



NOTES

National Committee on United States-China Relations

**National
Committee
Gala Honors
Business
Leaders**



3

**Congressional
U.S.-China
Working
Group Visits
China**



4

**The Promise
of Sino-
American
Relations**



21

**SPECIAL
SECTION:
Next Generation
Programs**

7



A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

As I anticipated the results of the March 22 elections on Taiwan, I began to draft a Newsletter article that I intended to call "New Dawn in U.S.-China Relations." I could see that Ma Ying Jeou's stated views opposing independence and embracing the 1992 consensus would bring substantial progress in cross-Strait relations. The election would mean immediate changes such as direct flights and shipping between Taiwan and the mainland and numerous opportunities for increased personal interactions. I welcomed the idea of thousands of mainland tourists visiting Taiwan, staying in Taiwan's hotels, eating in their restaurants, visiting the extraordinary Palace Museum and other tourist attractions, and shopping in their stores.

These contacts, combined with the investment and trade dollars flowing between the mainland and Taiwan, and the impact of more than one million people from Taiwan living on the mainland, would certainly reduce cross-Strait tensions. I gladly foresaw the economic benefits that would flow to the average person on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. I cannot count the number of times that taxi drivers, hotel and restaurant workers, even porters at the airport, have told me how they eagerly await-

ed welcoming Mandarin-speaking tourists from the mainland.

There would also be major benefits for the United States. The increase in economic activity and social contact between Taiwan and the mainland would probably be accompanied by a decrease in military tension across the Strait. While



National Committee president Stephen A. Orlins at the 2008 Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture.

negotiating a peace treaty would take some time, under the 1992 consensus unilateral actions by both sides would reduce the possibility of cross-Strait conflict. I would not be surprised to see, among other measures, a reduction in the number of missiles in Fujian and the acceptance of more international space for Taiwan, such as observer status in the World

Health Organization and other international organizations.

As progress occurs in these different areas, America's relations with Taiwan, the single greatest impediment to major improvement in U.S.-China relations, will lessen in importance, and the strategic mistrust that has often characterized the Sino-American relationship will decrease. The opportunity for the United States and China to cooperate on counter terrorism, environmental protection, energy security, trade, military cooperation, space cooperation, drug interdiction, search and rescue, and virtually all other issues that require global effort, will be enhanced.

Yet the new dawn has come and it is less clear and bright than I had hoped. Events in Tibet have clouded that dawn and placed a different T at the forefront of Sino-American relations. It is apparent that this episode has adversely affected the positive atmosphere that should today permeate U.S.-China relations as a result of the patience and restraint of the mainland, combined with the wisdom of the Taiwan voters. Let us hope that the same patience, restraint and wisdom that have paved the way for improved cross-Strait relations can prevail in Tibet. ■

COVER PHOTO:

L to R:

YLF Fellows

Liu Tianyu,

Ashish Gadnis, Tang

Haisong (alum)

and Christopher

Howard.

CHINA TOWN HALL
Local Connections, National Reflections

Involving cities throughout
the United States and China

April 17, 2008, 7 pm EDT

Please visit www.ncuser.org
for information and venues.

In this year of presidential and Congressional elections, developments in China, and America's response to these developments, have a direct impact on the lives of just about everyone in the United States.

CHINA Town Hall will provide a unique opportunity for Americans to learn about the importance of China's relationship with the United States, and have the questions that matter to them answered by leading China specialists.

Featuring, via live webcast, noted political analyst **Norman J. Ornstein**, followed by local presentations by on-site China specialists who will address topics of particular interest to the local community.

National Committee Gala Honors Business Leaders

3

NOTES



National Committee Chair Carla Hills and President Steve Orlins (left) congratulate honorees Pete Peterson (second from left) and Mike Duke (right). Photo by: Elsa Ruiz

The National Committee and 400 guests at its 2007 Gala Dinner saluted the contributions of two business leaders for their support of productive U.S.-China relations. The event, held on the evening of October 24 in

New York City, honored Michael T. Duke, vice chairman of Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., and Peter G. Peterson, co-founder and senior chairman of The Blackstone Group L.P. As vice chairman of Wal-Mart, Mike Duke

has helped expand the range of affordable choices available to Chinese consumers. Pete Peterson, a giant in the field of finance, and his colleagues negotiated a groundbreaking investment by China's central bank into The Blackstone Group. The work of these honorees' demonstrates the benefits that flow to both sides of the Pacific through improved U.S.-China relations and increasing business and financial bonds.

Deputy Secretary of State John D. Negroponte was the evening's keynote speaker. In his remarks, he identified five major challenges that will require Sino-American cooperation now and in the generation to come: combating terrorism; weak, poorly governed and failing states; ensuring continued global economic prosperity; enforcement of non-proliferation norms; and the combined challenge of energy security, economic growth and climate change. He said the administration actively invites China "to play a larger role on the international stage to ensure stability and prosperity long into the future by confronting global challenges together."

The Gala is an important source of unrestricted support for the Committee's programs. For the third consecutive year, the Gala raised more than \$1 million, thanks to the generous support of nearly 50 companies and dozens of individuals. The National Committee gratefully acknowledges their contributions. ■



Ray Bracy, Wal-Mart's vice president for state, federal & international corporate affairs, greets former Ambassador to China James Sasser.

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz



Citigroup Vice Chairman William R. Rhodes with Lulu Wang of Tupelo Capital Management and Wang Lin Martello of Wal-Mart.

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz



Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte chats with Madame Cong Jun, wife of UN Ambassador Wang Guangya.

Photo by: Elsa Ruiz

Congressional U.S.-China Working Group Visits China



Congressman Rick Larsen (D-Washington) meets with Wu Bangguo, chairman of the National People's Congress.

The National Committee continued its relationship with the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group (USCWG) and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National People's Congress by sending USCWG co-chairs Rick Larsen (D-Washington) and Mark Kirk (R-Illinois) to China in August and the Group's co-staff directors and eight other staff members to China in July.

The nine-day trip to China in August, 2007 was the second for Congressmen Kirk and Larsen under National Committee auspices (the first having taken place in January 2006); Beijing, the western province of Xinjiang and Shanghai comprised the schedule. In Beijing, they met with several top officials, including Wu Bangguo, chairman of the National People's Congress (NPC), second in rank only to President Hu Jintao; Chairman Jiang Enzhu of the National People's Congress Foreign Affairs Committee; and Assistant Foreign Minister He Yafei. A meeting with Vice Minister Wei

Chuanzhong of the General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine (AQSIQ) was also arranged, as food and product safety were an issue of current concern to the Congressmen and their constituents.

One highlight of the trip was an unprecedented visit to the China Astronaut Research and Training Center outside of Beijing, where the Congressmen met with Taikonaut and Chinese national hero Yang Liwei. They also attended a briefing at the U.S. Embassy and a lunch hosted by AmCham-China, where they discussed food and product safety issues with the Chinese media. A tour of the Olympic complex included a briefing on security planning for the upcoming events.

The trip to the western province of Xinjiang gave the Congressmen useful firsthand knowledge of issues of key importance to them: counter-terrorism, border control and anti-narcotics efforts. This included a drive to the remote China-Kyrgyzstan bor-

der at Torghat Port, which provided an overview of China's border region, military outposts and border control efforts.

At the close of their trip, a brief but productive stop in Shanghai included a press conference with Chinese media, a working breakfast with the American business community, a discussion with U.S. Consul General Ken Jarrett, a meeting with Minhang Party Secretary Sun Chao, and a banquet lunch with the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress.

From June 29 to July 8, ten Congressional staff members working for members of the USCWG, including USCWG co-staff directors, Richard Goldberg (Kirk, R-Illinois) and Louis Lauter (Larsen, D-Washington) went to China under National Committee auspices.

The trip gave these key staff members the opportunity to gain a better working knowledge of Chinese society and to meet and develop working relationships with Chinese at various levels of leadership. In Beijing, the NPC invited representatives from the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Public Security to participate in a rare joint meeting covering topics of energy security and cooperation, counter terrorism, anti-narcotics efforts, and Sino-American relations. The group also attended briefings at the U.S. Embassy and held discussions with Ambassador Randt and a number of officers and section heads.

This was the first time a group of Congressional staff had visited the province of Qinghai, home to diverse ethnic and religious groups, including Tibetan and Muslim, and an ideal place to gain firsthand knowledge of China's "Develop the West" policy initiatives. Several group members noted that the visit to this rural area, and the opportunity to see some of the poverty-alleviation programs of local non-government organizations – including community schools and

continued on back page

A Positive Impact on Labor in China

The ambitious U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project reached its successful conclusion at a closing ceremony in Beijing in January, 2008. Under contract from the U.S. Department of Labor, the National Committee and its two consortium partners – the Asia Foundation and Worldwide Strategies, Inc. – worked with the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MOLSS) to build China's capacity to protect workers' rights and ensure that its labor practices are in compliance with internationally recognized standards. The program will have a tangible impact on the lives of millions of workers in China by both promoting the development of labor law, and improving its enforcement throughout the country.

The National Committee's involvement in the program had two objectives: to develop curriculum and implementation strategies for labor inspector trainings, and to support the process of drafting labor legislation. (The labor legislation por-

tion, which consisted of a series of workshops on labor contract law – including provisions on hiring and firing workers, labor standards, the role of unions, and labor disputes – was covered in National Committee Notes, Winter/Spring, 2006.)

Since much of China's labor rule enforcement apparatus was designed within the framework of state-owned enterprises, government officials and inspectors have often found themselves ill prepared to deal with new issues emerging in the rapidly changing Chinese workplace. There is, therefore, a strong need to develop programs to update and upgrade the training methodology and enforcement capabilities of labor officials and inspectors.

Labor inspection has a relatively short history in China. The country adopted its Labor Law in 1994, and the Regulations on Labor and Social Security Inspection in November, 2004. Training of labor inspectors has not been systematic and has relied on

outdated methods. The United States, in contrast, has more than seventy years of experience developing a labor investigation regime. Creating a training curriculum for labor inspectors is thus an area where China could truly benefit from close Sino-American collaboration.

National Committee efforts to build capacity in China's labor inspection field were undertaken via three project components: a workshop on labor inspection, collaborative efforts over the course of several months to develop a training curriculum for inspectors, and a series of training of trainers workshops using the newly developed training materials.

The labor inspection workshop held in Shanghai in May, 2007, brought together senior administrators and labor inspectors from twenty provincial and municipal labor inspection teams drawn from a range of geographical regions, along with senior officials from MOLSS, including the director general of the Department of Legal Affairs, which supervises the work of labor inspection at the national level. Two American experts, four Chinese labor law experts, and an observer from the U.S. Consulate in Shanghai provided comparative perspective and intellectual depth to the discussions.

Workshop topics included development of institutions for labor inspection, legal frameworks and implementation of the law, practices of labor law enforcement and case management, and the management and training of labor inspectors. Participants were knowledgeable about labor inspection, and most had field experience, which ensured that discussions were informative and practical. The participants also visited the Shanghai Labor and Social Security Bureau to study its innovative labor and social security hotlines, which may become a national model.

Representatives from Shanghai and Chengdu presented their pilot "grid management" and "e-management" labor inspection models.

continued on next page



Former National Committee program officer Shenyu Belsky with migrant workers in Qingdao.

