

A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINS OF THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS

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To the memory of Cecil Thomas

without whom there would not be a
National Committee on United States-China Relations

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BACKGROUND

In March 1964, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, William J. Fulbright, very tentatively raised the question of whether the United States should not be willing to introduce "an element of flexibility" into its approach to China. There was a one day press recognition of the speech, and the Senator's office reported later that he had received about 12,000 letters, two-thirds favorable. There was no substantive public response from either the State Department or the White House, and the discussion that Fulbright had hoped to start received no further notice in the press.

The thrust of this speech, and the surprisingly extensive and favorable response, was the first significant questioning of U.S.-China policy since the United States had, Dunkirk-like, removed its Embassy from China to the island of Taiwan fifteen years before. It had also been one year more than a decade since the armed forces of the U.S. and the Peoples Republic of China had disengaged from open hostilities in Korea; and only three and one-half years beyond the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential debates over defense of the garrisons at Quemoy and Matsu.

Although the government chose not to respond to Fulbright, the issue was picked up again in the summer of 1964. Clare Booth Luce, former Ambassador to Italy, like her China-born husband, Henry Luce, an outspoken supporter of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, President of Nationalist China, had surprised almost everyone when, at a commencement address to the graduates of St. John's University, she said, "China will account for half the population of the whole world. We must soon find ways of living at peace with half the human race, or your generation will know nothing but endless war in the Orient What argument can be made for our present policy of trading with the Russians or selling them wheat that cannot also be made for trading with Red China, and feeding her far more desperate people?" Her remarks would probably have received even less notice than those of Fulbright, had not the Saturday Evening Post, an American symbol of moderation in all things, printed an editorial on July 25, entitled, "Let's Open the Door to China", which quoted and supported Ambassador Luce's remarks.

The stifling of public discussion which had resulted from the McCarthy era was, however, still evidenced in the membership roster of the Committee of One Million which had been formed several years before as a media directed organization to support and politically defend

Nationalist China in the U.S. Over one hundred members of Congress were still prominently featured in ads being run by the Committee that year. Among them were Senate Minority Leader, Everett Dirksen, and Republican Whip Hugh Scott. Senators Paul Douglas, a liberal Democrat from Illinois, and Jacob Javits, a liberal Republican from New York, were also featured members. Whatever their private views, none of these politicians would even consider publicly withdrawing their names from the list. For the State Department too, China was still an island to the east of the mainland of China.

Early 1964 also marked the first thaw of the Cold War since the Cuban Missile Crisis. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty had been ratified and signed the previous autumn; Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, had announced his intention to pare back the annual Pentagon allocation of about \$80 billion by \$1 billion per year for the next five years. Simultaneously, the U.S. was quietly beginning to increase the number of military advisors to the Republic of South Vietnam. Just prior to the Bay of Tonkin incident in August 1964, the major foreign policy news about the U.S.-Asian policy centered around a credibility controversy over whether the U.S. had 17,000 or 19,000 military advisors in Vietnam. (The chief Far-East Correspondent for Time

Magazine had personally taken an adding machine into the personnel office of MAAG in Saigon in an attempt to resolve the controversy.)

For individuals and groups active in peace concerns over the previous five or six years, the Test Ban Treaty represented a culmination of their concerted efforts. But, the People's Republic of China had refused to sign the Treaty and, in 1964, exploded a small nuclear device to become the fifth nation in the world to join the nuclear club.

Who among the family of nations could influence, let alone communicate out of mutual interest with, Peking? Few Western nations had diplomatic relations with the People's Republic at the time. France had just recognized Peking, but France also had refused to sign the Test Ban Treaty. The Soviet Union, a recent ally with China, was deeply alienated from its giant neighbor to the south, even to the extent of deploying extra troop strength to deal with an increasing number of border incidents. China had no direct voice or ear in the United Nations. Only small and maverick Albania among the Western nations could be looked to to represent Peking's position in the same diplomatic circles that might communicate with the United States.

This isolation bothered the people who had hoped that the Test Ban Treaty might signal the end of the Cold

War. The Treaty would indeed be hollow as an instrument of international accord if China were not included. To add to these sobering reflections on the morning after celebrating the "first step in a journey of a thousand miles", was an apprehension among liberals that the political climate within the U.S. was precariously unstable. A popular President had been assassinated only months before. Out-spoken and strongly anti-Communist Senator Barry Goldwater was running strongly in his own Party for the Presidency. The U.S. was still not freed of the Second World War and Cold War addiction to achieving national unity from an external threat, whether real or imagined. The psychological need for an adversary was complimented by a very real economic dependence on the production of weapons and weapons systems by a large segment of American investors, researchers, educators, and workers. This dependence was further reinforced by a political-military establishment that stood to lose great prestige and power if the defense budget were diminished. Former President Eisenhower had warned about just such a danger in his Farewell Address, and the leaders of the Peace Movement had listened to the General. A China threat, it was feared by these individuals, was a natural candidate to feed the addiction and maintain the status quo ante.

A small, loosely cohesive group of "China watchers", though not necessarily agreeing with this assessment of the internal political scene, did share a great concern over China's isolation, and over the United States' apparent intent to maintain that isolation. These scholars, working primarily from the major China study centers at about ten universities in the U.S. and from the U.S. Consulate-General in Hong Kong, religiously read and analyzed the Chinese press on the Mainland, and shared information gleaned from interviews of emigrating Chinese. Their main concern was that China's isolation, largely due to its own choice, made it potentially dangerous. Some felt that China was not necessarily aggressive by design, but that the danger lay in China's refusal to take extra-national responsibilities as a major power, thus creating a "power vacuum" in Asia which the U.S.S.R. would be tempted to fill. Others saw the vacuum coming from the U.S. inability to deal constructively with China's vast presence in Asia and, as a result, feared a resurgence of American isolationism. The analyses differed, and the motives for concern were mixed, but there was a consensus among all who wanted to talk about U.S.-China policy that China's isolation was more likely to be harmful than beneficial to the United States' interests in the world and to world peace.

