be certain that the bilateral U.S.-China relationship will face severe tests in the years ahead, just as it has in the past. Understanding the nature of these trials can help in being ready for them.

Just over a month ago, George W. Bush was sworn in as President of the United States for the second time. His new administration is still in the process of formation. It will face some of the most daunting challenges to face any U.S. government since our founding as a republic over two centuries ago. We live in an era of breathtaking change. The experience of the Cold War, which shaped U.S. strategic thinking for over four decades, is no longer relevant. Non-state actors now pose some of the most dangerous threats to peaceful societies. Weapons are more destructive than ever and could pose unimaginable dangers if they fall into the hands of destructive terrorist elements. Alliances that had stood the test of time during the bipolarity of the Cold War are evolving in ways that undermine old assumptions. New patterns of relationships are emerging. Even the most enlightened thinkers are having difficulty understanding the significance of these changes.

Quite understandably, the Bush administration is focused for the moment on bringing the U.S. intervention in Iraq to a successful conclusion. In the broader sweep of history, however, the challenge of terrorism will prove to be of lesser significance than the stunning surge of Chinese economic growth over the last two decades. This burgeoning growth is forcing governments throughout the world to consider what sort of country a stronger and more prosperous China will be. Even as the United States struggles to shape developments in the Middle East, it is worth remembering that Iraq under Saddam Hussein was a failed state, isolated and without friends. China, in contrast, is succeeding at breathtaking speed.

It is no exaggeration to state that China is likely to present the United States with its preeminent foreign policy challenge in the twenty-first century. The editor of *Newsweek International*, Fareed Zakaria, observed in the *Washington Post* a few months ago that there have been two

Right:
Ambassador
J. Stapleton Roy
delivering his remarks
in Shanghai.
Photo courtesy of
Gang of One Photography

great shifts in the international balance of power in the last 500 years. The first was the rise of Europe, which became the richest, most dynamic, and most expansionist part of the world between the 17th and 19th centuries. The second was the rise of the United States in the second half of the 19th century and extending up to the present time.

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

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

There can be no doubt that China's rise is directly linked to the outlook for U.S.-China relations in a variety of ways. Never before in history has a country risen as rapidly as China is now doing. Never before in history has a rise of this magnitude occurred at a time when the disparity in military strength between the

dominant country and the rest of the world is as great as it is today. This means that China's rise will not only impact on the regional balance of power. Even more important, it makes China the one country in the world that has the potential to pose a fundamental challenge to U.S. supremacy. Moreover, this potential challenge is emerging at a time when neither China nor the United States has adjusted to their new positions – the United States as the sole superpower and China as the rising superpower. Let me develop these ideas further.

U.S. Preeminence in the World

The problem for the United States is that it has been cast into the role of the world's sole superpower without a consensus, either nationally or within the administration, on how this power should be used. We now have fewer constraints on use of our power because of the

No one, least of all the Chinese themselves, knows what kind of China we can expect in the future and how China will use its new capabilities.

absence of a superpower competitor. Some Americans want to use our power to perpetuate U.S. supremacy in the world. Others want to use it to oust unfriendly regimes and spread democracy and freedom. Still others hope the United States will use its power wisely to strengthen international cooperation and to foster a more fair and just global system.

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

This is not due to any deficiency in the intellectual capacities of the American

people. It rather stems from two intertwined considerations.

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

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

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

continued on page 16

Rise of China,
continued from page 15

cope well with the country's enormously increasing purchasing power following the appreciation of the yen in the late 1980s.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the United States is having difficulty determining how we should use the sudden relative increase in our power caused by the collapse of our superpower competitor. We reject the concept of "empire" as applying to us, but in much of the world we are perceived as peremptory and domineering – imperial in fact. This cast of mind was reflected in the Bush administration's National Security Strategy statement issued in September 2002, which proclaimed the goal of maintaining forces "strong enough to dissuade potential adversaries from pursuing a military build-up in hopes of surpassing, or equaling, the power of the United States."

In my view, this is a passing phase for two reasons:

- First, U.S. resources are not sufficient to maintain a hegemonic position in the world. Trying to do so will result in imperial overstretch, that is, in a situation where our resources are insufficient to support our goals. We are discovering this the hard way in Iraq, where the mounting costs of the war and our growing budget deficit are making Americans more conscious of the limits on our resources and our capabilities. Our resources are enormous, but they are not of an order that gives us the luxury of avoiding hard choices between guns and butter, between international and domestic objectives, and between unilateralism and a cooperative approach that not only shares the burden but entails striking a balance between our interests and the interests of others.
- Second, sooner or later, Americans will rediscover the political principles that underlie our system of government, which is founded on the premise that power is dangerous and corrupting and that unchecked power in the hands of government will inevitably lead to improper use of that power.

The concept that power needs to be checked and balanced is just as relevant

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

That is still the American preference, but reality is beginning to seep in as we rediscover the age-old principle that ends in themselves cannot justify the means used to pursue them. Increasingly, I believe, the United States will be forced to give more thought to the question of how to strengthen a cooperative global system that will serve the interests of many countries and that can, in the no longer bi-polar post Cold War era, help to curb any exuberant tendencies for injudicious use of our power.