“E-management” refers to the use of information technology to gather, process, store and share information on employers and to manage case files. The interactive features, mobile access and comprehensive coverage offered by e-management facilitate labor investigations and promote early detection of violations.

In Shanghai, which pioneered the “grid management” system, the city is divided into 970 grids, with each grid encompassing several neighborhoods. A team of 2,700 labor inspection coordinators assigned to each grid manage the distribution of policies and rules, help employers with compliance, and relay violation complaints. Since they are locally engaged, labor inspection coordinators have proven effective at discovering and mediating labor-related conflicts.

Some participants pointed out that these models may require significant investment. Shanghai’s labor and social security hotlines, for instance, are housed in a state-of-the-art call center employing 220 operators in three eight-hour shifts per day. However, the experiences of Chengdu in piloting their two management models helped to counter this perception. The Chengdu pilot, with a much smaller budget, demonstrates that such models could, with some local ingenuity, be viable in regions with fewer resources.

The labor inspection training curriculum development component involved American experts and Chinese labor inspectors collaborating to create an effective curriculum to train Chinese trainers of labor inspectors. It succeeded in producing a ground-breaking manual that integrates up-to-date training techniques into a curriculum specifically adapted to suit labor inspectors working across China.

Early drafts of the training curriculum were created by American specialists with the support of Chinese labor inspectors and labor experts. This collaboration produced a work-

ing document that integrated innovative, user-friendly training methods that have proven effective in the United States into a curriculum that focused on procedures, protocols and sample cases that would be relevant in a Chinese context.

From March to July of 2007, American and Chinese experts on curriculum development worked together to finalize a draft training manual and reach consensus on the methodology and logistics of the training. The full working group convened in Beijing in late May where thirteen drafts of the training manual were produced, with the final version running to 300 pages in English and 266 pages in Chinese. It includes twenty-six modules covering such

***“The two sessions were
hailed as a milestone in
labor inspection training
in China”***

topics as inspection protocols, pre-inspection research, employer and employee interview techniques, record reviews, and case management. Eight role-playing videos were also produced prior to the training and directions for additional role-playing exercises were developed for use during the training.

The curriculum was built on the Harvard University “case study” model, an approach based on the fact that education is most effective when applied in a “real-world” setting. The curriculum gave trainees multiple opportunities to hear about, see, and do what is expected of them, and includes complex case studies structured around standard inspection procedures. American experts worked with their Chinese colleagues to ensure that the case details were both pertinent and realistic.

The final component was a successful culmination of all the prior efforts. Two pilot Training of Trainers Workshops were conducted

in July and August of 2007 in Beijing, with the participation of fifty-nine labor inspectors from twenty-two provinces and four provincial-level municipalities. As they are expected to become future trainers, the participants were carefully selected based on their inspection experience and training responsibilities.

The two sessions were hailed as a milestone in labor inspection training in China. Workshop participants overwhelmingly reported that the quality of the pilot training materials represented a marked improvement over past materials and methods. The fact that the Chinese actively embraced the new methodology – one quite different from what has been used in the past – was a testament to the dedication, skill and enthusiasm of the American and Chinese experts.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security has endorsed the training of trainers curriculum and methods, and will devote its own resources to adapt the content and expand the scope of the training. The training manual is expected to undergo further revision, based on lessons learned from the pilot training sessions, as well as developments in Chinese legal requirements and inspection procedures. The Ministry has already established an official web site (<http://lassi.molss.gov.cn>) to serve as a platform where labor inspection trainers can share resources and exchange information.

The Ministry’s Department of Legal Affairs which is in charge of the coordination of labor inspection training nationwide, has estimated that about 20,000 labor inspectors will be trained by our workshop participants in 2008 and 2009. With the successful achievement of its dual objectives of supporting new labor legislation and enhancing the training and deployment of labor inspectors, the U.S.-China Labor Law Cooperation Project will affect the lives of countless individual workers, and improve the overall business environment in China, as its role in the international marketplace continues to grow. ■

Young Leaders Forum: Contrasting Perspectives

The National Committee launched the Young Leaders Forum (YLF) in 2002 as a means of building personal and professional relationships between the next generation of leaders from the United States and China. YLF Fellows, who are under forty years of age upon entering the program, are selected on the basis of their accomplishments, leadership potential and interest in civic and international affairs. Membership in YLF lasts for a minimum of two years, and the venue for the annual four-day forum alternates between the United States and China, allowing each participant to attend a conference in each country.

In two contrasting participant perspectives, writer, translator, editor and teacher Elizabeth Gaffney shares her impressions of the 2007 Forum in Nanjing, while Xu Zhiyuan, author of several books, co-publisher of City Magazine and former chief writer at the Shanghai-based Economic Observer newspaper, describes his experiences in the 2006 Forum in Santa Cruz, California.

Participant Perspective: Elizabeth Gaffney

The meeting room of the Mao Villa at the Dongjiao State Guesthouse has surely seen many remarkable events and personages – there were pictures of Mao with his vast entourage all over the walls – but it seems unlikely that such an eclectic yet accomplished bunch could ever have gathered there as did this past November, for the sixth annual

meeting of the Young Leaders Forum (YLF). Our number included astronauts, fighter pilots, and military policy analysts sitting alongside conductors, composers, playwrights and authors, bankers, lawyers and internet entrepreneurs, rocket scientists, educators, and activists.

Our present-day discussions went on with considerable candor – perhaps more so than in the prior session I attended in the United States. It seemed to me this was possible because the topics we dwelled on were less focused on Sino-American relations, and more on the work of the individuals in the room.

With its explicit focus on breadth rather than in-depth expertise in any field, YLF has staked out a subtle and important long-term goal of expanding our two cultures' mutual understanding by forging personal and professional relationships. It is not a policy think tank. It is a friendship tank.

And friendship among individuals of different backgrounds necessarily breeds greater knowledge of their mutual cultures. Weddings have occurred between fellows, jobs have been offered, articles assigned, concerts and gallery openings attended, overseas performances have been arranged. Not to mention the many, many meals and glasses of cheer that have been shared by both Chinese and American YLF fellows in the off-months. Many of us have undertaken to learn or improve our knowledge of the other language – though to be fair, it should be noted that all the Chinese fellows know English quite well, whereas the majority of us Americans struggle to master a few phrases beyond *ni hao*. The listserv is busy year-round distributing people's invitations and announcements of their international travel plans. To me, all this shows how well the program is already working. A decade from now, these ties will have multiplied exponentially, and the growing network of YLF connections will indubitably be responsible for innumerable yet-unimagined international partnerships.

Fittingly, I think, the most meaningful exchanges in this year's forum

continued on next page



L. to R: YLF Fellows He Fan and Chris Cassidy.

Young Leaders Forum: Contrasting Perspectives, continued from page 7

occurred when our topics spanned not our national identities but our various professions and passions. We took up issues that pertained to both countries, each in their different ways: world hunger, intellectual property, civil rights, and the cultural value of spending on the arts and theoretical sciences versus more pragmatic concerns such as health care and poverty. Surprising and illuminating alliances emerged, as in our discussions of spending, when the space, military, and high tech people were more closely aligned with the artists, favoring funding for arts and theoretical research, while the predominance of educators and business and entrepreneurial types seemed more concerned with the urgent matters of poverty relief. Excitingly, to me, the lines of agreement occurred much more along professional lines than national ones, and it drew the group together in new ways.

But for me, this and every year, the most important work of the YLF – educating us all about one another and our respective countries – has been done outside the formal sessions. There were two remarkable moments for me in our day at the

Hopkins-Nanjing Center: The first, somewhat troubling moment happened at a cocktail reception, when two passionate and smart young Chinese students of the Center, both of whom had taught English as a foreign language at the secondary level, agreed about the impossibility of including literature in the high school English curriculum in China. It was

“A decade from now, these ties will have multiplied exponentially, and the growing network of YLF connections will indubitably be responsible for innumerable yet-unimagined international partnerships.”

just too difficult, they said, until the grammar and vocabulary and basics has been mastered. As a writer and editor, who relished the small scraps of literature that were larded into my earliest language lessons, I was crushed by this. I believe that we can come to know one another and forge genuine human empathy across vast distances simply by reading books, all

without the cost and ardor of travel. For me, literacy, multilingualism and broad reading are the most practical and deepest possible routes to widespread mutual understanding. That conversation reminded me how desperately important ventures like YLF and the National Committee’s other exchange programs are, if we are ever to know one another.

The other, truly stirring moment at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center occurred when our distinguished guest speaker, Professor Ren Donglai, learned that one of the YLF fellows he would be addressing was Xu Zhiyong, the noted legal scholar, civil-rights activist and independent member of the Beijing People’s Congress: Our speaker bowed to Xu Zhiyong and told us he was humbled to be in his presence. It was a reminder to me that we, sitting there at that table, were capable of changing the world; some of us already have.

Just how we will change it will be changed by our knowledge of one another, not just professionally but personally. Dozens of conversations took off on different tangents, all starting from the basis of our plenary sessions, as we rode bicycles through the hilly roads of the Zhongshan

2005–2007 YLFers at the Forum

Lisa Anderson
Director of Global Public Policy,
Time Warner Inc.

Chris Cassidy
Astronaut, NASA

Susan Chen
Managing Director,
D.B. Zwirn & Co

Ashish Gadnis
CEO, Forward Hindsight

Elizabeth Gaffney
Writer, translator, editor, teacher

He Fan
Assistant Director, Institute of World
Economics and Politics, Chinese
Academy of Social Sciences

Auren Hoffman
CEO, Rapleaf

Christopher Howard
Vice President for Strategic
& Leadership Initiatives,
University of Oklahoma

Huang Ruo
Composer/Conductor,
Future in Reverse

Matthew Isler
Lt. Colonel, United States Air Force

Jin Luo
Director, Division of BIS and Regional
Financial Cooperation, International

Liu Lei
CEO, Savor Media Group

Cultural Park, where our hotel was located within a stone's throw of the Sun-Yat-Sen Mausoleum, the tomb of the first Ming Emperor, a botanical garden and an aquarium, among many other attractions. Another day, we discovered which of us were most competitive racing dragon boats on a nearby lake. We shared our understanding of history, genocide and the purpose of monumental architecture on a tour of the new Nanjing Massacre Memorial. We walked at night through the unlit streets of the ancient water town Tongli, guided by Wang Jianshuo, one of China's foremost bloggers and a connoisseur of the old town's mysteries and pleasures. On a visit to a pristine model school in Suzhou, where we were treated royally but kept carefully away from any students, we played ping pong in the gym and afterward discussed the difficult plight of China's migrant workers – as well as the effectiveness of government propaganda. We spent a morning learning how silk is made – watching silkworms munch mulberry leaves, workers unwind boiled cocoons, and women gymnastically weave brocade with all four limbs and their teeth to boot – and then contemplated the tiny silken slippers made for bound

feet and the cultural implications of that tradition, wondering what the closest parallel might be in American culture – corsets, stiletto heels, cosmetic surgery? After a tour of Shanghai's swankier shops and restaurants, we lingered on the couches of a modern Shanghai tea-house run by fellow Tang Haisong's wife and compared the wealth gap in America and the new China.