One additional factor that was ultimately to cause China watchers of widely divergent views on policy to cooperate in the forging of a new policy was the awareness that there was no public forum in which they could freely air their views without fear of political harassment. This holdover from the McCarthy era had created an immense frustration among most of the China watchers, old or new.

There were others who were also interested in China at this time. The diverse and surprisingly large group of Americans whose parents had been missionaries in China and who, in many cases, had themselves been born there, wanted renewed contact with China and its culture. Internationally oriented businessmen saw a great potential market for trade with 800,000,000 people. And, a growing number of ordinary, concerned citizens wanted to know more about a country and its people who made up a quarter of the world.

Interest in China was, looking back, clearly on the rise in 1964; but interest alone would not build the bridges necessary for communication. To a few individuals in each of these groups, this was apparent and so the latter half of 1964 saw them launching a variety of efforts which, two years later, would bring them together in the formation of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

In the spring of 1964, the American Friends Service Committee, through its national and regional Peace Committees, sought to establish a new set of program priorities for the coming two or three years. From these discussions and communications came two programs related to China. The national AFSC in Philadelphia convened a Working Party in September 1964 to analyze U.S.-China policy and recommend a set of proposals. About the same time, the San Francisco AFSC asked Cecil Thomas, the Associate Peace Secretary there, to develop a regional conference on China.

The fall of 1964 saw two other developments that would become key in drawing together interest about China. In San Francisco, the President of the San Francisco World Trade Association, Jack Gomperts, appointed a businessmen's committee to "explore trade possibilities with the People's Republic of China." In Washington, D.C., the Friends Committee on National Legislation invited Eugene Boardman, a China scholar from the University of Wisconsin, to come to the Capitol for a year to stimulate interest in China and U.S. policy among Members of Congress.

THE FIRST CHINA CONFERENCE

On the morning of December 9, 1964, a crowd of well over a thousand filled Sproul Hall at the University

of California at Berkeley, and overflowed into side rooms equipped with closed circuit television screens of the main hall's podium. They had come to attend "An Institute on China Today", a one day conference sponsored by the University of California Political Science Department, the World Affairs Council of San Francisco, and the American Friends Service Committee. Most of those attending were later to be described as "middle-class and middle-aged".

The conference featured speakers of widely diverse points of view. Clare Booth Luce and Henry Luce both came and spoke on the same platform with British journalist and China traveler, Felix Greene. There was heated disagreement between the Luces and Greene. Robert A. Scalapino, known for his views supporting U.S. policy in Vietnam, criticized U.S.-China policy, as did China scholar Franz Schurman, an implacable critic of the U.S. in Vietnam. George Taylor, another China scholar from the University of Washington at Seattle, supported the U.S. policy toward China. Jack Gomperts announced the San Francisco World Trade Association recommendation that the U.S. allow American businesses to trade with the People's Republic. Three other scholars and a Canadian businessman who had done business with China also spoke during the day long event.

The most significant aspect of the conference, however, was not that it had been held, or who spoke, or even what they said, but rather the media and public response which followed in Northern California. The overflow crowd was only the beginning. Two NET stations, San Francisco and Sacramento, broadcast portions and all of the conference respectively, and each repeated the showing several subsequent times for Northern California audiences. The press took note of the conference to such an extent that letters requesting literature and speakers came from places even beyond Northern California. The public's hunger for more information about China had been clearly demonstrated, at least in Northern California.

The ban on discussing China policy in public had been lifted in the Bay Area, but what of the nation as a whole? It was becoming clear from Boardman's initial contacts in Washington that the U.S. Government was not about to review its China policy officially until it was a demonstrably safe issue on the domestic political scene. The answer that Cecil Thomas and Robert Scalapino, co-organizers of the Berkeley conference, came up with was to try to organize a similar conference in Washington D.C.

Aided by numerous letters and telephone introductions from Scalapino to China scholars at various other

universities and by an old friend and China hand, Harry Kingman, Thomas set out for the East Coast in January 1965. Funded now by the national office of the AFSC, he traveled up and down the Atlantic seaboard, from Washington to New York to Boston to Philadelphia, meeting with scholars, potential sponsors, always willing advisors, and well-wishers, for a solid three months. Gradually a conference emerged and with it came a convergence of activity that was truly a political demonstration of the first order; yet no one took to the streets for longer than it took to walk from a cab to the front door of the Washington International Inn, where the National Conference on United States and China was held on April 28, 29, and 30, 1965.

THE SECOND CHINA CONFERENCE: WASHINGTON, D.C.

The conference was "sponsored by Georgetown University and the School of International Service of the American University in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee." Its co-chairmen were Dean William E. Moran, Jr., School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and Dean Ernest S. Griffiths, School of International Service, The American University. A National Advisory Committee, indicative of the breadth of interest in putting on the conference, featured a variety of people including

Scalapino and Gomperts on the west coast; Colin W. Bell, Executive Secretary of the AFSC in Philadelphia; Dean of International Affairs, Andrew Cordier, at Columbia University; Rabbi Hirsch of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Victor Reuther of the UAW; the president of the AAUW; Chairman of the YWCA World Service Council; and several others. Some of the advisory committee members, Scalapino, Bell, Cordier, and Gomperts for example, were quite active in the Conference planning; others such as Victor Reuther helped by allowing the use of their names. Cecil Thomas, as the Executive Secretary of the Conference, spurred and coordinated all out of his brief case and from a small office temporarily borrowed from the FCNL in Washington, D.C. A Program Committee, on which Carl Stover, President of the National Institute of Public Affairs and E. Raymond Wilson, of the FCNL, served among others, was charged with bringing balance to the enlightened controversy it hoped to provoke on U.S.-China policy.