This is in our own interest, since if we are seen as using our power prudently,

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

other countries will be more comfortable with our role in the world. As James Madison put it over two centuries ago, "independently of the merits of any particular plan or measure, it is desirable that it should appear to other countries as the offspring of a wise and honorable policy." That is as good advice today as it was then.

Conversely, if we are widely perceived as relying on our power to pursue narrowly defined national interests at the expense of other countries, this will hasten the emergence of countervailing checks, a process that is already underway. These checks, over time, could take the form of coalitions or alliances against the United States that would produce a tenser and more dangerous international situation. History would be in danger of repeating itself.

In other words, American foreign policy will be more effective to the extent that it is based on common interests and succeeds in integrating our goals with a realistic understanding of the constraints on what we can accomplish. We now have

fewer constraints on use of our power because of the absence of a superpower competitor. We thought this would make the choices easier. Instead, we are finding that confronted with a wider range of options, the decisions become more difficult because wise choices now require a measure of self-restraint that is difficult to achieve under the best of circumstances.

Implications of China's Rise

Just as the United States is struggling to adjust its policies to a role in the post Cold War world for which it is mentally unprepared, China, too, is rapidly attaining a new and unfamiliar status in global affairs. Chinese have no experience in the modern era of enjoying the wealth and power that they are rapidly acquiring. The world now is very different from earlier periods when China was truly the central kingdom in Asia. As a result, no one, least of all the Chinese themselves, knows what kind of China we can expect in the future and how China will use its new capabilities.

History provides clear warnings that rising powers tend to destabilize their regions and potentially even the global balance. This was certainly the case for Germany and Japan at the end of the 19th century. The Chinese have recognized the potential dangers that a rising power can create and have advanced concepts such as "peaceful rise" or "peaceful development" to demonstrate that China intends to avoid the mistakes made by other rising powers, particularly Japan. While these concepts are controversial within China, their formulation is a positive sign that at least some Chinese are conscious of the historical precedents and recognize the pitfalls ahead.

The question is whether this will be sufficient. Hypothetically, it should be possible for new powers to emerge in a manner that is both peaceful and non-destabilizing. In the case of the United States, for example, we Americans do not think of our rise during the late 19th century as destabilizing. In part, this is because earlier we had already established our position as the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere, thanks to the protection provided by the British fleet. At the same time, the rise of the United States can hardly be

characterized as peaceful. On the contrary, we acquired our territory through a combination of occupation, purchase, and wars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and does not embark on policies that make international conflict more likely. If, on the other hand, the United States persists in the goal of maintaining global hegemony, then China's rise will sooner or later pose a threat to continued U.S. supremacy, and the outlook for Sino-U.S. relations will be clouded. In my mind, the choice is not a difficult one. There will be enormous benefits for the United States if we rely on diplomacy to support the adjustments in East Asia that inevitably must accompany China's rise to great power status, and to promote a stable and mutually beneficial regional and global balance. Under such circumstances, China's rise need not be seen as threatening.

Making this transition in U.S. thinking will not be easy, as illustrated by the slowness with which we have thought through the implications of the post Cold War period. What is needed, to repeat the words of Henry Kissinger, is "concepts relevant to the emerging realities." Developing such concepts will take time, but in my view, the trend is moving in the

right direction as Americans come to a more sober understanding of the limits on U.S. power.

In some ways, China faces an even more difficult task because it involves two aspects. The first is to rise above the bitter legacy of the last 150 years, during which Chinese nationalism was forged in the struggle against foreign exploitation and Japanese imperialism. Over the last 30 years, both China and Japan have made enormous progress in establishing a more beneficial and cooperative bilateral relationship. However, in the last few years, historical frictions have reemerged between China and Japan on a disturbing scale. Because of the U.S. alliance with Japan, we cannot be a disinterested bystander, especially since the United States attaches such importance to cooperation with both countries on a wide range of issues.

The second aspect, as noted earlier, is for China to remain on guard against the intoxicating aspects of its growing wealth and power, which can lead to rapidly inflating ambitions and misjudgments about the potential consequences of particular actions, however legitimate these may appear at the moment. There are encouraging signs that Chinese leaders are conscious of these dangers and determined to act prudently. This augurs well for the future.

Who can doubt that the world will be a better place if the United States and China can find the wisdom necessary to maintain cooperative and constructive bilateral relations as China continues on the path of peaceful development? Certainly, this should be an attainable goal if both countries keep in mind the advice of Shakespeare when he wrote: "O, it is excellent to have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

These are the sorts of challenges that Doak Barnett and Mike Oksenberg would have relished. Both would have recognized the enormity of the task. Both would have addressed it with confidence that statesmanship on both sides could find the right answers. This perspective is as important now as it was then. Both Doak and Mike demonstrated during their lives that such feats of statesmanship are possible. If we both honor their memory and learn from their example, China, the United States, and the world will all be the beneficiaries. ■

A Busy Year of Education Exchanges

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

Special Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar to China for Leaders of Minority Serving Institutions

From June 8 to June 24, 2004, 12 chancellors, presidents, vice presidents, and deans of American institutions of higher education with significant minority enrollment focused on the challenges China faces along its path of rapid economic growth, globalization, and educational reform.