As for the results of the session, there was nothing concrete, thank goodness. Instead, there was a vast fertile ground laid, with no limit on what may come of it in future years.

Participant Perspective: Xu Zhiyuan

The mere mention of the 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy building in Belgrade angers every Chinese attending the meeting; the Americans, on the other hand, draw a blank – most of them are ignorant of the event, and the few who remember it assume it was a mistake, not a political gesture. The Americans do not understand why the Chinese react so ferociously, why they interpret the bombing as an affront. The

Americans reason that mistakes happen in war, that American bombs sometimes even killed U.S. soldiers.

The northern California sun shines brilliantly outside the windows, across thick woods and scattered towns to the Pacific coast five kilometers away. Thirty-two young men and women from China and America, all under forty, discuss our understanding of Sino-American relations. We will be together here for three days. This meeting is arranged by the National Committee on United States-China Relations, the very agent of the famous Ping Pong Diplomacy in 1972. The Committee invites the “best and brightest” – the Americans seem to have a particular fondness for phrases of the kind that suggest both content and a disproportionate amount of encouragement and praise – young people from both countries to attend the “Young Leaders Forum” and hold discussions in a casual, intimate environment.

Every participant is at his or her best when talking about his or her growth and dreams. Two people's presentations strike me the most: a fervent admirer of the Jewish writer

continued on next page

Liu Tianyu
Deputy Division Director,
Liaoning Foreign Affairs Office

Mark Lundstrom
CEO, BioScale Association

Andrew McLaughlin
Head of Global Public Policy,
Google, Inc.

Kim Ng
Assistant General Manager,
Los Angeles Dodgers

George Steel
Executive Director, Miller Theater

Dacia Toll
Co-CEO and President,
Achievement First

Wang Jian Shuo
CEO, Kijiji China

Wu Xiaoming
Research Fellow, Institute for
Strategic Studies, National Defense
University, People's Liberation Army

Xiang Biao
Academic Fellow, Institute of Social
and Cultural Anthropology and ESRC
Centre on Migration, Policy and
Society, University of Oxford

Xiang Feng
Director, Public Affairs, China, UPS

Xu Zhiyong
Founder, The Open Constitution
Initiative

Yu Rongjun
Playwright, Producer, and Director
of Programming & Festival,
Shanghai Dramatic Arts Centre

Yuan Ming
Director of External Affairs,
Anchor, Global News, Dragon TV

Zhu Tong
Director, China Operations,
Deutsche Bank China

Elie Weisel and his books on the Holocaust, Mexican-born Daniel Lubetzky is full of the vigor that characterizes Latin-American culture. He talks about founding an organization devoted to establishing cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians, hoping to create trust and understanding between the two. In contrast, Zhu Yongzhong, a wonderful singer of Tu minority folksongs, has a solemn soul. He recalls his childhood experience of spending three hours fetching water with his mother as his motivation to establish the Sanchuan Development Association (SDA), an organization that helps the poor in four counties in the Qinghai Province by improving drinking water and education.

When the topic shifts to the Sino-American relations, however, ignorance and doubts prevail. The participants – successful entrepreneurs, tech wizards, musicians, financial types, NGO leaders – confess their lack of understanding on the issue, although they are all sure that the relations between the world's greatest rising power and the world's present leading power will give significant shape to the political and economic order of the world. How on earth will Sino-American relations shape that order? What can be done to avoid the possible risks that threaten to break down Sino-American relations? Neither the American nor Chinese participants have an exact answer, but we'd better figure something out. A recent survey done by the World Public Opinion reveals that the trust between China and America is declining.

First of all, we only have a shallow understanding of each other's country. Most Americans only know of Confucius and the cheap "Made in China" goods available at WalMart; and most Chinese, who think they know America better, hardly know anything beyond Hollywood movies and McDonald's.

Lacking understanding of the other country's traditions, political

concepts, and social psychology, we revert to the favorite topics of the media and politicians: exchange rates, trade deficit, North Korean nuclear tension, and Taiwan. For a moment, I think that I am witnessing a political debate for election – everyone is keen to clarify his position without giving analyses. No doubt, these are highly ideological issues.

The American participants air their views on these matters: "China's RMB is grossly underrated, so why doesn't the government revalue it, and make U.S. goods cheaper for the Chinese consumer?" "China has more than one trillion dollars for-

"What can be done to avoid the possible risks that threaten to break down Sino-American relations? Neither the American nor Chinese participants have an exact answer, but we'd better figure something out."

eign exchange reserve and is one of the permanent members of UN Security Council, so why doesn't it shoulder more responsibility in international affairs?" "Why does it have such close relationship with so-called rogue states like North Korea, Venezuela, and Sudan and turn a deaf ear to the horrible massacre in Darfur?" The Americans do not know why, on mentioning the Taiwan issue, the Chinese participants invariably get stirred up. Of course, what puzzles them most is that the Chinese are never seemingly willing to criticize their own country for any wrongdoings.

The Chinese respond in a somewhat embarrassed tone. We have a

sense of anxiety about our identity. In other circumstances, perhaps, we will criticize our nation harshly, but when sitting with foreigners, our personal identity gets mixed up with the national identity. The collectivism that dominated our education for too long leaves us accustomed to using "we" rather than "I." Because China has fallen far behind other countries in political, economic, and cultural aspects in the past 150 years, we are extremely sensitive to any outside criticism. We suffer from the same "victim mentality" that all developing countries suffer from.

To make the situation worse, almost all the Sino-American issues discussed at the Forum are still sensitive or taboo for the Chinese, and we are almost as ill-informed as our American friends. We lack open and serious discussions at home, and it is nearly impossible to find explanations due to the complex social reality and tradition in China. Therefore, as defensive and passionate as our responses are, they are hardly persuasive to a rational ear.

The young Chinese sitting in the room epitomize Chinese society. After Zhu Yongzhong tells his story about the Qinghai people's desperate fighting for basic rights and needs, Liu Jun, from Lenovo, and Cao Kebo, a private businessman from Jiangyin, tell theirs – stories of China marching towards the world, winning the glory that not long ago seemed to belong exclusively to America, Germany, and Japan. China, where per capita income is among the lowest in the world, is rapidly becoming the world's largest economic power.

Two facts curiously parallel each other: on the one hand, China exerts a profound influence in the world order; on the other, our mentality remains one more typical of the poor and weak. We hungrily seek to have everything, but we never know how to accept responsibilities or to give reasonable explanations for our deeds. America's, or the world's, worry about China derives from their uncertainty of the future of this large

country, as China fails to give the world a set of consistent and transparent codes. We complain about others' misunderstandings, but have little time to reflect on our policies home and abroad that have formed a complexity and lack clear explanation.

On the 1999 bombing, the arguments are doomed to be fruitless, as the emotional baggage each side brings to the table is so different. The Chinese can easily draw up a long list of the irresponsible diplomatic policies of the American government. In the name of national interest, for instance, America has supported many autocracies. Questioned by the Americans, we should and need to question back.

At the same time, however, we have to admit that American citizens have much more concern and many more heated debates about their government's policies than we do about our own. The endless debates, though often superficial, do serve to reshape American society and deepen the understanding of the policies both on the part of the government and of the public.

While China is described as a country enjoying a huge trade surplus and foreign exchange reserve, she is suffering from a huge deficit as well – a deficit in our understanding of the world. The Young Leaders Forum seeks to address this deficit, for both the Chinese and American participants. By the time the conference concludes, there is a sense that Forum participants will return home with some new, enlightened ideas. Of course, one Forum isn't able to entirely bridge the wide gaps that exist between Chinese and American cultural understanding. But it is a beginning that, with vigilant follow-up, just might lead to progress down the road. ■

China Briefing for Senior Naval Officers



Several participants in the National Committee's new program for the next generation of senior military officers.

In September, 2007, the National Committee conducted the first phase of a new initiative designed to expand understanding and knowledge of China among the next generation of senior military officers. The recommendation came from National Committee Board member Dennis Blair, Admiral USN (Ret.), who felt that while he and many of his military colleagues are well versed in military and security aspects vis-à-vis China and Sino-American relations, he knows very little about other areas of China, and that such knowledge would have stood him in good stead when he was responsible for all U.S. forces in the Pacific Command. So the National Committee put together a four-day briefing at a conference center near Washington for thirteen mid-career Naval officers involved in China-related issues, who, as their careers develop, will likely work on and make decisions about China in the future. The seminar, which covered fifteen topics, none of which were directly related to military/security or strategic issues, was enthusias-

tically received, and plans are underway for a similar program for the Air Force. Once we work with each of the service branches, we contemplate joint sessions as well as possible integrated visits to China.

An impressive roster of experts from a range of disciplines covered such areas as the rule of law, innovations in China's science and technology sector, energy security, business and management styles, the environment, grassroots china, Taiwan domestic politics, the environment and China's politics and domestic challenges. The questions were so thoughtful and the discussions so lively, that not one of the speakers managed to get through their planned remarks!

The outstanding evaluations for the inaugural workshop underscore the importance of the National Committee's objective of providing members of the armed forces the overall context in which to make informed decisions regarding China. ■

A New Chapter for Student Leaders Exchange

Each year since 2004, the National Committee has selected a group of twelve Presidential Scholars (a designation conferred annually upon 141 American graduating high school seniors by the U.S. Department of Education) to participate in its annual U.S.-China Student Leaders Exchange to China. Through the generous support of Wall Street English, funder of the Presidential Scholars' exchange, the program was expanded to enable a group of twelve outstanding Chinese high-school students to visit the United States. Details of the exchanges are followed by participant perspectives.

First Chinese Student Leaders Exchange to the United States

The National Committee successfully entered the newest phase of its Student Leaders Exchange Program with the first visit by a group of Chinese student leaders to the United States. In February, 2007. Twelve award-winning high school students, from top schools in coastal Jiangsu province, near Shanghai, spent two weeks along the Eastern seaboard and the opportunity to gain firsthand experience of American life, and develop relationships that added a vital human perspective to global issues.

"With U.S.-China relations in the headlines every day, it is important to bring some of China's most promising young people to the United States to meet their contemporaries," said National Committee President Steven Orlins. "We want to eliminate the misperceptions we have about one another, and create lasting ties

among our countries' best and brightest."

The visiting students enjoyed a range of events, lectures, sightseeing and constant interaction with American students, educators and community leaders in Boston, New York City, Washington, D.C. and New Hampshire. Along with scholarly and cultural offerings, trip highlights included attending classes at Harvard University, meeting with New Hampshire Governor John Lynch at the Concord State House, a bicycle tour of lower Manhattan and the Brooklyn Bridge, and volunteering in the largest homeless shelter in the world, in Washington, D.C.

As teenage students, group members took special interest in the U.S. education system: in addition to meetings at the U.S. Department of Education in Washington, they attended high school classes in each of the areas visited. Chen Kuan, a student from Nanjing Foreign Language School, was surprised at the academic rigor he encountered. "Asking around, you probably will find that most Chinese students believe American high school students lead an easier life," he said. Instead, he found surprise quizzes in the high school classes he attended in both New Hampshire and Washington, and was impressed with the academic dedication of his New York host, who stayed up until two in the morning to complete a homework essay.