The program brought together an extensive and wide range of expertise and viewpoints. Senators George McGovern and Peter H. Dominick, opposites in Party affiliations and political stance on China, co-signed a letter of invitation to the Conference to their ninety-eight other colleagues in the U.S. Senate. The two Senators also

shared a luncheon platform at the conference where they debated their disagreement about U.S.-China policy. China scholars from Harvard, U.C. Berkeley, the University of South Carolina, Cornell University and from the sponsoring universities, spoke from a variety of perspectives and opinions. The State Department sent Assistant Secretary of State, Harlan Cleveland, to participate in a colloquy on China and the U.N. with the Ambassador from the Republic of China on Taiwan. Any difference in their views was imperceptible. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Robert W. Barnett, joined in a discussion on travel and cultural exchanges with Mainland China. Several U.S. businessmen explored trade with Mainland China on a panel with Canadian businessmen who had firsthand experience.

Several other independent developments centering on U.S.-China policy coincided with the China conference, adding to its impact. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce held its annual convention of about 1,000 delegates in Washington, D.C. that spring. Its meetings concluded the day before the China conference commenced. On the last day of its convention, the Chamber unanimously adopted a recommendation from its Policy Committee "to explore steps designed to more effectively open channels of communication

with the people of Mainland China."

The Working Party on China of the AFSC which had convened the previous autumn and had met several times since, published its recommendations through the Yale University Press in time for distribution at the China Conference. Entitled, A New China Policy, Some Quaker Proposals, the book called for full recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United States and U.N. membership for the same China.

Following the conference, and largely as a result of it, the national coordinating board of the League of Women Voters selected China as the study issue for League chapters throughout the United States during 1966.

Finally, in May of 1965, through the seminal efforts of Eugene Boardman, working from the FCNL offices, and with the encouragement of the China Conference, the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific, chaired by Congressman Zablocki of Wisconsin, published a report on the status of U.S.-China policy. The report was, in the words of a Washington Post editorial, May 23, 1965, "a cautious but courageous step in becoming the first Congressional group to publish a report urging that, 'at an appropriate time,' consideration be given 'to the initiation of limited but direct contact with Red

China through cultural exchange activities.' The Subcommittee . . . suggests that priority on these cultural exchanges go to scholars and journalists."

Six years later, the late Premier Chou-en-lai would give the Subcommittee's suggested priority to an American ping-pong team and seven years later the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, in its sixth year, would sponsor the visit of a Chinese ping-pong team to the United States.

The national press of April and May 1965 chronicled these events in a variety of attitudes, some editorializing support for the advocates of change, others reporting only the negative statements of the State Department representatives and the Chinese Ambassador, others just reporting the events of the day.

The public dialogue had begun. China was an issue to be addressed out loud, not whispered with a glance over the shoulder. But what would become of it across the land? Would it kindle a searching discussion on U.S.-China policy, would it be consumed in the polarization which had begun to infect U.S.-Vietnam policy discussions, or would the China dialogue merely fizzle and become another short period of talk to be recorded for some historical purpose?

Interestingly enough, these questions had been very much on the minds of the key organizers of the National Conference from the very inception of the idea for a conference. The organizers attempted to give direction to the ultimate answers by paying careful heed to whom the audience would be.

Most conferences in the McLuhan era focus their efforts on the press and the electronic media. So did the National Conference. And most conference organizers know that more press results from an impressive attendance. Such had been the case at the Berkeley conference the previous December. But, the organizers of the National Conference went beyond attention from the media when they decided to send out invitations. They saw the conference as a substantive, educational experience, a vehicle to stimulate and focus key, active individuals in a variety of places and occupations. In addition to the Senators and other dignitaries in Washington and New York, invitations were sent to leaders of local League of Women Voters Chapters, the AAUW, World Affairs Council, Church Councils of each major faith, and Union officials throughout the country. To bolster the invitation, scholarships were provided in the conference budget for people who could not afford all or part of the trip to Washington.

The result was that the sparks from the 800 people who attended the National Conference continued to show up here and there across the nation even after the press died down, and these sparks grew into campfire-size discussions needing more information and speakers.

Evidence of this was felt in the offices of the various sponsoring organizations and especially at the San Francisco AFSC where Cecil Thomas had resumed his post as Associate Peace Secretary, and to whom many were funneling press clippings, letters of appreciation and requests for help in setting up local conferences.

THE NEED FOR CONTINUITY: ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

Few could argue with the success of the April National China Conference, given its objective of raising the dialogue up to the national level. Response, as indicated, was overwhelmingly positive. But the conference organizers who wished to fuel the campfires of discussion were already beginning to feel frustration in the face of the many requests for assistance and information that followed. There was simply no immediate way the demand could be met. Over eight months of intensive activity had finally resurrected an issue effectively buried since the

Korean War. The focus now became how to prevent it from disappearing once again into that murky area of political untouchables.

In San Francisco, the regional AFSC office gave Cecil Thomas the mandate to explore the possibility of an on-going organization to continue the work begun by the National Conference. Over the summer of 1965, and into the fall, he began the long, painstaking process of collecting names, sounding them out one by one and collecting more names with each visit; going from office to office carrying an evergrowing pocket file of China clippings, names, titles, and affiliations. And as he went, he analyzed and reanalyzed his responses with other AFSC staff members, with Robert Mang, Northern California FCL Executive Secretary, and with other organizers of the two China conferences.