The Seminar came 30 years after the National Committee sent the first delegation of university and college presidents to China in November 1974. The key difference between the two groups is that the 1974 delegation was made up of presidents from institutions that, for the most part, had East Asian and China programs extant while the new group was made up of institutions that were interested in establishing such programs, as well as beginning exchange relationships with various PRC educational institutions. Only two of the 2004 participants had been to China before, and one of those had not been there since 1949, when, at the age of 10, he left along with his missionary parents;

for him it was a voyage into the past as well as the future.

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

Follow-up, a requirement of participation, was nearly immediate. Even before the group had left China,

several people were in the process of writing proposals that would link their schools in some way with one or more of the institutions the group had visited. Since then, each has set in motion processes for introducing courses on China into their curriculum, increasing the number of courses already taught, or instituting faculty, student, and/or administration exchanges.

International Education Delegation to the United States

A group of 12 Chinese education officials, elementary and secondary school teachers, and school administrators came to the United States October 2-15, 2004, to examine how American students are taught about other countries and cultures.

Planning the program took a bit of ingenuity, as international understanding is not taught as a specific subject in this country; rather, as explained to the delegation members during their first morning in the United States, it permeates many aspects of the classroom and curriculum (world history, foreign



Dr. Marcia Keizs, Vice President of Academic Affairs at the City University of New York's Bronx Community College makes a point to a group of students at the Naxi Autonomous Prefecture Number 1 Middle School. Looking on is Dr. Zaida Vega-Lugo, Vice Chancellor for Outreach at the Universidad Metropolitana in Puerto Rico, and Dr. James Renick, Chancellor, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University. Also participating on the trip were leaders of California State University, San Bernadino; Peralta Community College; Fresno City College; La Sierra University; Gadsden State Community College; Queensborough Community College; University of Texas Brownsville & Texas Southmost College; Tougaloo College; and Florida A&M University.



language, geography, and social studies courses, and informally in many others including math, science, art, music, etc.), and is often transmitted via outside institutions such as museums, libraries, NGOs, and even non-education-focused government institutions such as the Peace Corps.

Thus the delegation's schedule in Boston, Washington, D.C., Denver/Boulder, and Los Angeles was comprised of a mix of visits to schools (public and private, large and small); institutions involved in curriculum development and teacher training; historic sites and museums; and various NGOs that work either directly or indirectly on aspects of international understanding.

The group was particularly impressed with the range of NGOs involved in this area and how important their work is in supplementing and supporting what is taught in the schools. Facing History and Ourselves (a non-profit organization that creates curriculum packages dealing with the Holocaust and other difficult-to-teach subjects), the Association of American Geographers, the National Geographic Society, and the Sackler Gallery at the Smithsonian are just a few of the NGOs the group

visited that develop curriculum packages for educators and provide teacher training and develop standards for teaching at the K-12 level, as well as curriculum supplements in the form of CDs and freely accessible web resources. Town Hall in Los Angeles attempts to connect students, particularly those in economically underprivileged neighborhoods, with influential figures in global affairs by inviting them and their teachers to attend luncheons on international affairs and then meet privately with speakers for ques-

tion-and-answer sessions. And the Peace Corps provides course books for teachers to supplement their lessons, and has set up a pen-pal program in which

a class can correspond with a Peace Corps volunteer to learn about the country in which the volunteer is living.

The international schools that the delegation visited in Washington, D.C., and Denver, as well as the public schools in Boston and Los Angeles with large numbers of immigrant children from various countries, provided excellent examples of how American schools incorporate diverse cultures into the curriculum. During each of the school

visits, the Chinese delegation commented on the ethnic diversity of the students and noted that casual interactions between students from different cultural backgrounds must have an impact on their understanding of one another.

While the primary focus was on school-related activities, the delegation's schedule also included meetings and site visits with educational associations, textbook publishers, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and other institutions that help Americans better understand the world beyond our borders.

Teachers Exchange Program

The ninth year of the Teachers Exchange Program (TEP) has been a busy one. In August, 10 American K-12 teachers were placed in five cities in China to teach English and 22 K-12 Chinese teachers came to eight cities and two rural areas in the United States to teach Chinese. New sites were added in both countries: two in Hefei (which heretofore has sent but not received teachers) and three in Tulsa.

This academic year TEP began an interesting experiment. In past years, all TEP teachers from China have been teachers of English in China; the logic is that they understand the challenges of teaching a foreign language and would not have a language barrier when adjusting to life in the United States. This year, however, the program accepted two Chinese language teachers from China. It's an exciting development; if successful (which it seems to be so far), it will mean that TEP can draw its Chinese teachers from a much broader pool of candidates.

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

The schools that the delegation visited provided excellent examples of how American education is able to incorporate diverse cultures into its curricula.