For many delegation members, the diversity they encountered in the United States was the most remarkable part of their experience. The students gained insights into the rewards and challenges of a pluralistic society during a discussion of multiculturalism and race at Harvard

University, as well as through visits to Ellis Island, a Quaker social services program and the National Museum of the American Indian.

In New York, New Hampshire and Washington, the students enjoyed homestays with local families that added nuance and richness to their cultural experience. New Hampshire in particular offered unexpected pleasures in a rural, hospitable setting where the students were pleasantly surprised at the natural beauty that contrasted with their association of America with bustling cities and modern development. Although their stay coincided with some of the coldest days of winter, many of the students, undaunted, relished the opportunity to try the American teen pastime of snowboarding.

The group's visit received both local and national press attention, including an article on the front page of USA Today's Life Section that was later translated and reprinted in China's nationally distributed Cankao Xiaoxi. In addition, a two-person television crew from China's Jiangsu Educational Television (JETV) recorded the visit for a feature program to be televised this spring.

The Student Leaders Exchange Program is scheduled to expand its reach beyond Jiangsu to draw accomplished participants from across China. This expansion will broaden the program's impact, and enable student leaders from diverse areas of the country to interact and learn from one another while sharing the unforgettable experiences of the exchange.

Many of the students who participated in this groundbreaking visit conveyed a sense that what they had learned was both lasting and vital to them as individuals, and as members of their respective communities. They did not simply discover interesting differences and surprising similarities between two disparate countries, but also gained the ability to interpret and comment in an informed manner about life in the United States.

(The full text of a participant perspective
by Chen Kuan is available at
www.ncuscr.org/sle.)

Participant Perspective: Liu Xuan

I have long been enthusiastic about a journey to the United States. Eventually, I had the chance. Before our departure, every one of us twelve Chinese students was a bit nervous rather than excitedly chatting or joking. However, I did not take this emotion as negative. I considered it to be the typical feeling of a group of fearless expeditioners awaiting a thrilling adventure. I call this journey an adventure, because it was rather like a process in which we encountered new people, learned things and recognized diverse ideas. In short, we were experiencing the culture of the “melting pot.”

As I anticipated, a great characteristic of the American culture is the diversity. I first learned of this concept from a friend studying in the US. Now that I had arrived in the United States, I would have a better chance to understand this big concept in person. True, I saw the diversity in the different colors of faces on the campus of Harvard; I heard the diversity in the different languages used in broadcasting at the Voice of America; I tasted the diversity in the variety of dining places; I felt the diversity traveling through the East Coast.

New Hampshire

I had not expected to find myself in a rural region of this highly-developed country, yet I thoroughly enjoyed staying in the mountains of New Hampshire. In the morning, Richard, my host student, drove me from his home hiding in the woods to school. Actually, he was both my driver and tour guide. Not to mention that he took me to the top of Mount Kearsarge, where I photographed the



The first SLE group from China to the United States visiting New Hampshire Governor John Lynch at the Concord State House.

breathtaking view of the forests bathing in the sunlight. He also showed me around the small town and the restaurant where he worked as a part-time waiter and brought me to his friend Amy’s birthday party, where I mingled with a bunch of “crazy” American teenagers.

It was an unbelievable experience to meet Richard and his friends. They were all crazy over Chinese gongfu and coincidentally I had practiced martial arts when I was five years old. As a result, we could not help going outside onto the snow-covered road to bring our theoretic discussion into action. Of course, we did not fight each other, but performed our skills and, believe it or not, they were all excellent gongfu performers. (I learned afterwards that they were medal-winners in a national martial art competition!) When I started to introduce the concept that Chinese do not practice gongfu to overwhelm others but to improve ourselves, they seemed quite familiar with it and totally for it. I was beyond surprised that they understood the Chinese culture so well.

Apart from my amazement of these American teenagers’ zeal in the culture of my motherland, I was taken in by the peaceful feel of the countryside as well. Under the white clothes of snow, the town lies quiet.

Golden sunlight reflected by the white coating brightened the green of the trees. It was just like nature telling me that there were such places which kept their natural feeling in the United States other than the bustling cities. I’ve already seen a different aspect of this highly-developed country.

New York City

This is typical America, I told myself.

The Big Apple, as imagined, was a busy, fast and modern city. In contrary to the vast forests in New Hampshire, trees here could hardly be seen outside of Central Park. What is more, since it is during winter time, nothing was left on the trees but for the dead brown branches. So New York City gave me the general impression of a purely man-made, prosperous city.

One night, after watching an excellent musical in Broadway, I, with Jon from the National Committee for company, plunged myself into the cold air and walked along the street to Times Square. Now I realized what “fancy neon lights” really means. Neon lights were flickering continuously like traffic lights which had gone mad and the

continued on next page

streets were decorated by numerous colorful advertisements as if it had been daytime. They seemed to have not only emotionally warmed people up, but also speeded up the flow of time so that everyone was talking, laughing and hustling hurriedly. Jon pointed out the place where the New Year Ball had dropped. I could not help imagining the rowdy crowd which gathered under the clock to count down for a new start of the year. I could not help exclaiming: "Wow! This is the place I saw on TV!"

Perhaps affected by the fast pace of New York City, our itinerary seemed to have become so intense that we even sacrificed our lunchtime. Having to go through a security check almost everywhere we went also made things unsettling. Though the United States stands as one of the most powerful nations in the world, it has been severely threatened by terrorist attacks. While American people are still laughing happily, deep sorrow has left a mark on their hearts ever after 9/11. We traveled to the site of the World Trade Center, Ground Zero, and listened to the story of tears and blood silently. I was touched. And upon picturing how happy people were at the Times Square on New Year's Eve, I was more touched by the contradiction. The United States, much like my homeland China, had once experienced bone-deep pain.

Washington, D.C.

One most extraordinary trait of the places in the United States is that they are absolutely different from each other in one way or two. If New Hampshire stands for the beauty of nature and New York City stands for the prosperity of industrialization, then Washington, DC bears the past memories of American history.

Despite the fact that Washington is the political center of the whole nation, there are quite a number of museums and memorials throughout the city. Each of these historic sites

tells a different story of fighting for freedom and prosperity. We went to the Washington Monument, where we were able to imagine the take-off of this relatively young country; we traveled to the Lincoln Memorial, where we admired the most beloved American who fought against inhumane slavery; we traveled to Franklin Roosevelt's Memorial, where we read the New Deal of this iron president carved into stones. The sights silently tell the history of the United States.

On the other hand, history is like a bright mirror which faithfully reflects the nation's culture. So Washington is just like a place where American culture is displayed via looking back on the past. After my tour around this nation's capital, I believed myself to have understood more of the American culture. Though it seems to be composed of a large diversity of languages, races, cultures, etc., the inner quality always remains the strong and bright side of human nature – faith, love, persistence, pursuit of freedom.

Besides admiring those historic sites, I must not fail to mention other activities I participated in. On arriving in Washington, we first settled in William Penn House, one of the Quaker Centers in the United States. There I met a group of kind-hearted people who were willing to help others suffering from homelessness, discrimination, family violence, etc. In the orientation late at night, for the first time in my life, I listened and talked to a homeless man and found him to be just a normal and nice person; the next morning, for the first time in my life, I attended a Quaker Worship and sat wordlessly with other people of different skin color trying to communicate with God; and for the first time in my life, I helped out at a homeless shelter and learned that there still is a misfortune called homelessness in the United States.

Review and Thinking

After all, it was just like a great adventure to encounter different

people, to learn about new things and to recognize various ideas. That is why I came. That is what this journey was about. And there was plenty for me to meditate on, plenty of time for me to reflect on its tolerance and diversity, to reflect on its unbreakable and beautiful inner quality, to reflect on its blossoming and to reflect on its painful scars of time. I cannot deny that I admire this culture. I would like to "delve deeply into all things American" – just as an article in *USAToday* pointed out – then absorb and digest the advantages and make use for myself, for the development of my mother country.

And to say something about the article in *USAToday* concerning our journey: I was glad that I had been interviewed and that my name had been printed in black and white. However, I felt sorry and slightly uneasy with what I considered to be overstatements about our group of visiting Chinese students, like, "All swoon for American culture" or "They all fall in love with America." I would like to make it clear that we are by no means just a bunch of so-called American enthusiasts, but rather observers and learners of the American culture. While I was immersed in the amazement and happiness of discovering a whole new culture, I maintained a clear mind that I am Chinese.

That was why I was thrilled to know that I had brothers of Chinese martial art fans overseas; that was why at Ground Zero, I sensed the similarity of the load of the recent past to the weight of more than five-thousand years of endurance and struggle; that was why I, with eleven other Chinese students, sang songs and put on other performance with Chinese fervor; that was why I was willing to present my handwriting of Chinese calligraphy to my foreign friends. I understood I was obliged to spread the culture of my own country and I conceived that I was one of my nation's representatives to learn from another culture. While we were selecting iPods in the fancy shopping malls, we could have very well have been buy-

ing the *Analects of Confucius* at bookstores back at home.

To become open to international understanding in a modern world while maintaining our Chinese soul, this is what my school, Nanjing Foreign Language School, as well as my nation, expects me to be. And I will not fail them.

The *USAToday* article ended by saying that competition between China and the United States should yield additional competitive elements. I would be greatly honored to become one of the witnesses of the cooperation and competition, as well as cultural comprehension between these two strong nations.

U.S. Student Leaders Exchange to China

For the fourth year in a row, the National Committee sent a dozen U.S. Presidential Scholars to China, thus continuing its commitment to educating America's most promising young people about China and U.S.-China relations. In addition to funding by Wall Street English, support for the program was again provided by partners from prior years: the U.S. Department of Education's Presidential Scholars Program; the PRC Ministry of Education and its affiliated non-governmental organization, the Chinese Education Association for International Exchange (CEAIE), and the Educational Section of the Chinese Embassy to the United States.

The itinerary included Beijing, Xi'an and Luoyang, cities that complemented each other in the order they were experienced. Beijing offers an exciting but relatively comfortable introduction to China, Xi'an still has enough trappings of tourism to enable the students to find some familiar experiences, and Luoyang comes just when the students are ready for something more remote.

The homestay component has proven, year after year, to be one of the most significant features of the Student Leaders Exchange Program. Host families inevitably provide memorable hospitality that the students respond to enthusiastically. Having homestays in each of the three cities gave the students the opportunity to experience many facets of Chinese life, and to share experiences with their host siblings, who in many cases joined in group activities and outings. This provided the opportunity for lively discussions and exchanges that added richness and depth to the visit, and enabled real connections to be forged in a relatively short time.

To create the most intensive learning experience possible, the National Committee and CEAIE redesigned some of the straightforward lectures to a more interactive format. For example, two students from the Graduate Center of Architecture at Peking University joined the group at the Forbidden City, which made for a highly engaging tour. Instead of using more seasoned experts, in some cases graduate-level or university students gave introductory presentations, such as a hands-on class in Chinese calligraphy, and a workshop with members of the University's Student Association of Folk Music. This led to dynamic sessions that were both lively and educational. A particularly successful activity was a visit to a school in rural Ruyang, where the American students led high school classes in discussions in English. We are working to expand such experiences for the future.

On returning to the United States, the students immediately began to apply their experiences in practical ways. Many entered universities in September eager to begin coursework related to China. A few have enrolled in Chinese language courses, and one, Sara Jazzkowski, has already declared her intention to spend her junior year studying in Shanghai, giving the Student Leaders Exchange Program full credit for her newfound enthusiasm for China.