Emboldened by a widely reported announcement that the Ford Foundation had agreed to fund a United Nations Association panel to investigate and publish a report on China, the United Nations and U.S. policy, Thomas asked a small group of those individuals who had been most helpful in his organization of the national conference to meet on the question of forming a permanent national committee. On December 9, 1965, Robert Scalapino, Jack Gomperts, Doak Barnett, a China scholar then at Columbia University, William

Moran, Betty Goetz Lall, a Research Associate at Cornell and former Assistant to then Senator Hubert Humphrey, and Thomas, met at the Hotel Berkshire in New York City for more than four hours, analyzing once again the responses to Thomas' explorations since the conference. They worked out a general agreement on an appropriate means for proceeding and encouraged each other to continue, but, they could not agree that all the necessary elements had been pulled together to call for a national committee.

At this stage, the operational focus was very much on the West Coast, despite the meeting's locale in New York. A field office was envisioned for the East Coast, but the main organizational center was seen to be in California. It was there that possible though modest funding was visible from a financial community around Gomperts and Daniel Koshland, Chairman of Levi Strauss. The evident staff, Thomas and Pamela Mang, who had been working together on the China issue at the AFSC since the spring of 1965, was in San Francisco. The core academic support, represented by Scalapino, lived on the West Coast.

The group departed with an agreement to explore, as individuals, more concretely the formation of an on-going organization with other academics and organizational leaders around the country. Thomas was asked to schedule a follow-up

meeting as soon as new developments would justify.

In January, at a New York City luncheon hosted by Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and chairman of the National Policy Panel of the UNA, the exploratory group reconvened. Though minus Scalapino and Gomperts who were on the West Coast, there were several important additions: Johnson, Everett Case, President of the Sloan Foundation and former China hand, Benjamin Bittenweiser, Limited Partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Co.; David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary of the National Council of Churches; Robert Gilmore, President of the Center for War/Peace Studies; Eustace Seligman, Partner for Sullivan and Cromwell, and Carl Stover. The impact of the new participants was to shift the weight of potential support from the West to the East Coast. They introduced, for the first time in any significant way, an indication of serious interest from the more substantial business, foundation and organizational communities on the Atlantic Seaboard.

The group reached formal agreement that a national committee was needed to meet the perceived demand for unbiased information on U.S.-China relations and should be organized. To this end, a steering committee of Gilmore, Lall, Moran and Stover was appointed to work with Thomas to 1) gather appropriate names for an "Organizing Group"

who would sponsor an invitation to others; 2) draft a statement of purpose, a general program description, and the membership invitation letter; and 3) draw up a list of invitees to founding membership in a National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. The invitees, it was agreed, should span a broad cross section of prominent leaders throughout the nation.

With confidence that the response would probably justify at the least a modest financial support for the effort, Thomas, back in California, approached the Mangs about moving to New York to open the National Committee office there. They agreed and the three began work on the Statement of Purpose and program proposals, with extensive assistance from Scalapino, who had agreed to sign the letter of invitation. The final draft of the Statement of Purpose was hammered out in the small hours of the morning in a New York hotel room where Scalapino, Barnett, Thomas and one or two others caroted in the final adjectives and qualifications, dotted the i's and crossed the final t's.

By April, the Organizing Group had been pulled together and had approved the materials for mailing to a list of about 100 names selected to represent a geographical, professional and political cross section. On April 14, the material went out with Scalapino's letter on behalf of the

group, inviting the recipient to join in forming a national committee on U.S.-China Relations, "an ad-hoc committee to increase the quantity and quality of education and discussion on this important question."

Replies came quickly and even more positively than expected. The original letter described plans for a national committee of from 50 to 60 people. Within two months, sixty from the original list had signed on, and plans were made for the first membership meeting and for a national press conference announcing the formation of the committee, both to be held June 9 in New York City.

Simultaneous to these developments, Senator Fulbright had announced and held widely publicized hearings on U.S.-China policy. Most of the witnesses called to testify were China specialists who would later become members of the Board of Directors of the National Committee, including Robert Scalapino, Doak Barnett, John K. Fairbank, Dean of the China Watchers from Harvard, and Alexander Eckstein, the Senior U.S. authority on China's economy from the University of Michigan.

On June 7, Thomas and Mang flew to New York to begin preparations, including a frenzied distribution of invitations to the press conference. At a late night meeting on June 8 at the Biltmore Hotel, Scalapino, Stover

Gilmore, Thomas and Mang met to formulate the recommendations to be presented to the membership meeting the next morning. On the morning of June 9, the organizing meeting of the National Committee membership was held in the Directors' Room of the Sloan Foundation with Scalapino, Gilmore, Stover, Hunter, Barnett, Case, Claude Buss, a Stanford University China scholar, Gomperts, Thomas and Mang.

A Development Committee was appointed as the formal body to act for the membership in the interim of processing incorporation and until a permanent policy and working structure could be established. A membership policy was formulated which called for an annual membership meeting in accord with New York corporate law requirements, and for the utilization of individual members' assistance with specific programs and fund raising. Actual operations and staff supervision were to be overseen by a small executive committee.

Scalapino was appointed Chairman, David Hunter was to become the Vice-Chairman, Robert Gilmore, the Secretary, and Carl Stover, the Treasurer. Cecil Thomas was asked to be the Executive Director to begin in September following his return from a trip to Japan. Robert Mang was formally hired as Program Director, with the authority to set up the

New York office and to begin to assemble staff and program as soon as feasible. Pamela Mang was named Information Officer and charged with the coordination and assemblage of educational materials and speakers lists.

That afternoon, at an international press conference, Robert Scalapino, David Hunter and Carl Stover announced the formation of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations to the press and, as evidenced by the response from across the nation and abroad, to the world.

ORGANIZATIONAL POLICY

Decisions about four vital aspects of the Committee policy dominated the focus of the Executive Committee and staff in this period, and were probably the most important internal decisions relating to the Committee's ultimate acceptance as the major organization, among citizen's groups, in the China field. These decisions related to questions of advocacy, membership, resources, and staff.