*Above Left:
Sixth graders in
Portland, Oregon,
with artwork made in
a Chinese culture class
taught by a TEP
exchange teacher*

The Rich Experiences of a Time Warner Intern



Above Right: Orientation Field Trip – Following a taping of WETA's Washington Week in Review (WWR), 2004 Time Warner interns (L to R) Sun Wenyi, Cai Zhuojun, Chen Xin, Dai Weijia, and In-Ha Lei visit the station's control room. Not shown is Zhuo Qun, a Time Warner intern from 1998, the program's inaugural year; now working as a WWR production assistant.

The Time Warner Internship Program, developed and administered by the National Committee for the past seven years, selects students from Fudan University with an interest in journalism and media to participate in a three-month internship at various Time Warner divisions in the United States. In 2004, students interned at HBO, Fortune, Warner Bros. Studios, Time, and CNN from September through December. The program is wholly underwritten by Time Warner Inc.

Interns begin with a 14-day orientation about American history and culture, followed by a ten-week office internship, and conclude with a three-day wrap-up session in Los Angeles.

The following is excerpted from a longer report by Chen Xin (Gillian), a Fudan senior majoring in English who interned at CNN International in Atlanta.

Orientation

The day finally came to depart for America. I still clearly remember the non-stop phone calls from my folks the night before the departure. Suddenly I realized that I was going to start a new

journey, which would hopefully be the turning point in my life. As my dad said, "The girl is going to meet the world." On September 7, I waved to my parents and boarded the plane heading for America with a heart filled with expectations and confidence for the future.

The National Committee made great efforts to expose us to as much American culture as they could in a relatively short orientation program. We even had some once-in-a-lifetime experiences such as visiting the White House and attending a Senator's breakfast. We tried our best to absorb what we experienced every day and cherished every minute learning about this new world.

Interning at CNN

After the two weeks' orientation trip, we were sent to different Time Warner divisions for our internship. I felt excited as well as afraid because I knew from then on I would have to face everything all alone in Atlanta. However, I was looking forward to my independent life. I said goodbye to my fellow interns and boarded the plane for Atlanta with an eager heart for the internship.

I will never forget the first day I went to CNN. I had expected some

difficulties. However, everything went so smoothly that I could not believe my luck. The internship coordinator in CNN relieved all my anxiety with her warm smile and kind words.

I had been placed in the position I had applied for – the newsroom of CNN International – and was assigned to work on a weekly show called "Inside Africa." It is a marvelous show with a wonderful team. Different from other news shows, it is more like a feature show, telling people stories taking place in Africa. Thus I got the chance to learn about that great continent, which is mysterious to me before. It is really an amazing experience – an Asian girl going to America and working on a show about Africa. Yes, not until I worked in CNN International did I realize that the world could be so big and diverse.

My supervisor was an experienced producer, an insightful journalist, and a very nice person. He made careful arrangements for my internship and was always showing his great concern with me. From him I did not only learn a lot about journalism but also about life, which is more important.

I closely worked with my two mentors, an associate producer and a tape editor. Both of them did such a wonderful job training me that at the end of my internship I had learned to do almost everything for the show. They patiently showed me every detail of TV production and included me in every procedure of the production of the show, from pulling out tapes from the CNN library to finally sitting in the control room to see the show run.

What I appreciated most was that, besides showing me how to do things, my mentors always gave me opportunities to try on my own. They believed that the most effective way to learn is just to do it! And having some real work to do did enable me to master the skills quickly.

The newsroom is like a land of wonder for me. I am so greedy that I wanted to learn everything about it. Therefore, besides working on our show, I used a lot of my spare time learning many other things. Although I was off on Mondays, I went to work almost every Monday to shadow different people in the newsroom. That gave me an idea of how they work and how they are related to each other, which explained why the huge TV station could run in order. Taking previous interns' advice, I was courageous enough to talk to everyone in

the newsroom. I found it not only enabled me to get more opportunities to learn but also made me more open.

When I started my internship the first day I had never expected that I could meet so many nice and helpful people. Actually, the friends I made there are the most precious thing I harvested in the internship. I don't know how I can fully express my gratitude to them. They took great care of me, ready to help me at any time. They patiently answered my questions, willing to teach me whatever they can. They were kind enough to include me in their social activities, inviting me to lunches, dinners, parties, taking me out for shows and movies. When they talked about something they never took me as an outsider. Instead, they would explain to me when I could not understand their talk and even asked about my opinions. Those daily talks not only taught me a lot of professional knowledge but also exposed me to the American culture.

Life in Atlanta

Family usually is the foundation of one's happy life. I was lucky enough to have the nicest host family in Atlanta. I was so close to them that they have already become another family of mine.

My host mother, Molly, is a journalist and she is one of the kindest women in the world. She took great care of me and showed me almost every aspect of American family life.

She encouraged me to experience as much American life as I can and welcomed me to join in most of her activities. We had dinner and even made dinner together. I helped her with a Halloween party, Thanksgiving dinner, and a silent auction for donation. We made cakes for friends' birthdays and decorated the Christmas tree together. She took me out for shopping, to churches on weekends, and to attend the activities of the Atlanta Press Club, a fascinating association made up of many brilliant journalists, where I got the chance to hear Colin Powell speak. We even went to vote together on Election Day, where I witnessed the whole process of voting.