While the students universally loved their experience, the program achieved and in many ways exceeded its goals: to introduce a set of brilliant students to China and to have them return with new friends, as well as new insights into China's past, present and future.

Participant Perspective: Presidential Scholar Chetan Narain on the 2007 Student Leaders Exchange to China

About halfway during our two-week journey in China, I found a large bowl of what looked disturbingly similar to worm pupae sitting on the other side of my plate and chopsticks. The four or five of us American students sitting at the table all shared the same look of trepidation and uncertainty – we didn't want to ask any more than we wanted to eat. But eventually one of us mustered the courage to ask one of our host siblings, who duly reassured us that they were, in fact, silk worm pupae. He looked rather puzzled at what the big deal was.

"Oh," we said. Two of us wriggled uncomfortably in our chairs as a short silence descended over the room. Then it happened – a girl sitting across the table said to me, "I'll give it a shot if you do."

I stared at her, and then at the plate. And then at her again, with an absolutely disbelieving look.

"Oh, come on," she said. "On three. One...two..." I picked up one of the pupae and cradled it between my two chopsticks. I gave it one last look before I popped it into my mouth as I heard the word "three."

I gave it a few chews - and I said, "It's pretty good, actually." I let it run around my mouth a little bit more. "Tastes a bit like cheese quesadilla, I

continued on next page

think,” I said. I had another and another, and an hour later had finished the most unusual meal of my life.

But that’s what China was all about – an exploration into the unknown, which at times seemed odd and unfamiliar, but almost always, upon further experience, became fascinating and enticing. I’ll admit it – I didn’t know that much about China before we arrived. Would it be clean? Safe? As remarkably modern as I’d heard it was? As soon as we landed in the Beijing Airport, however, exited the plane onto the tarmac, and got onto a little shuttle bus that delivered us to a huge terminal with shiny floors and high ceilings, I knew that we were in for something special.

We passed through passport control and got the chance to press a green smiley face button if our agent had been helpful and a red angry face button if he had been rude – and then finally we were really in China. We met our guide, a young Beijing University graduate named Jin Lei, and walked with him into the spacious and curiously round bus that would shuttle us and our host siblings around Beijing for the next three days. As we drove down Airport Road – a wide boulevard lined with majestic greenery – I couldn’t help thinking that in just a few years after getting its economy going, China had created something truly remarkable.

When we finally arrived at the Beijing University Affiliated High School where we were to meet our first group of host siblings, we found ourselves parked in the middle of a giant courtyard with a garden on one side, expansive athletic facilities on the other, and five or six storey buildings all around. This is a *high school*, I asked? I hardly had time to ponder that any longer, for our siblings had started coming out to meet us. Mine, a spry squash player nicknamed Wit, had just come back from practice. I greeted him with the Chinese phrase for “nice to meet you” that Jin Lei had taught us on the bus; he looked at

me strangely and shook his head. To this day, I still have no idea what I said.

But language aside, Wit and I soon began to talk. His family was well-travelled – his mother and sister had just gotten back from a trip to Cambodia, his father was in Australia, and Wit told me of his trip to Italy sometime earlier. I was extremely impressed, first by the very fact that Wit had a *sister*, who had, in fact, been born in the United States, and was therefore not subject to the One Child Policy. And I was amazed that he had travelled so much. I had a view of the Chinese government as being rather autocratic, and still placing strict limits on its citizens’ mobility. I was curious about what Wit knew about Tiananmen Square, as well, so I asked, in a rather round-about fashion if Wit had perhaps ever heard of some sort of protest that had occurred there. He looked confused at first, but when he looked up the word in his cell phone’s electronic dictionary, his eyes brightened. “Yes,” he said. “They killed a lot of students.” I was amazed.

And so we spent the rest of our time in Beijing visiting museums, learning how to do Tai Chi; visiting the Forbidden City, where I had my first encounter with the most essential skill I learned in China – bargaining; wandering around Houhai, where traditional houses melded with modern restaurants and bars; and performed the Chinese art of karaoke. I even got a Chinese name – Xie Tan. Wit told me it was a good name – it meant something like “deep” and “serene.” Someone else told me it was a girl’s name.

I began to understand that even halfway across the world, in a country with a one-party system, teenagers weren’t so different.

We left Beijing for Xi’an, a smaller city further inland, by an overnight train. When we arrived at our host school, we saw a dozen students lined up in columns in front of our host siblings, each of whom had a bouquet of flowers in their arms. We were treated like royalty – in addition to the bou-

quet, each of us received a welcome packet, and we were treated to colorful dances and performances by the students. Xi’an itself was a fascinating city – it consists of a modern city center with theaters and Chinese McDonald’s inside an ancient, but still formidable, city wall.

My host family here was no less hospitable. My sibling took me out with one of his friends to one of the theatres to see *Transformers* – in Chinese. Seeing large robots yelling at each other in Chinese one night and the Terra Cotta Army the following morning was one of the most striking things I noticed in China: a dual desire to honor a culture as fascinating as it was old and to embrace a new, global identity.

I asked my sibling here, too, about the protests at Tiananmen Square. Recognition flashed in his eyes, and he said, “Yes, there was a big protest there once because the leader of China had died and people were very sad.”

Our third city was Luoyang, an even smaller city near the Shaolin Temple. Our host siblings here were in middle school – mine was only 14, but I immediately made good friends with him. He had his own American name, too – Rainer. There were many children his age living in his apartment building, and I got to meet quite a few. One of his friends once invited me to his apartment. He was giving me a tour of his house and pointed to a rather lovely painting of a flower.

“You like that?” he asked.

“Of course,” I said. “It’s really nice.”

“OK, then let me wrap it up and you can take it back to the U.S. with you.” It took me the greater part of the remainder of the night to convince him that he could keep his own painting.

But perhaps the most unique experience we had in China was our trip one day to a school in a rural county town called Ruyang. I was not expecting much at all, but when we got there, at least a hundred students were lined up in formation to

greet us as we climbed onto an outdoor stage. After a rather extensive ceremony, we all went to talk to a class about America. I was amazed by the courtesy and curiosity that I found even here – I found that when I walked into the classroom I got applause even before I started talking.

The kids asked me all sorts of questions; they coaxed me into singing “Mo Li Hua”, a traditional Chinese song, for them; they cheered each time they learned a new part of “Row, Row, Row Your Boat”; they told me I bore a striking resemblance to Michael Jackson. I’m afraid I must disagree.

One student asked me if I would give him a hug. I at once agreed, and the class cheered. Then another asked me what I thought of China.

It took me a moment, but I summoned up some Chinese. “*Wo ai Zhongguo*” – I love China, I said.

This time I didn’t get a strange glance or a shake of the head – only another cheer and another round of applause. I didn’t think I deserved it, though – if anything, it’s China that needs a thundering bout of applause. ■

Round One of the Public Intellectuals Program Ends; Round Two to Begin



PIP Fellows, joined by National Committee President Steve Orlins, Vice President Jan Berris (center right), senior scholar escort Ezra Vogel (center left) and Program Officer Anna Bautista (front row, left), meet with Vice Foreign Minister Zhang Yesui (center).

The final event in the Public Intellectuals Program (PIP) was a trip to mainland China and Taiwan in December 2007. A multi-year opportunity for young American China scholars and specialists to expand their knowledge beyond their own areas of expertise and to develop the potential to apply this experience to inform policy and public opinion, PIP has been enormously successful. The National Committee is pleased to announce that a second round of the program will begin in the fall of 2008.

Launched in 2005 through the generous support of the Henry Luce Foundation and the Starr Foundation, both of which have renewed their support, PIP identifies outstanding members of the next generation of American China scholars, enriches their understanding of policy-making processes in both the United States and China, helps them

establish useful relationships with their academic colleagues and with policy practitioners, and nurtures their ability to engage in public policy debates. PIP is implemented through a series of interlocking activities, including Washington policy seminars, study tours of China, participation in National Committee delegations as scholar escorts and public education initiatives.

The December study tour of China was notable for the camaraderie among the participating Fellows; the positive impression they made on interlocutors, through their insightful questions and uniformly strong Chinese language ability (all programs were conducted entirely in Chinese); and a varied program in mainland China and Taiwan. Some of the most interesting meetings on the mainland were those with the Zhang Yesui, vice minister of foreign

continued on next page

*Public Intellectuals Program,
continued from page 17*

affairs responsible for North American affairs; Nirupama Rao, the Indian ambassador to China; He Liliang, the wife of Huang Hua, China's former foreign Minister and first ambassador to the United Nations; the Heifer project (including visits to very rural areas to meet farmers involved in this outstanding NGO); the creative Zhongshan Institute for Civil Society; and the discussion with U.S. Counsel General Guangzhou Bob Goldberg. On Taiwan, an array of interesting discussions were conducted, including the thoughtful musings on politics, values, and academics in the public sphere by former Foreign Minister and academic, Tian Hong-mau.

The Public Intellectuals Program has generated substantial benefit – to Fellows, the National Committee, and many with whom the group has met. This has largely been due to the high caliber of participants; the generous contribution of time and expertise of those involved in the various program activities; the intellectual

commitment of our advisory committee; and the financial and moral support of our funders.

Participation in the program has given Fellows unparalleled opportunities to speak with policy-makers in Washington and Beijing. In the Washington seminars, current and former senior policy-makers not only shared their perspectives on the dynamics of U.S.-China relations, but also encouraged Fellows' comments. One example was the September 2005 meeting with then-Deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick, who noted that he welcomed "views from campus." In China, our Fellows not only met with senior government officials, but were able to gain a nuanced understanding of factors influencing policy-making through briefings on public opinion polling, NGOs and other issues.

Many Fellows found that the program lays a strong foundation for them to engage in policy discussions beyond their own institutions, through public education efforts, policy specialist seminars or the media. Evan Medeiros, who took a leave of

absence from the RAND Corporation to serve as the political advisor to the Strategic Economic Dialogue, is an example of a Fellow who has made this transition to policy formulation.

Others, who are more interested in public education than policy-making also gained much from PIP. As part of their public education requirement, Fellows have shared their expertise and recruited other specialists to speak to a wide range of audiences. These have included K-12 teachers, Bar Association members, union leaders, Members of Congress and business executives, as well as academic communities. Fellow David Pietz, Assistant Professor of History at Washington State University, underscored the importance of the program's support for public education: "The resources available to stage this type of programming were invaluable. There is a profound need to promote this type of outreach in perhaps every corner of the land, but here in the trenches, away from the resources in large urban centers, the need may be particularly acute."