The purpose of the Committee was to inform and to expose different viewpoints, but underlying all was the desire to legitimize a general concern that U.S.-China policy was inadequate to our needs as a nation and to the needs of the world.

There was little question, almost from the beginning, that the Committee would avoid policy positions. Two circumstances seemed to dictate this. First, the founding staff members, without exception, and most of the original organizing group, favored a change in policy leading to a "normalization" of relations with the People's Republic of China. They saw the efforts of a successful national committee as paving the way to this end. However, a "successful" national committee presupposed, in the eyes of its founders, a broad-based, truly national committee whose membership carried the weight of prestige and provided an atmosphere of rationality if not objectivity. To assemble such a group around as volatile an issue as China was, in and of itself, a difficult proposition; to bring these diverse people together around a set of policy statements was judged an impossibility. Even the Organizing Group's cohesiveness would probably have fallen apart if any attempt had been made to achieve specific policy recommendations. Moreover, there was faith in the idea that the truth will out, if only the truth can be exposed and heard.

The second determining factor was the focus chosen by the organizers for the committee's efforts. In simple terms, it had been decided that the committee would

aim its program at two types of audiences: 1) the general public; and 2) policy and public opinion leaders, with emphasis decidedly on the latter group. The response of such groups as the League of Women Voters and the AAUW to the National China Conference left little doubt about the interest and approachability of the public. The decided non-response from government leaders, plus such factors as the continued existence of the Committee of One Million, indicated a quite different situation among opinion leaders. To the National Committee organizers, the task was to make discussions of rapprochement with China politically respectable. Their answer was a Committee which could present such discussion in the form of a balanced dialogue between differing but informed specialists and firsthand observers of China, sponsored by an impeccably neutral group.

The decision for non-advocacy was integrally tied to the desire for balance and diversity among the committee membership, a central objective from the very first days of Thomas' explorations in the summer of 1965. If the Committee's membership could be impeached for narrowness or bias, it could easily be set aside by the many who had powerfully resisted a dialogue on China for seventeen years. It is no coincidence that the first sentence of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations' proposal to the Ford Foundation

described the Committee as a "group of prominent Americans, representative of industry, the academic world, the professions, labor, the churches, and of the nation's major geographic areas." The Committee's major, if not only, claim to legitimacy, as a new organization in a highly controversial field, was the respectability and the widely representative nature of its membership list. Without a roster that included a credible political spectrum, the Committee's claims to neutrality were open to challenge; without a position of non-advocacy, such a spectrum was unlikely to be obtained.

It should be noted that "broad political spectrum" was never meant to include those on the extreme right or left. (As can be imagined, some interesting discussions took place on where one draws the line.) This was dictated by the conclusion that neither the Committee's proposed audience of opinion and policy makers, nor its proposed list of prestigious members, would be comfortable with members of either political extreme. It was felt that to ask people who were jealous of their reputations to stand out on a controversial issue was the limit of what could be asked successfully. The fact that membership was invitational provided control. (Although, William Rusher, publisher of the National Review, did take it upon himself to

test the Committee's neutrality by inviting the Committee to invite him on.) And, an early stated policy of excluding anyone too prominently battle scarred from the McCarthy era, or connected to a China lobby group, served as the means for eliminating the extremes and, necessarily, some very fine people. Elected public officials were also barred from membership in order to avoid showing political preference and to avoid being affected by the vicissitudes of political popularity.

Another limiting factor, also dictated by necessity, was the issue of Vietnam, still new but rapidly polarizing scholars and the public. Perhaps because the staff and Scalapino were, from before their Committee association, on opposite sides of the Vietnam issue, it was clear from early on that a "gentleman's agreement" not to use China to argue about Vietnam was essential. This also led to the exclusion from potential membership of any non-specialist who had become too publicly tied to a strong position on Vietnam.

(Dr. Spock being one example.)

The importance here was not the issue of Vietnam -- it could have been Republican Spain or the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, depending on the era -- but that it was seen as essential to steer as clear as possible of any extraneous controversial issues that could cloud the focus and cause

disharmony within the Committee ranks. The organizers agreed to this unanimously, and successfully maintained the discipline of it throughout.

Finally on the issue of membership, it must not be forgotten that for all of the men and women who signed the committee roster, but particularly for those in the China field, the blight of the McCarthy years was a vivid memory. Though rarely, if ever, mentioned openly, it is difficult to believe that some thought of what such a list would have meant to their careers fifteen years before did not cross their minds as they each made their decision to join. If, at times, a certain paranoia seemed to creep into the evaluation and re-evaluation of every name proposed for membership, of every statement and publication going out in the Committee's name, it was understandable in light of this unhappy heritage. On the positive side, however, this extra caution, which might otherwise not have existed to such a degree, was an important daily discipline for maintaining an unassailably neutral posture.

Once beyond the initial stage of acceptance, a major component of the Committee's claim to legitimacy became its careful co-option of virtually the entire community of non-government China Watchers. The whole array of scholars at the major China study centers at Harvard and

Columbia Universities and the Universities of Michigan and California at Berkeley, plus individual China scholars from Stanford, Yale and the American Universities and the Universities of Washington, South Carolina, Indiana, Wisconsin and others, whether members or not, were always willing to assist and participate in National Committee programs. Visitors to China who then came to the United States also were invariably eager to participate in Committee sponsored programs. Their participation, scholars and visitors, without exception collectively or individually, reinforced the National Committee's central role and neutral stance. They, as specialists, were free and even encouraged to state their views, to criticize, to support, to recommend policy and to disagree on information. This was possible because they were willing to be contradicted by their peers whom the Committee would invite to the same or subsequent meeting to balance their views. They were asked by the Committee because they were informed and, because of their background and training, their approach would be analytical, rather than polemical, all of which gave further credence to the Committee's ability to provide substance and disagreement, balance and rationality, without taking sides. It was a symbiotic affair, delicate but mutually advantageous.