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

Wrap-Up Session

The three-month internship was so enjoyable that it came to the end before I noticed it. I was very reluctant to say goodbye to my friends in Atlanta but at the same time I missed home and was eager to see the other four interns as well as [National Committee program officer] Meredith Champlin again. I flew to L.A. with a light heart and a feeling of accomplishment. Different from the orientation trip, the wrap-up session was more slow-paced and relaxing. Meredith did a good job and helped us conclude the internship and gave us a lot of good advice on how to readjust ourselves when going back home.

Back to China

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

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



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

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

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

With organizations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation donating several million dollars for AIDS work in China these days, one of the panelists

confirmed that it is a lack of capacity – not money – that now causes the greatest bottleneck in China's response to AIDS.

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

*Left:
Dr. David D. Ho
Photo courtesy of
The Aaron Diamond
AIDS Research Center*

China's Recent Developments: A U.S. Judge's Perspective

Helen Ginger Berrigan, Chief Judge, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans, visited China in 1998 as part of a National Committee Judicial Workshop. In the years since, Judge Berrigan has opened her home and her court to visiting Chinese judges and others interested in rule of law issues. Last September she took time during a private visit to China with her husband to give a series of lectures in Beijing and Hong Kong arranged by the National Committee with the assistance of Chris Lin, editor-in-chief of the American Law Review (a Chinese periodical dedicated to introducing the evolution and current developments in American law to readers in China), and of the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (HKETO). In this piece, adapted from a longer article that Judge Berrigan wrote for the National Committee, she reflects on some of the rule of law-related changes that have taken place in China since her prior visit.

*Right:
Judges' Reunion
(L to R): Supreme
People's Court Judge
Song Jianchao, Vice
Minister of Justice
Zhang Jun, and
Judge Helen Ginger
Berrigan in Beijing*

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

At least that's what I deduced from making a return visit to Beijing. Everywhere I looked I saw evidence of a booming economy: new skyscrapers, new fashions, new advertisements, and new traffic. (Where did all the bicycles go?)

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

In Beijing, I met with the members of the Beijing criminal defense bar who had plans to travel to the United States three months later. We talked of the American judge's role in pre-trial criminal proceedings, and in dealing with search warrants, confessions, and bail. They asked perceptive questions that showed a different level of thinking than we encountered in our 1998 workshop: "How can a judge know if the police officer is telling the truth in his affidavit?"

"If a search warrant is issued for a house, does that authorize searching the people found in the house?"

At the suggestion of Chris Lin, a practicing lawyer and adjunct law professor in both the United States (City University of New York) and China who very graciously accompanied me and helped out when I needed interpreting, I also met with members of the Deheng Law Offices, an international firm primarily engaged in commercial law, but with a white-collar crime section as well. The firm's founder and managing partner Ms. Wang Li came across as a formidable attorney, embodying China's explosive new success herself. After

working for the Ministry of Justice and helping to draft guidelines for lawyers to take advantage of China's international development opportunities, Ms. Wang went into private practice, founding Deheng, a firm that now has branches in nine Chinese cities as well as in The Hague, New York, Seattle, Paris, and Osaka. (She also authored a compelling book on the liability of Chinese criminal defense lawyers themselves, including the risk of being criminally charged for aggressive representation of their clients.)

The National Committee and Chris arranged for me to lecture at Peking University Law School. Prior to the lecture, I met with the law school dean and several of the students, all of whom spoke English and were full of questions about the American legal system. The topic for the lecture, by request, was the criminal defense of death penalty cases.

Around seventy students stayed for two hours of give-and-take dialogue. They were very enthusiastic and, like the Beijing lawyers, asked great questions: "Since there are so many lawyers in America, and it takes 12 people to vote

unanimously for death, how come so many people are sentenced to death?" "If a person kills one person intending to kill him, but the bullet passes through him and unintentionally kills someone else, is that also considered murder?" And perhaps the best question of all: "America requires a lot of legal training to be a lawyer and a lot of actual experience as a lawyer to become a judge. Then how come cases are decided by a handful of lay people with no legal training?" (That last question led to a short history lesson about trial by jury and the American colonies.)

The biggest high in Beijing was reuniting with some *lao pengyou*: Judge



Song Jianchao of the Supreme People's Court and Zhang Jun, a Supreme People's Court Judge when I met him in 2001, but now the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Justice. In February 2001, Judge Song, Judge Zhang, and several of their colleagues came to New Orleans where I hosted them for two days of meetings and a wonderfully collegial dinner at my home. When I finally saw the delegation off at the airport, Judge Zhang was the last down the ramp and called back, "Next year, Beijing!"