2005–2007 PIP Fellows

Dr. Allen Carlson

Assistant Professor of Government,
Cornell University

Dr. Mark Frazier

Conoco Phillips Professor of Chinese
Politics and Associate Professor of
International and Area Studies,
University of Oklahoma

Dr. Mary Gallagher

Assistant Professor of Political Science,
University of Michigan

Dr. Ann Huss

Center for East Asian Studies,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Dr. Jan Kiely

American Co-Director,
Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese
and American Studies

Dr. Helen McCabe

Assistant Professor of Education
& Affiliated Faculty of Asian
Languages and Cultures,
Hobart and William Smith Colleges

Dr. Evan S. Medeiros

Political Scientist,
The RAND Corporation

Dr. James Millward

Associate Professor of History,
Georgetown University

Ms. Allison Moore

China Resident Representative,
Asia Law Initiative,
American Bar Association

Dr. Jonathan S. Noble

Advisor, Asia Initiatives,
Office of the Provost,
University of Notre Dame

Dr. David Pietz

Assistant Professor of History and
Director of Asia Program,
Washington State University

Dr. Phillip C. Saunders

Senior Research Fellow,
Institute for National Strategic Studies,
National Defense University

Dr. Kristin Stapleton

Associate Professor and Director of
Asian Studies, University at Buffalo

Dr. Edward Steinfeld

Associate Professor of Political Science,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Dr. Kellee Tsai

Professor of Political Science,
Johns Hopkins University

Dr. Joseph Tucker

Infectious Diseases Fellow,
Massachusetts General Hospital

The Public Intellectuals Program also adds to the richness of the National Committee's network by affording access and interaction with a new generation of scholars. Fellows have contributed to our programs as scholar-escorts, spoken at National Committee programs or briefed program participants, and contributed valuable ideas for our program itineraries or proposals. Fellows will be asked in the future to serve as National Committee directors, thereby sustaining the type of institutional leadership and guidance that earlier generations of public intellectuals have so generously contributed to the organization.

The National Committee is delighted that a second Public Intellectuals Program will extend its unique benefits to another class of China specialists. We are also very pleased that a component of the renewed grant for round two of PIP includes funds for round one fellows to conduct important public education activities. ■

Dr. Wang Hongying

Associate Professor of Political Science, Maxwell School of Public Policy, Syracuse University

Dr. Susan H. Whiting

Associate Professor of Political Science & Adjunct Associate Professor of International Studies, University of Washington

Dr. Wu Weiping

Associate Professor of Urban Studies, Geography, and Planning, Virginia Commonwealth University

Dr. Yang Hong

Associate Professor of Environmental Studies, and Director of U.S.-China Institute, Bryant University

Policy Leaders Orientation Program

In the 1990s, the National Committee conducted several "Consular Orientation Programs," designed to give young Chinese diplomats posted to the United States the opportunity to learn more about American history, politics and contemporary society through a two-week study program. Support from the Starr Foundation has enabled us to resume and expand this offering, now called the Policy Leaders Orientation Program.

The 2007 Policy Leaders Orientation Program provided two groups of young Chinese officials with an in-depth experience of American culture and society, while giving the National Committee an opportunity to meet and interact in an informal setting with these promising individuals. The program for U.S.-based Chinese diplomats was held from January 28 through February 10; a group of Beijing-based government officials visited the United States from September 30 to October 13.

While the diplomats living in the United States are fluent in English, their opportunities to interact with Americans are generally limited to their professional spheres. As a result, they were all eager to learn more through the briefings, site visits and informal discussions in Williamsburg, Washington, D.C., Gettysburg, Philadelphia and New York.

Not surprisingly, the Chinese made an immediate connection with their American counterparts at the Foreign Service Institute, and were clearly impressed with the facilities available for consular training. They also were surprised to learn that two-

year intensive language study programs are considered "career enhancers" for American diplomats, rather than something that would slow down or impede their career trajectory. Fortuitously, the Washington portion of the schedule overlapped with a meeting of the National Committee's Public Intellectuals Program (PIP). At a joint breakfast for the two groups, the Chinese were impressed with the language skills and wide-ranging research interests of the PIP Fellows, and they expressed a desire for more opportunities to exchange views with American China specialists.

Other Washington programming included a talk on U.S. policy toward Iraq and implications for relations in Asia, given by member (and PIP Fellow) Phil Saunders of the National Defense University, and a roundtable luncheon at Georgetown University hosted by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and the Mortara Center for International Studies (arranged by National Committee members Cas Yost and Carol Lancaster).

The Washington homestays provided a rare firsthand experience of daily life inside American homes. Several visitors found this opportunity to be the most beneficial part of the program. One Los Angeles-based diplomat said that despite having been in the United States for a year, she found it difficult to find points of entry into American society. Another, who works at China's Mission to the United Nations, was thrilled when her hostess took her to a reception attended by former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Bill Richardson. Her hostess, a veteran of Washington political receptions, moved Liu Jia

continued on next page

through the crowd and directly to Governor Richardson's side for a much-appreciated photo op.

Gettysburg and Philadelphia also provided outstanding experiences. After a tour of the Gettysburg battlefield, the group lunched with Professor Gabor Borritt, a Lincoln historian and director of Gettysburg College's Civil War Institute. A native of Hungary, Dr. Borritt described how he had deliberately chosen to focus his Ph.D. studies on the American civil war, rather than on Eastern Europe as his mentors encouraged him to do. He said his perspective as an outsider helped him discover things about Lincoln that Americans might overlook. This helped put the diplomats at ease, and they offered some interesting views on the American civil war. They seemed especially intrigued by the process of post-war reconciliation between the North and the South. While walking to the grounds where Lincoln gave his Gettysburg Address, one observed that the American post-Civil War experience may have lessons for the mainland and Taiwan.

In Philadelphia, a series of informal exchanges gave the group an opportunity to learn about areas of interest and engage in lively discussions. Doug Frenkel, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, offered everyone the opportunity to ask any questions they liked about the American legal system, resulting in discussions ranging from whether justice was achieved in the O.J. Simpson trial, to the rights of police to conduct searches, to gun control, to the role of the American Civil Liberties Union. As Professor Frenkel addressed each question, he skillfully placed it in a context that illustrated larger points of American jurisprudence. An informal dinner hosted by National Committee member Sherwood (Woody) Goldberg, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army and Senior Advisor on Asia at the Center for Naval Analysis, and his wife Susan, a trustee of the Foreign

Policy Research Institute, provided another valuable opportunity for informed discussion and an exchange of views in an atmosphere of warm hospitality.

An added benefit of the two-week program was that it gave the diplomats the opportunity to exchange ideas on topics other than work assignments in their respective posts. It is clear they enjoyed the chance to spend time with their peers, and that a strong rapport developed among them.

Following the success of the first program, a similar agenda of briefings, informal discussions and sightseeing was organized for the October visit of Beijing-based officials. Participants were selected from the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (the National Committee's collaborator on this project), the Ministry of Defense, the National Development and Reform Commission, People's Bank of China, the China State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA), the Chinese Institute of International Strategic Studies, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Although all work on U.S.-China relations in some capacity, being younger officials, this was the first trip to the United States for several of them; even for those who had been here before, this was their first opportunity to experience America and interact with Americans beyond official meetings.

In New York, the group visited the NASDAQ Stock Market, the United Nations, *The Wall Street Journal*, and Human Rights Watch, took in a Broadway show, and enjoyed a Manhattan-Queens bicycle tour. The Washington visit included a session with the Congressional U.S.-China Working Group, and visits to the Congressional Research Service, the National Defense University, Georgetown School of Foreign Service, Voice of America, and the U.S. Department of State. The Washington homestays, and the generous hospitality of the hosts, again provided a memorable experience for

the visitors, enabling them to interact with and learn about Americans on a personal level that is not otherwise available to them.

A visit to Harrisburg, and meetings with Pennsylvania's Secretary of State Pedro Cortez and other Harrisburg officials, gave delegates insights into the workings of state government. The itinerary for the visit also included Williamsburg, Washington, and Gettysburg.

A day spent in rural Lancaster County turned out to be one of the highlights of the trip. Just as American delegations to China appreciate the opportunity to observe life in China beyond Beijing and Shanghai, the Chinese officials were fascinated by a traditional Amish community, including lunch at the home of a young Amish family, and stops at the Mennonite Information Center and local businesses. One memorable cross-cultural exchange occurred after the lunch, when the Chinese officials had a candid conversation about the reasons behind the one-child policy with their Amish hosts (who, in their late thirties, already had six children). The group also visited a local farmers market and discussed agricultural reform with representatives from the Penn State Cooperative Extension, where the programs for training and support for farmers resonated with the current situation in China. As Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretary Zhao Yumin noted, "The work done for the farmers [by the Cooperative] could be an example for China."

Two Policy Leaders Orientation Program components, planned for the summer and fall of 2008, will again provide an excellent opportunity for some of China's rising young officials to gain an intimate perspective of the United States, and forge what we hope will be an ongoing association with the National Committee and its work. ■

The Promise of Sino-American Relations

Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. delivered this year's Barnett-Oksenberg lecture on February 21, 2008, in Shanghai. This annual event is co-sponsored by the National Committee and the Shanghai Association of American Studies, both of which are very grateful to ExxonMobil, Corning, Clifford Chance, Stonebridge China and Asianera for their generous financial support of the event, and to AmCham-Shanghai for its logistical assistance.

This lecture series honors the memory of Doak Barnett and Michel Oksenberg, two of America's most eminent China scholars. I encountered both men first through their writings, then came to admire them as human beings, and finally to cherish them as friends. I feel privileged to speak at this gathering and particularly fortunate to do so in the presence of both Jeanne Barnett and Lois Oksenberg. In honoring their husbands, we honor Jeanne and Lois too.

I read my first book about the People's Republic of China in 1960, while a student at Yale University. The author was Doak Barnett. The politically correct image of China in the United States at the time was of a desperately poor and cruelly regimented country governed by a madman. Professor Barnett provided the factual corrective to this political parody.

When I later joined the U.S. Foreign Service, I discovered how important Doak had been in sustaining the integrity of China-watchers in Washington. They had been traumatized by McCarthyism and conditioned to provide "positive loyalty" to ideologically insistent politicians.

His inveterate realism, tempered with optimism, helped lay the basis for replacing national pessimism about the possibility of Sino-American rapprochement with the will to attempt it. One of Doak's books was among those I loaned to President Nixon before he set out for China thirty-six years ago. The president must have liked the book



Ambassador Chas W. Freeman, Jr. delivered the 2008 Barnett-Oksenberg Lecture in Shanghai.

because he never returned it to me despite repeated requests that he do so!

I first encountered Mike Oksenberg in 1974, through a brilliant article he wrote for "Problems of Communism" in which he proposed a novel and very persuasive taxonomy of Chinese politics that applied to both sides of the Taiwan Strait. I was so impressed with his ideas that I made a point of seeking out the author. That began a lifelong acquaintance that blossomed into friendship. Mike brought imagina-

tion and optimism about China to the Carter White House. When we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of Sino-American relations at year's end, we will celebrate a major event in world politics to which Mike was central.

The spirit of both men was indomitable, their optimism was unquenchable, and their eyes were always on the future. That brings me to the continuing promise of Sino-American relations and reminds me of how this phase of our relations began.

On a chill, gray Monday morning, exactly thirty-six years ago today, I stood on the steps of the old Hongqiao Airport terminal. I had arrived in Shanghai twenty minutes in advance of President Nixon. I had studied Chinese in Taiwan, but this was, of course, my first encounter with the Chinese mainland. My eye was drawn to a billboard that defiantly proclaimed, much as those at the airport in Taipei did at the time (with seven of the same eight ideograms), "We have friends all over the world." As Air Force One pulled up and cut its engines to refuel and take on a Chinese navigator before flying onward to Beijing, I heard a bird sing. Judging from the presence of birds but the absence of aircraft at Hongqiao, I deduced, all those foreign friends of China couldn't be conducting their comradely visits by air.