The goals of non-advocacy and a balanced membership also affected the selection of staff. It is important perhaps to note that Scalapino, Stover, Thomas and Mang had all known each other and had worked together on other much smaller projects in the Bay Area dating back to 1963. There was a basis for trust based on the kind of judgment each had displayed to the other over the years. The staff had worked with the Organizing Group, and Scalapino in particular, from the very inception of the committee idea. They had participated in the formulation of these decisions and knew the vital importance of the Committee's principles from the beginning. Until the Committee took on a publicly defined shape, a mutual confidence and trust among organizing members and staff that each knew what needed to be done and how to do it, was almost essential.

IN THE INCUBATOR

The news response to the June 9 press conference could hardly have been more encouraging. Additional encouragement came a few weeks later with the news of the first concrete financial backing. A luncheon meeting of West Coast businessmen in San Francisco sponsored by Jack Gomperts and Daniel Koshland, pledged to raise \$12,500.00 as seed money for the Committee.

On July 15, the Mangs arrived in New York; on August 1, the first office of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations was opened in temporary space in the 12th floor library of the Church Center for the United Nations Building at 777 United Nations Plaza. On August 2, the National Committee was incorporated as a non-profit, non-partisan, educational organization in the State of New York. The Chinese Cultural Revolution was just getting under way and American curiosity about China was on the rise. Officially, the Committee had arrived. In reality, the work had just begun.

In contrast to the public's view of the Committee's strength was the view from the Committee's staff. Opening up letters requesting program assistance from as far away as Alaska while sitting in an improvised office where paper clips and rubber bands were bought a dozen at a time and correspondence was typed on a Baby Hermes portable, it was difficult not to seem somewhat fly-by-night. The sense of permanency increased greatly the day the xerox machine was installed, followed shortly by Pat Lang, the Committee's first secretary.

The importance of the Xerox, apart from improving staff psyches, lay in the need for constant communication with the Executive Committee members about the By-Laws and

the program and funding proposals being prepared for foundations and for the first Board of Directors meeting to take place on September 9. At that meeting, the By-Laws were adopted. At a second meeting on November 4, 1966, the Board of Directors formally replaced the Development Committee and elected several new members to the National Committee, to bring the total membership at that date to 90 persons.

FUNDING AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Aside from the \$12,500.00 pledge from the West Coast business contingent, part of which had begun to come in by August, the only other assurance of funds was a "moral commitment" by the Development Committee to guarantee Robert Mang's salary for a year. Though budgeted, neither Cecil Thomas, who was still technically employed by the AFSC in San Francisco and commuting to New York, nor Pamela Mang were certain of being paid.

Three budgets, a bare bones minimum, an intermediate and a full budget had been carefully drawn but there was no certainty that the money could be raised. Carl Stover, as Treasurer, and Robert Scalapino, as Chairman, took on the job of procuring long term funding while Cecil Thomas raised seed-money for the start-up period. Starting with individuals who had contributed to the China conference and with members

of the Development Committee, Thomas kept the Committee abreast of its bills. Then in October his labor began to pay off. The Sloan Foundation, through the efforts of its president, Everett Case, issued a one-time officers' grant of \$10,000.00, and the Hans Huber Foundation, a small New Jersey family philanthropy, aided with about \$2,500.00 more.

Meanwhile, Scalapino, Stover and R. Mang prepared a major prospectus on the Committee for presentation to the Ford and Carnegie Foundations and the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund. Following a series of meetings and follow-up work by staff, all three foundations, through their officers, gave encouragement to the Committee but indicated that it would take some time to process the applications.

To tide the Committee through the interim, an officer handling the request for the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund suggested that John D. Rockefeller III would be willing to make a personal gift of \$20,000.00. Scalapino met Rockefeller and the gift followed with dispatch. The staff breathed a sigh of relief and, in October, the Committee signed an office lease and moved to permanent quarters on the 7th floor of the same building.

Sometime in September of 1966, in a most fortuitous conversation with a friend who worked with the Quaker

Mission to the United Nations, Mang learned that the Christopher Reynolds Foundation had selected China for its area of concentration. Following an interview and a formal request from the National Committee, the Christopher Reynolds' Board of Directors made a nearly total commitment of its annual income to support the National Committee's seminar programs. The Christopher Reynolds' support was to continue for several years, the significance of which can be seen in the National Committee's seminar programs for Foundation officials, Washington officials and Assistants and Journalists.

In early November, the Committee learned that the Carnegie Foundation did not feel the Committee's program fit that Foundation's focus of educational interest. But, by the end of the year 1966, the temporary depression had given way to the news that the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund had both approved the Committee's request for general purpose grants to span three years at the level of \$250,000.00 per year, the Ford Foundation granting a total of \$450,000.00 and the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund a total of \$300,000.00.

Six months after announcing its existence, the National Committee had achieved enough economic stability to turn to its real task, the development of an educational

program.* The preliminaries were finished; at the beginning of 1967, the substance could begin.

Perhaps it is appropriate to conclude here with the words that introduced the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations program prospectus from that period:

"To fulfill its goals, the National Committee must reach all segments of American society -- from the layman, through the specialist, to the policy maker. It must also keep abreast of continuing developments in China, tap the best available sources of knowledge, and forge enduring links between appropriate national organizations, information outlets, secondary and higher educational institutions, American China specialists, and those abroad."

*A summary of the Committee's program in its first two years, prepared in May 1968 for the Membership Meeting that year, follows. The initial program proposal from staff to the Board of Directors at their meeting, September 9, 1966, is included in the appendix.

National Committee on United States-China Relations, Inc.