Well, it was more like nearly five years later, but still worth the wait. Vice Minister Zhang greeted me with the same enthusiastic hug that he had used to bid me farewell at the New Orleans airport. I tried using the Chinese I had been studying and Minister Zhang patiently listened – and smiled – through my haphazard intonations. It was clear from speaking with him that Minister Zhang now has a very significant position and is a major player in China's rule of law advancement. One of his duties is to oversee the uniform judicial examinations that are now required of all prospective

judges, prosecutors, and lawyers. The passing rate is very low, he tells me, sending a clear message to China's up-and-coming that they must be well-educated and well-qualified if they expect to be part of China's future legal system.

In Hong Kong, the National Committee and the HKETO arranged a series of very informative meetings with lawyers and judges. When I was there back in 1998, 14 months after the handover, there was a great deal of jitters about how merging back to mainland China was working in reality. While not perfect, it appears to have worked quite well overall: the "two systems" have indeed remained two systems yet a lot of effort goes into smoothing out the rough edges between them. For example, at the Hong Kong International Arbitration Centre, the topic we discussed was the glitches in enforcing arbitration decisions rendered in Hong Kong on parties in mainland China. The Hong Kong Legal Forum is a relatively new organization that encourages more interaction between lawyers from Hong Kong and mainland China. At the City University of Hong Kong School of Law, the discussion centered on Hong Kong's legal system and the hopes for mainland China's rule of law reform. And in meetings with the Honorable Justice Geoffrey Ma Tao-li, chief judge of the Hong Kong High Court; Mr. Philip Dykes, chairman of the Hong Kong Bar Association; Mr. Stephen Lam, secretary for Constitutional Affairs, and Mr. Robert Allcock, solicitor general of the Department of Justice, I found them all optimistic that Hong Kong's legal system would remain intact and, in fact, would continue to have a positive influence on the development of the rule of law on the mainland. (It was only at the Hong Kong University law school that the focus was elsewhere: I led a seminar on the constitutionality of same sex marriage in America – their choice of topic!)

My discussions in Beijing and Hong Kong about the rule of law were completely different in nature from – and more mature than – those I had had in 1998. Judges, attorneys, law faculty and students all seem much more engaged in the issues surrounding the rule of law, to a degree that sometimes surprised and always delighted me. Certainly the discussions need to evolve further, but it is tremendously exciting to watch and be a small part of their journey. ■

Corporate Programs: Ambassador Randt Speaks at Informal Session

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

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

On the political/security front, he gave a strong endorsement to the multilateral approach being pursued by the Bush administration with respect to



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

*Photo courtesy of
Kaveh Sardari*

North Korea. An additional benefit of the six-party talks, the Ambassador pointed out, has been the engagement of the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia in discussion of mutual security concerns, a dialogue that has developed a vitality of its own. ■

THEN & NOW: Condoleezza Rice



June 1988 - Condoleezza Rice, associate professor of political science at Stanford University, makes her first trip to China as part of a National Committee-sponsored delegation of American Soviet specialists to discuss the implications of the Gorbachev reforms for Sino-Soviet, Soviet-American, and Sino-American relations.



March 2005 - Condoleezza Rice meets with President Hu Jintao during her first visit to China as Secretary of State. She also meets with Premier Wen Jiabao and Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing to discuss key issues affecting U.S.-China relations.

Photo courtesy of the U.S. Department of State

An Interview with 2004 MacArthur Fellow John Kamm

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

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



*Above:
John Kamm,
executive director of
the Dui Hua
Foundation and
2004 MacArthur
Fellow*

*Photo courtesy of the
Dui Hua Foundation.*

John Kamm: There have been positive reactions all around. There have been nice words of congratulations spoken. There has been that sort of added imprimatur that the approach we have taken is a valid approach in the area of human rights. I have gotten very good feedback both from the NGO community and from various governments, including the Chinese government.

I guess it’s been kind of a validation, not that we needed it, but it is still nice.

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

JK: Our approach is now pretty well established. We are in the “list business,” as I sometimes like to say. We conduct a worldwide search for the names of Chinese political prisoners. On a recent trip to China, for example, one of my colleagues and I dug our way through the municipal libraries in Shanghai and Hangzhou and found quite a few interesting cases. From this research, we generate prisoner lists for various purposes – on average, a couple of lists each month.

We study a case and learn as much about it as possible. Once we feel we have as much as we can get about a case, we approach the Chinese government in a forthright and respectful way. We use multiple channels in our approach to the Chinese government. We have a direct channel. Of course, we also work closely with the U.S. government and, increasingly, with the governments of European countries. Dui Hua was recently granted “Special Consultative Status” with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations.

NC: When did that happen and what will that do for you?

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

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

NC: What do you believe accounts for the high degree of success you’ve had?

JK: It is very hard to quantify success in a venture like this. Sometimes you work on a case for ten or 12 years and get nowhere, and then find out the guy was given a sentence reduction back when you started working on it. And the Chinese government just did not let you know.

First of all, I have worked on so many cases and, of course, the public never hears about the ones that are not successful. Much of the time, I see little impact. I always point out that I never see harm done, and that is the most important thing. It is not just how many people you help; it is also very important that you do

not hurt anybody. I think on that score I can say I have got a very good record.