As our president and his wife deplaned for an off-camera cup of tea, I struck up a conversation with a Chinese Foreign Ministry official, the first I had ever met. I was, it turned out, also the first American official with whom he had ever spoken. That day, February 21, 1972, culminated in President Nixon's meeting with Chairman Mao and dinner with much of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in Beijing. It was a day of mutual discovery for many Chinese and Americans. Not just for me and others who took part in some or all of its events, but for all

continued on next page

*The Promise of Sino-American Relations,
continued from page 21*

whose stereotypes were blown away by the images on television.

In the past thirty-six years, China has changed so much and become so much part of the world and Sino-American relations have become so tangled in multiple intimacies that the international solitude China then enjoyed can no longer be imagined. There is no birdsong now at the Hongqiao or Pudong airports. Instead, there are hundreds of jet aircraft arriving and departing for every corner of China and the globe. Last year, China overtook the United States as the world's third-largest destination for foreign visitors. And the human ties between almost every sector of our two formerly estranged societies are now rich, ubiquitous, intricate, and warm.

Yet China and the United States began our contemporary relationship not with affection but with cold strategic calculation. The American intention was to alter the world's strategic geometry, not to change China by opening it to outside influence. Ours was a marriage between hostile parties arranged by geopolitics. It took place despite bitter disagreement on many matters and highly negative images of each other.

Today, when people think of the Shanghai Communiqué, they remember the way in which it finessed differences over the question of Taiwan's relationship to the rest of China and pointed to the need for Chinese on the two sides of the Strait to craft their own peaceful resolution of it. That language was, of course, a major achievement for both sides. But, in diplomatic history, the most innovative element of the Shanghai Communiqué was not the creative ambiguity of its language about Taiwan. It was the unprecedented candor with which the text recorded sharp differences between the United States and China on many regional and global issues.

And, in terms of the broad national security and foreign policies of our two countries, the essential paragraph

was not that about Taiwan. It was our mutual acknowledgment that, while "there are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies," we could and should set aside these differences in the interest of sustaining a mutually advantageous international security order and pursuing common purposes in accordance with international law and comity. I do not paraphrase by much.

Such realism and mutual respect, tempered by deference to the rules of international conduct, was a wise

***"One cannot visit the
same China twice.
What even knowledgeable
Americans think they
know about China must
therefore constantly be
checked against the latest
realities here."***

basis on which to open a relationship between two great nations with the capacity greatly to help or hurt each other. It also delivered the strategic results both sides intended. The essence of this approach was preventing differences on relatively minor matters from obstructing the search for agreement on others of greater importance. Tonight I wish to focus on the implications of common interests, not areas of discord.

It would, however, be inappropriate not to acknowledge the continuing challenges posed by the two long-standing barriers to the realization of the full potential of Sino-American relations. These barriers to greater cooperation are well known. They

are first, the possibility that decisions or events in Taiwan that neither Beijing nor Washington can control could ignite a conflict in the Taiwan Strait and trigger a widening war between us that neither desires; and, second, the effects of ideological stereotypes in the domestic politics of both countries. But there is no need for me to dwell on these problems. Too much ink has already been spilled over improbable contingencies and the sometimes willful mischaracterization by each side of the other's intentions. Today there is growing reason to be optimistic about even these impediments to improved relations.

After all, to speak first of Taiwan, despite occasional moments of reckless political gamesmanship, the general trend has been toward cross-Strait integration. The net effect of Chen Shuibian's drive to reverse this trend has been to push Washington and Beijing into parallel action to preserve the prospects for peaceful resolution of cross-Strait differences. To this end, each has reaffirmed the one-China principle and opposed moves from Taipei to abandon it. A growing majority on Taiwan is coming to grips with the reality that their future depends on friendship and collaboration with the Chinese mainland and that the world will neither welcome nor endorse efforts to determine their island's status unilaterally. On this side of the Strait too, the clear working assumption is now that progress in cross-Strait relations is best achieved by mutual agreement and that this requires deference to public opinion in Taiwan as well as the mainland. And, while the limited use of force for deterrent purposes has not been ruled out, there is widespread recognition that attempting to impose reunification coercively or by conquest would be both fruitless and counterproductive.

The Shanghai Communiqué's premise that the question of Taiwan can and should be resolved peacefully by the Chinese parties to it has therefore never been more apposite. The conceptual differences between

the two sides of the Strait once again appear to be narrowing. Both sides have begun anew to think creatively about how to assure peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait so that, with wisdom and patience, people on both sides of it can craft a mutually agreeable accommodation. All these factors have made the Taiwan issue less contentious between Washington and Beijing than it has been for some time. We may now be in a brief period of heightened risk, but there is growing reason for optimism.

The other major obstacle to the development of our relations, ideology, has waxed and waned over the years. At various times, anticapitalist dogma, anticommunism, the radical ideology of the Gang of Four, zeal for democracy and human rights, and other passionately held beliefs on one side or the other have stood in the way of forward progress. And yet our relations have moved forward. With time and experience, we seem to be rediscovering the pragmatic spirit of the Nixon opening of thirty-six years ago. There are many disputes between the two countries but, with few exceptions, they are to do with the specific policies of one side or the other, not insurmountable differences of principle.

Of course, our relationship is not built on shared values. This leads polemicists, both here and in the United States, to posit ideologically driven contention between us. And a few indignant ideologues are moved to diatribe. But these apostles of strife are the exception and have, so far, been utterly wrong in their predictions. What is, in fact, most surprising to someone like me, who can remember the very sharp ideological arguments of the past, is how many similarities there now are between American and Chinese views of the world and its problems.

One reason for the decline of ideology as an impediment to better relations is greatly increased contact between Americans and Chinese. On both sides of the Pacific a new generation of scholars and businesspeople has sprung up. They owe

much to their elders but face no barrier to living, studying and working in the countries they are trying to understand; travel frequently in them; have easy access to their officials; and are at home in them. Ignorant *a priori* reasoning about each other of the sort Doak Barnett and Mike Oksenberg combated in the United States has not vanished from either country, but it is in retreat. That is important, for both nations have changed greatly since we reencountered each other decades ago. China, in particular, has changed and continues to change with unprecedented speed. One cannot visit the same China twice. What even knowledgeable Americans think they know about China must therefore constantly be checked against the latest realities here.

The course of Sino-American relations since their normalization also gives grounds for optimism. In the perspective of decades, despite some twists and turns, it is a remarkable record of success.

Immediately after normalization in 1979, the United States had two broad objectives for our bilateral relations. We wanted to bring U.S.-China relations to the level of mutual engagement and confidence they would have attained if we had not spent three decades in a state of mutual isolation. And we wanted to draw China into the world order from which we had systematically excluded it during that period of non-intercourse. As it happened, these objectives coincided almost perfectly with those of China's greatest 20th Century leader, Deng Xiaoping. Vice Premier Deng sought to enlist America in his bold effort to change China. He succeeded. He believed that China could benefit from becoming what World Bank President Zoellick has called a "responsible stakeholder" in the existing world order, rather than railing against that order or trying to overthrow it. Results prove Mr. Deng to have been very much right about this too.

By the last years of the 1980s, our bilateral relations had essentially matured. With the notable exception of military cooperation and exchanges, they were able to survive and eventually recover from the setbacks of 1989. That year, the events of June 4th in Tiananmen squeezed the warmth from our ties. The collapse of the Soviet empire robbed them of their strategic rationale. And the democratization of Taiwan began to give identity politics a loud voice there.

Nonetheless, by the mid-'90s, we were able to resume addressing the second objective, the admission of China to the status of full participant in global governance. The 20th Century concluded with Sino-American agreement on Chinese entry into the World Trade Organization. China's successful adaptation of its economy to the global norms of the WTO has contributed importantly to its remarkable economic progress since then. As this century began, China's actual accession to the WTO marked a major milestone in its integration into the governing councils of the world, a process that now lacks little to complete it. Since then, China's skill in addressing security issues on the Korean Peninsula and elsewhere has won global respect for its diplomacy and leadership.

Along with China's emergence as a great economic and diplomatic power has come a diversification of its international relations beyond the predominant reliance on the United States that marked the early stages of reform and opening. For China, America is no longer the measure of all things; nor is it central to all issues. This is a natural result of the maturation of Mr. Deng's reform process. In part, however, it also reflects the gradual emergence of a new world order. Today, while military capability to operate throughout the globe remains an American monopoly, other elements of power – political, economic, cultural and informational

continued on next page

The Promise of Sino-American Relations,
continued from page 23

– are increasingly widely dispersed. The European Union, not the United States, is now China's largest trading partner and Chinese increasingly look to it, not the United States, for both education and political inspiration. Korean, Japanese, and other cultural influences now vie with American-inspired trends among Chinese youth. And China is forging its own vigorous pattern of cooperation with Africa, India, Latin America, the Middle East, and Russia, without reference to the United States. But, amidst all this diversification of Chinese connections to the world beyond it, relations between Chinese and Americans too continue to ramify and grow in scale and depth.

The fractal complexity of contemporary China's foreign relationships now makes it impossible to describe Sino-American relations in simple terms. They cannot be reduced to a straightforward hierarchy of a few national interests or interactions. Along with this complexity has come a fog of detail no single mind can embrace. It is very difficult to see beyond what is immediately in front of us and both sides have become accustomed to muddling along with no clear idea of where we want to go. There is nothing exceptional about this approach to managing bilateral relations. Proceeding ad hoc has enabled us to avoid conflict. Not all relationships require an agreed strategic concept. But the absence of such a concept guarantees that we miss opportunities to seize opportunities and that our interaction continues to fall well short of its potential to benefit each of us. Perhaps it is time to blow away the fog, look again at what's in this relationship for each side, and to develop a common agenda on which to move forward together.

The inauguration of a new president in the United States next year will offer an opportunity for such a mutual review. There are a growing range of issues that cannot be

addressed and opportunities that cannot be seized without joint or parallel action by China and the United States. On these issues, neither country can hope to lead a successful international response without the support of the other. Such issues now embrace every element of national interest and every facet of national power. Each country can benefit from seizing the opportunity to address them in concert with the other. Both risk suffering if we lack the will to do so.

The most obvious of such issues,

“Today, while military capability to operate throughout the globe remains an American monopoly, other elements of power – political, economic, cultural and informational – are increasingly widely dispersed.”

of course, is the linked challenges of environmental degradation and climate change. Environmental degradation is an issue that greatly worries Chinese; global warming is of rising concern to Americans. These are trends that negatively affect all humanity and the future of life on this planet. The situation calls out for leadership from both China and the United States. But neither country has been prepared to take the lead and each has described itself as unable to move unless the other moves first. This has disappointed the world. The immobility on both sides persists despite the fact that there are obvious complementarities and opportunities for trade-offs

implicit in our respective conditions. This is a bilateral impasse that wise leaders in both countries can and must resolve. If our two countries move together, the world will follow.