PROGRAM SUMMARY

1967-68

INTRODUCTION

In March 1967 the National Committee set forth two program goals for its first year:

- 1) "to reach all segments of American society -- from the layman, through the specialist, to the policy maker," and
- 2) "to forge enduring links between appropriate national organizations, information outlets, secondary and higher educational institutions, American China specialists, and those abroad."

The Committee proposed to do this through a three-dimensional education program: by bringing "American community leaders and China specialists together; initiating information programs for the general public; and assisting ... in the development of secondary school curricula." The first program priority became the widespread development of professional and community leaders seminars.

This report surveys the National Committee's achievements toward these goals between March 1967 and April 1968. It also projects some of the programs which the National Committee will be pursuing in its second program year.

To Reach All Segments of the Society ... and Forge Enduring Links

In the last year the National Committee has organized numerous seminars, successful in scope and substance beyond expectations. Through its scholar-members, the Committee has also met a number of times with the top policy makers in the United States, including the President. It has established strong and frequent channels of direct contact with the major international relations organizations in the United States: the United Nations, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association. The Committee has laid a solid foundation for its information and curriculum program. Through its efforts, the Committee discovered a tremendous demand in every level of the society -- from policy maker to housewife.

The Seminar Program has brought laymen and China Committee experts into discussion with a number of the leading China journalists in Asia: Harald Munthe-Kaas, Mark Gayn, Kazuma Egashira, Stanley Karnow, Mineo Nakajima, Takeo Takagi and Hirokazu Hatano, as well as with Japanese National Diet Member and leading businessman, Hajime Fukuda, who participated in the negotiations of the Japan-China trade agreement of 1966.

Similarly, the Committee has arranged for leading American China scholars -- A. Doak Barnett, Alexander

Eckstein, John K. Fairbank, John M. H. Lindbeck, Edwin O. Reischauer, Robert A. Scalapino and George Taylor -- to meet with professional and community leaders throughout the nation. The Committee has also arranged for the world's foremost experts on China to meet with New York foundation officials; Boston aerospace executives; journalists from around the nation gathering at Harvard, Michigan, Atlanta and Washington, D.C.; Democratic and Republican members of the House and Senate and their assistants; and other major policy advisors in Washington as well as important international organizational leaders in the United States. Through the Committee's efforts such leaders have been able to discuss in an informal and unemotional atmosphere the most pressing questions surrounding the China enigma. Ongoing seminars have continued throughout the year in New York and Washington; special seminar meetings have been held on two or more occasions in Atlanta, Boston, Houston, Louisville and San Francisco; and seminar meetings with important community leaders have been held in Anaheim, Ann Arbor, Baltimore, Berkeley, Birmingham, Chicago, Columbia (S.C.), Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Louisville, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Petersburg, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, and Seattle.

The Committee has assisted in program planning and in securing speakers and providing materials to numerous groups

including: Association of University Women, Associated Press, CBS, Chelsea House Publishers, China Institute in America, CIRUNA, Council on Foreign Relations, local Committees on Foreign Relations, League of Women Voters, National Council of Churches, N.E.T., National Student Association, *New York Times*, Public Broadcast Laboratory, United Nations Association, and many universities throughout the country.

The tremendous demand for information and educational materials for study groups and classrooms has prompted the National Committee to investigate systematically the range and quality of available films, tapes, publications, and speakers. To meet this demand further, the Committee has initiated a clearinghouse of information on China activities, films and publications for use by organizations in international affairs, the communications industry and the educational community.

The knowledge gained in the past year and the growth of an experienced staff have convinced the National Committee that each of these programs needs to be continued. The National Committee recognizes with far greater awareness the tremendous thirst for knowledge about China in this country. Therefore, the Committee proposes in the next twelve months to intensify its work in the seminar and information programs and to expand into new program areas. The following is a detailed report.

SEMINAR PROGRAMS AND MEETINGS

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

The National Committee seminar program was established to provide a more thorough understanding of China's role in the world by business, labor, religious, professional and academic leaders in the United States. A seminar program for leaders with a related professional interest commenced in April 1967 with a series for foundation officials. At the invitation of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation and with the assistance of Joseph Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the National Committee organized the first seminar for foundation officials in New York City. Other professional groups, from journalists to aerospace executives, have been gathered for intensive seminar discussions on China.*

To lay the groundwork for another seminar program, for community leaders in various parts of the country, Robert A. Scalapino, National Committee Chairman and Cecil A. Thomas, the Executive Director, flew to the Far East to visit Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan in August, 1967. They met with a number of government leaders, businessmen, scholars and

*A complete listing of each seminar can be found in Appendix B.

journalists to explore possibilities for participation in the National Committee's seminar program.

In Hong Kong, Scalapino and Thomas met Harald Munthe-Kaas, a Norwegian journalist of some years' experience in China -- first as a student at Peking University; then as an Assistant Editor of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*; and most recently as the Scandinavian News Agency Correspondent in Peking. In January 1968, Munthe-Kaas came to the United States under the National Committee's auspices to help launch the Community Leaders Seminars program. In an intensive seven-week tour throughout the United States, he addressed more than seventy-five groups of the community leaders in twenty-seven major cities.*

In the past year the National Committee Seminar Program has been coordinated by Elinor Bacon, Program Associate for Seminar Development, and the responsibility for the ongoing Washington seminars belongs to Sheppie Abramowitz who serves the National Committee part time as its Washington Representative.

*See Appendix C.

MEETINGS WITH POLICY MAKERS

The high point of the year's meetings with policy makers occurred in February 1968, when six scholar-members of the Committee, the Committee Treasurer and the Executive Director met for forty-five minutes with President Lyndon Johnson to discuss United States-China relations and possible American policy alternatives. The delegation consisted of scholars A. Doak Barnett, Alexander Eckstein, Lucian Pye, Edwin O. Reischauer, Robert A. Scalapino and George Taylor; Treasurer, Carl F. Stover; and Executive Director, Cecil A. Thomas. The President expressed a desire to keep in close touch with the Committee and to have further substantive discussions. The Presidential briefing was the outcome of a suggestion by Vice President Humphrey a year earlier that the Committee investigate such a meeting at some future date.