In terms of people I have actually managed to help get sentence reductions, better treatment, parole, etc., I am probably batting around .400. I don’t think that’s that great, but it’s something, I suppose.

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

JK: Yes, and I can tell you something that has just happened. Last week the Chinese government sent me a large communication: written information on 56 cases. The most striking thing about this is that, for the first time ever, the Chinese government has provided information on people whose names we did not know. When you talk about system change, all right, well.... When you talk about something that really indicates a possible change in the way the Chinese government has approached, if you will, investigations into human rights abuses, this is an important step forward.

NC: What do you attribute this change to?

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

Of course, when they do tell me about reductions, what happens is that they often choose political prisoners who are serving very long terms. One of the guys was sentenced to life in prison in 1984, and he is serving a very long sentence for using superstitious ideas to commit counter-revolutionary acts. They disclosed his existence and said that he is being given a sentence reduction. Now, that to me is a significant change in the way they have responded to the international community.

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

JK: Yes, it is...and it's sort of a paradigm shift in the way we have been doing things. It says, "O.K., China, you say you're treating your prisoners well. How about proving it to us by giving us this kind of information?"

Now, obviously nothing like this could happen unless people at the top were comfortable with it happening. Nobody just does this. The new leadership has thought about and it has been decided to try it. What I would like to do is have an agreement so that it continues on a regular basis.

NC: A little over a year ago, you cited religious- and Internet/journalist-based crimes as the fastest growing type of political offenses the Chinese government was prosecuting...

JK: Yes, that's still true, although there's also a third major category now as well. In the last year or so, we have seen people detained in what are called *tufa shijian*, "suddenly occurring incidents." [Washington Post Beijing bureau chief] Philip Pan did a nice piece on it, claiming 58,000 instances of these *tufa shijian* in 2003. We are seeing big growth in the number of spontaneous – and still illegal – demonstrations that incite disturbances to the social order and social management, in the government's opinion. We are seeing a big increase in people being imprisoned, albeit for relatively short periods, for three to five years, for their participation. I've seen a case recently of someone getting a big sentence, but mostly it's small sentences.

This is a fast growing area in the database. We are up to 9,000 cases, including people we know who have been sentenced, served their terms, and been released – we keep them in the database. We are looking at a body of data that has 9,000 separate entries now. So, we can have a small degree of confidence in generalizations like what I just said, that one of the fastest growing areas is this *tufa shijian* category.

NC: With plenty of new cases, what principles do you use to help decide how to allocate your resources? Do you get yourself involved in many high profile cases?

JK: I try to balance concern for important high profile cases; the fact they are high profile should not lead me to discriminate against them, obviously. My approach is

to try to get many well-known and important prisoners before the public consciousness. Sometimes a case can be very high profile, but I may see something that other people don't because of so many years looking at this thing – the forest as well as the trees. I will suggest a particular route, or have a conversation, or make a particular intervention. And that happens a fair amount, I'm afraid. We have a passion for collecting Chinese government written responses to other groups' inquiries – which they tell me is several hundred a year to various governments and the UN. Fifteen years ago this was unheard of, but now it is commonplace. I collect these and we scrutinize them. I might see a very subtle change in wording of the official account – a change that tells me someone might be in play if we push the right buttons and pull the right levers.

In terms of how one selects other prisoners to ask about, that's pretty much constant: we look for, obviously, non-violent expression of political, religious beliefs. We cast a fairly skeptical eye at claims of conspiracy to commit violence. We certainly look for good geographic spread. I think we need to cover the country as a whole in our inquiries. The chance that the individual is still in prison is an important factor, obviously, if you're putting together a prisoner list.

The things that go into making a good prisoner list are well established and haven't changed much. A good prisoner list will have well-known prisoners on it; it will have prisoners of special interest to the individual handing over the list; and then it will have representatives who are obscure, people who are never asked about. That is a category – I keep a running count of 15 or 20 obscure prisoners – that we try to stick into lists with some success. People sort of like this idea. So it's a mix. A list is something we spend a quite a bit of time making sure it is put together right. But those are some of the general principles.

NC: Right now, it seems like a lot of factors – China's rapid economic growth, its entry into the WTO, preparations for the 2008 Olympics – are converging to promote positive changes in China's human rights record. What should the international community be worried about? What's going to bring about the next clampdown?

JK: The greatest worry for the regime is precisely *tufa shijian*. Of course that's going to contribute to a clampdown, isn't it? If you're worried about being overthrown, you are going to clamp down on these incidents. "A single spark can start a prairie fire..."

Now, what are the other things that are promoting positive developments? We've mentioned several of them, but another one is the emergence of a younger, better-educated class of judicial officials. Frankly, I think that is what's going on more than anything else. I think that people are able to get into some positions and are able to carry out sentence reductions and parole, without really waiting or even having it necessary for them to wait.

I'll give you a very good example. Look at the death penalty debate in China. Over the last year, there has been a lot of debate in public, with statements by people like [president of The Supreme People's Court] Xiao Yang that the central government needs to take back the power to approve executions; that there have been a lot of problems with this present arrangement; that the death penalty is not being administered fairly. And then, less than a year ago, out comes an extraordinary revelation from China that nationwide they execute roughly 10,000 a year. Probably closer to 12,000. All that and the Supreme Court still has not taken back the power to approve, as of today. But the wide expectation is that they will.