As two of the main engines driving global growth, the prosperity of our respective economies is of interest not just to Americans and Chinese but to everyone else in the world. The squabbles we have been having about exchange rates are part of an emerging global pattern of monetary difficulties. With about one-fourth of the global economy and a much higher proportion of its debt, the United States' currency can no longer bear the burden of providing three-fifths of the world's reserves. Nor, if the United States succeeds in halting its economic hemorrhaging by restoring balance between imports and exports, will it continue to export enough of its currency to provide other countries with dollars to hold in reserve. Europe can take up some but not all of this slack; neither China nor Japan is in a position to help do so.

There is an increasingly obvious need for a new international monetary order in which all nations share burdens and benefits to global advantage. A reform proposal from China and the United States would, I am confident, be welcomed by Europe, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and the other monetary great powers. The semi-annual strategic economic dialogue between cabinet-level officials in both governments, begun a year and a half ago in Beijing, provides a forum and mechanism within which we could begin to craft such a proposal.

There are other economic issues, like the revitalization of the Doha round of talks on trade liberalization, where leadership from both our countries is also essential and potentially advantageous to both. But the need for Sino-American initiative is not limited to the economic sphere.

The United States and China have serious differences about how intrusive the international community's response to domestic disorder and unrest in sovereign nations should be.

Rather than engaging in mutual recrimination, we need to discuss these differences honestly and, to the extent we can, narrow them. But the fact that we differ on some matters should not prevent us from making common cause on others. Nor should it preclude our assisting in the formation of ad hoc multilateral groupings to accomplish mutually advantageous purposes. As currently constituted, the United Nations and other institutions we inherited from the last century often can no longer serve this purpose.

Some of the problems and opportunities before us are regional in nature. For example, sudden transitions on the Korean Peninsula cannot be ruled out. They have the potential to destabilize northeast Asia to the detriment of American as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Russian interests, not to mention the safety and wellbeing of Koreans themselves. Similarly, I believe, we have acquired a common interest with others in helping Central Asians enjoy peace and development without being drawn into great power rivalry in that region. And we have repeatedly shown that we share a concern about the nuclear stand-off in South Asia. These and other regional issues have implications for China and the United States as well as those directly implicated in them. We may hope for the best but must prepare for the worst. It is none too soon to begin to create the regional security consultative and contingency planning arrangements we need to help manage possible crises at the regional level.

There is also, of course, a global dimension to some of the problems I have just cited. For instance, neither China nor the United States wants to see the further spread of nuclear weapons, whether on the periphery of China or farther afield. Yet the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty no longer provides a basis for dealing with declared and undeclared nuclear weapons states, nuclear arsenals are no longer being

downsized, and the inhibitions on proliferation are steadily weakening as more and more nations seek sovereign control of every aspect of the nuclear fuel cycle. Our two nations have been cooperating with others in the effort to secure a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula but this begs the question of the larger global context. If we do not expand our cooperation to create a new and more credible nonproliferation regime with universal applicability, further proliferation is a certainty.

I could cite many additional instances of the potential for joint or parallel action by China and the United States, but – in the interest of releasing you to enjoy this night of the Lantern Festival – I will not. Let me instead conclude.

As the 21st Century nears its second decade, China and the United States have the capacity to help the world collectively to address many pressing issues, if our leaders can muster the imagination and will to do so. We both want to preserve a peaceful international environment. But we must ask ourselves: is it enough to sustain peace by coping with problems as they arise or should we seek a more harmonious world order that can actively use that peace to create a better life for ourselves and our descendants? I know how the men we honor here tonight would have answered that question. I hope that our leaders will answer it by rising to the challenge of guiding change to the advantage of both our peoples and those of other nations, great and small.

From the outset, the promise of Sino-American relations has transcended the bilateral benefits they could bring to both of us. Our interactions move the world. When linked to a broader vision they have the capacity to move it for the better. We owe it to our posterity to work together to that end. ■

The transcript of this lecture is also available on the National Committee's web site: www.ncusc.org.

Board of Directors Update

New Board Appointment: James Leach

The National Committee is pleased to announce the appointment of former congressman James Leach to the Board of Directors. Among the many achievements of his thirty-year congressional career, Mr. Leach chaired the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, and the Banking and Financial Services Committee. He is currently the director of the Institute of Politics of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In Memoriam: Gordon Bennett

We are saddened by the news of the death of long time member and board member Gordon Bennett. Gordon educated generations of students about the Cultural Revolution and rural life in the People's Republic but he went far beyond academia via his strong commitment to public education and his service to the National Committee. He joined the Committee in 1973 and the Board in 1976. For the next eighteen years he faithfully attended Board meetings (in fact, his attendance was without equal) and, more important, always contributed thoughtfully to deliberations about the organization's role and work. And whenever the Committee sent groups to Texas, Gordon was the first person we would call; inevitably he would help in countless ways – all of which added up to making any delegation's time there as productive, interesting and fun as it could be. His gentle strength, warm friendship, sweet smile and wise counsel will be greatly missed. ■

Members' Bookshelf

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

For an expanded Members' Bookshelf dating back to 2000, please visit our website. Committee members are encouraged to let us know of their recent publications by contacting info@ncuscr.org.

Reluctant Restraint: The Evolution of China's Nonproliferation Policies and Practices 1980–2004

Evan S. Medeiros
Stanford University Press, 2007

Reluctant Restraint examines one of the most important changes in Chinese foreign policy since the country opened to the world: China's gradual move to support the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, missiles, and their related goods and technologies. Once a critic of the global nonproliferation regime, China is now a supporter of it, although with some reservations. Dr. Medeiros analyzes how and why Chinese nonproliferation policies have evolved so substantially since the early 1980s. He argues that U.S. diplomacy has played a significant and enduring role in shaping China's gradual recognition of the dangers of proliferation, and in its subsequent altered behavior. Evan Medeiros is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation and is currently an International Affairs Fellow through the Council on Foreign Relations, serving in the Treasury Department on the U.S.-China Strategic Economic Dialogue.

The Little Red Book of China Business

Sheila Melvin
Sourcebooks, 2007

Sheila Melvin provides a unique and lively approach to understanding the Chinese business culture by focusing on the influence of Mao's Little Red Book on business in China today. The current generation of Chinese businesspeople grew up with Mao's lessons and teachings, and in many cases these lessons influence their actions in business and culture. As the Chinese market continues to open to the West, opportunities for western businesses are expanding,

along with opportunities for making the wrong move or saying the wrong thing and unknowingly jeopardizing success. *The Little Red Book of China Business* provides keys to understanding business in China, and how to bridge the cultural gap to create successful working relationships in this rapidly growing market.

China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation

David Shambaugh
University of California Press

In this timely study, David Shambaugh assesses the strengths and weaknesses, durability, adaptability, and potential longevity of China's Communist Party (CCP). He argues that although the CCP has been in a protracted state of atrophy, it has undertaken a number of adaptive measures aimed at reinventing itself and strengthening its rule. In an analysis of comparative communism, he shows how China's Communist Party took lessons from the collapse of the Soviet Union to help shape its own reform and avoid the fatal errors of communist regimes elsewhere. Dr. Shambaugh is professor of Political Science and International Affairs and director of the China Policy Program at the Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. He is also a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

China: Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail Its Peaceful Rise

Susan L. Shirk
Oxford University Press, 2007

At a time when China is increasingly referred as an emerging global superpower, Susan Shirk's primary thesis is that while that may be the case, it is still a fragile one. Noting

that a rising China poses long-term challenges to the United States, she looks at the country from the standpoint of its leaders and details the multitude of domestic problems they currently face and their motivations in their multifaceted interactions with Japan, Taiwan and the United States. Dr. Shirk brings nuance and detail to analyses of the country's economic growth, the policies of its leadership, and the impact these have for international policymakers. A former deputy assistant secretary of state responsible for U.S. relations with China, and the current director of the University of California's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, Susan Shirk is able to bring first-hand knowledge of the interactions between the United States and China and to provide a timely and often overlooked view of the social, political and economic challenges faced by China and party leadership.

Why Taiwan? Geostrategic Rationales for China's Territorial Integrity

Alan Wachman

Stanford University Press, 2007

In *Why Taiwan?* Alan Wachman brings fresh ideas to the analysis of why the PRC has been so determined that Taiwan be a part of China and why, ultimately, Taiwan is considered worth fighting for. Rather than emphasizing the political dispute between Beijing and Taipei, the book focuses on the territorial dimension of the Taiwan issue and highlights arguments made by PRC analysts about the geostrategic significance of Taiwan. Dr. Wachman notes that China's leadership has historically perceived Taiwan as a source of insecurity because of its potential as a gateway to China, but that this may be changing as Taiwan is increasingly regarded as a gateway for economic and maritime expansion outward in China's current strategic planning.

Alan Wachman is associate professor of International Politics at Tufts University

China-U.S. Relations: Perspectives and Strategic Interactions

Suisheng Zhao, Editor

Routledge, 2007

The emergence and increasing economic growth of China has significant implications for its relationship with the United States, while the expansion of its diplomatic activism beyond Asia is compelling leaders in both countries to redefine their positions toward each other. This book, written by leading scholars and policy analysts from both the United States and China, explores the transformation of Sino-American relations, including how the political elite in both countries have defined their strategic objectives in response to China's rise. It provides up-to-date analyses on the policy adjustments of the last decade, and covers central issues including security, nuclear deterrence, military modernization, energy, trade and economic interaction, and Asia-Pacific power reconfiguration. It presents different views and assessments by foreign policy specialists and would be useful to leaders in Beijing and Washington, as well as to students and scholars of U.S. and Chinese politics, international relations and comparative politics.



National Committee on United States-China Relations

71 West 23rd Street, 19th floor
New York, NY 10010-4102

info@ncuser.org • (212) 645-9677

www.ncuser.org

Chair
Carla A. Hills

President
Stephen A. Orlins

Vice President
Jan Carol Berris

Vice President for Administration
Rosalind Daly

Senior Director of Education Programs
Margot E. Landman

Senior Director for Corporate & Public Programs
Anne Phelan

Director, Transnational Initiatives
Ling Li

Director, Leadership Initiatives
Jonathan G. Lowet

Director of Communications
Joseph J. Weed

Program Officer
Anna Bautista

Program Associates
Jenna Crouch
Katherine Forshay

Program Assistant
Sara Gavryck

Administrative Manager
Daya Martin

Office Manager
Catherine Tafur

Assistant Controller
Patricia Gilani



National Committee on United States-China Relations

*Congressional U.S.-China Working Group
Visits China, continued from page 4*

irrigation program – was one of the highlights of their time in China.

The National Committee supplemented the itinerary of official meetings with informal activities that provided insights into a broad spectrum of Chinese society. These included meetings with Zi Zhongyun,

one of China's most thoughtful American specialists; political economist Zha Daojiong; an executive of Horizon Research Consultancy Group, to learn about public polling in China and the significance of its results; a prominent Shanghai blogger; and an American who founded an internet portal for underground Chinese artists.

Productive briefings and

high-level contacts provided meaningful insights into contemporary Chinese society for participants in both groups, and made clear the NPC's recognition of the important role of the U.S.-China Working Group and its staff. The National Committee is very pleased to be playing a role in this constructive interaction between the United States Congress and China. ■

National Committee on United States-China Relations

71 West 23rd Street, 19th Floor
New York, NY 10010-4102

NON-PROFIT
ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
Paid
New York, NY
Permit No. 1598