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

JK: The American people are fascinated with China's emergence as a 21st century great power, and see its people's struggle for human rights as an essential part of that story. Improvements in the area of human rights, indications of a growing respect for rule of law, will always find a welcome audience in the U.S., among the people as a whole and certainly among their elected representatives. Conversely, stories about setbacks in the area of legal reform and serious abuses of human rights negatively affect the relationship, and hamper the realization of the full potential for U.S.-China relations in the early part of the new century. ■

Members' Bookshelf

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

Business / Economics

Tom Gorman, *Magazine Publishing in the People's Republic of China* (American Business Media, 2004).

Scott Kennedy, *The Business of Lobbying in China* (Harvard University Press, 2005).

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

Dan Rosen, Scott Rozelle, and Jikun Huang, *Roots of Competitiveness: China's Evolving Agriculture Interests* (Institute for International Economics, 2004).

Chinese History

Melvyn C. Goldstein, Dawei Sherap, and William R. Siebensschuh, *A Tibetan Revolutionary: The Political Life and Times of Bapa Phuntso Wangye* (University of California Press, 2004).

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (W.W. Norton, 2004).

Sheila Melvin and Jindong Cai, *Rhapsody in Red: How Western Classical Music Became Chinese* (Algora Publishing, 2004).

Roy Rowan, *Chasing the Dragon: A Veteran Journalist's Firsthand Account of the 1949 Chinese Revolution* (The Lyons Press, 2004).

Bob Sutter, *China's Rise in Asia: Promises and Perils* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

Madeleine Zelin, Jonathan K. Ocko, and Robert Gardella, *Contract and Property in Early Modern China* (Stanford University Press, 2004).

Public Affairs and Administration

Laurence J. C. Ma and Fulong Wu, eds., *Restructuring the Chinese City: Changing Society, Economy and Space* (Routledge, 2005).

John P. Burns, *Government Capacity and the Hong Kong Civil Service* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

Social Sciences

Neil Diamant, Stanley Lubman, and Kevin O'Brien, eds., *Engaging the Law in China: State, Society and Possibilities for Justice* (Stanford University Press, 2005).

Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds., *State and Society in 21st-century China: Crisis, Contention, and Legitimation* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

Jason Kindopp and Carol Lee Hamrin, eds., *God and Caesar in China: Policy Implications of Church-State Tensions* (The Brookings Institution Press, 2004).

W.O. Lee, David L. Grossman, Kerry J. Kennedy, and Gregory P. Fairbrother, eds., *Citizenship Education in Asia and the Pacific: Concepts and Issues* (CERC Studies in Comparative Education, Springer, 2004).

Mark Sidel and Iftekhar Zaman, eds., *Philanthropy and Law in South Asia* (Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium, 2004).

Dali L. Yang, *Remaking the Chinese Leviathan: Market Transition and the Politics of Governance in China* (Stanford University Press, 2004).

Security Studies / International Relations

Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, ed., *Dangerous Strait: The US-Taiwan-China Crisis* (Columbia University Press, 2005).

Richard C. Bush, *At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations Since 1942* (M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

Yong Deng and Fei-ling Wang, eds., *China Rising: Power and Motivation in Chinese Foreign Policy* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

Mel Gurtov and Peter Van Ness, eds., *Confronting the Bush Doctrine: Critical Views from the Asia-Pacific* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

Evelyn Goh, *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961-1974: From "Red Menace" to "Tacit Ally"* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (PublicAffairs, 2004).

Jonathan D. Pollack, ed., *Strategic Surprise? U.S.-China Relations in the Early 21st Century* (Naval War College Press, 2004).

Mark Sidel, *More Secure, Less Free? Antiterrorism Policy and Civil Liberties after September 11* (University of Michigan Press, 2004).

Misc.

James R. Silkenat and William M. Hannay, eds., *The ABA Guide to Foreign Law Firms* (American Bar Association Press in 2004).

Seymour Topping, *Fatal Crossroads: A Novel of Vietnam 1945* (EastBridge Books, 2005).

Extending Our Thanks for Their Service

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

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

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

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



*Left:
Governor
Thomas Kean
Photo courtesy of
Judi Bencenati*



*Below:
Representative
Lee Hamilton
Photo courtesy of the
Woodrow Wilson
International Center
for Scholars*



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The National Committee on United States-China Relations

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

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

On China's pegged exchange rate, he suggested that changing the yuan/dollar exchange rate would pose difficulties for both the United States and China – to a degree that

neither side will actually materially change the exchange rate.

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

Malpass concluded his remarks with a review of where he thought current trends were heading: "Fast GDP growth, higher interest rates,

strong non-urban consumption growth, financial market innovation, liberalization of capital outflows, and more regulatory constraints on fixed investment. I expect the currency to remain relatively stable and trade tensions to increase a bit as the U.S. continues to run a large bilateral trade deficit with China."

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

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