The meeting with Vice President Humphrey was among the first of a number of meetings between individual leaders in Washington, D.C. and a National Committee delegation. The other nationally known leaders include: Senators Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader; Thomas H. Kuchel, Minority Whip; J. William Fulbright, Chairman, the Foreign Relations Committee; William Proxmire, Chairman, the Joint Economic Committee; and Jacob Javits of New York. The delegation,

consisting of Robert A. Scalapino, Chairman; Carl F. Stover; Cecil A. Thomas; and Robert A. Mang, Program Director, acquainted each with the National Committee's purposes and program plans. The response from each of the leaders was most enthusiastic.

In August 1967, Senator Charles Percy asked the National Committee for a China briefing. The Committee brought together scholar-members A. Doak Barnett, Harold Hinton and Mark Mancall for the meeting. Carl F. Stover and Robert A. Mang were also present.

Other informational briefings took place between Harald Munthe-Kaas and President Johnson's chief foreign policy advisors: Walt Rostow, Special Assistant, National Security Council and Alfred Jenkins, his advisor on East Asia. Mr. Munthe-Kaas also met with some twenty-three officers of the Department of State, including William Bundy, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and Ambassador Samuel D. Berger, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Other leaders in Washington who met with Harald Munthe-Kaas include: Senators Clifford Case, John Sherman Cooper, Peter H. Dominick, J. William Fulbright, Edmund S. Muskie, and Charles Percy; and Lawrence A. Fox, Director, Bureau of International Commerce, U.S. Department of Commerce. Munthe-Kaas also saw major journalists around the country including the foreign news editors of TIME and *Newsweek*; James Reston, Associate Editor; Harrison Salisbury,

Assistant Managing Editor and Seymour Topping, Foreign News Editor, *The New York Times*; Philip Foisie, Foreign Editor, *Washington Post*; James Bassett, Editorial Page Director, *Los Angeles Times* and his editorial page staff; Marvin Kalb, CBS Diplomatic Correspondent in Washington; and Joseph Kraft, political columnist in the *Washington Post*. International affairs leaders in the United States include Joseph Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; George Franklin, Executive Secretary of the New York Council on Foreign Relations; John Stoessinger, Director of the Political and Security Affairs Division of the United Nations; Ismat Kittani, Principal Officer, Executive Office of the United Nations Secretary General; and Jay Lovestone, Head of International Affairs Department of the AFL/CIO.

Similar arrangements were made for Mark Gayn and Kazuma Egashira, each of whom briefed some of the same policy makers in Washington.

PUBLIC BRIEFINGS THROUGH MASS MEDIA

A new National Committee program which will attempt to cultivate interest in China among the mass media -- from the television networks to educational film makers -- is scheduled to commence in the latter part of 1968. A large part of the impetus for this more formalized program has come through several demands which have been realized in the past year and through other developments in the media which have emanated from the Committee's other program activities:

1) An educational film maker, Chelsea House Publishing Company, has recently sought out the National Committee's consultation on a China film for secondary schools and college classrooms. The Committee has been able to respond only in a limited manner, but some help has been effected.

2) Doubleday Publishing Company solicited the National Committee's help in finding a China specialist who has recently traveled on the Mainland to edit thirteen hours of film footage that Doubleday had recently obtained from Japanese sources. The Committee arranged for Doubleday to retain Harald Munthe-Kaas for the purpose of narrating and editing a series of half hour films from the mass of footage.

3) On April 10, 1968, the Today Show on nationwide NBC television, at the request of the National Committee, featured Harald Munthe-Kaas on "China Briefing for the Ameri-

can Public." According to the producers of the program and confirmed by the moderator, Mr. Hugh Downs, Mr. Munthe-Kaas was able to impress twenty million people with the problems now facing the leaders of China's government on the Mainland

4) Throughout the year 1967 and in the first part of 1968 that this report covers, there have been numerous occasions on which the National Committee has been asked, and, thus, has recommended or supplied experts for local television news and discussion programs. These have ranged from the NET "China Briefing" program, which emanated for several months from New York City, to numerous press conferences which sprang up around the eventful national tour that Harald Munthe-Kaas made for the National Committee.

5) From a nationwide press conference which included China scholars A. Doak Barnett, Alexander Eckstein, John K. Fairbank, Ralph L. Powell, Lucian Pye, Edwin O. Reischauer, Robert A. Scalapino, and Committee treasurer Carl Stover -- and from the several journalists seminars organized by the National Committee there has been a marked increase in background articles on China in numerous newspapers and leading national magazines. Several scores of these articles have taken note of the National Committee's service to them -- both in editorials and in articles describing the Committee's activities and informational assistance. The UPI has frequently called upon the Committee for information in connection with its background service. Two nationally televised programs featuring China and China

watching, respectively on CBS and ABC, and two southern regional television programs, -- all -- have emanated directly from the National Committee's journalists seminars.

SEMINAR PROJECTION FOR 1968-1969

The Seminar Program will continue to be the main emphasis of the National Committee's effort to encourage study of China and discussion of United States-China relations among community leaders and professional groups.

Continuation of Community Leaders Seminars

Although its original objective of legitimizing the discussion of China has been realized through meetings with key leaders in more than twenty-five cities, the National Committee will continue to encourage both *ad hoc* and established groups -- such as Committees on Foreign Relations and World Affairs Councils -- to hold meetings on China. The enthusiastic response to the Committee's initial efforts indicates the communities' agreement.

For the rest of 1968, the National Committee plans to invite one or more European or Japanese businessmen who are engaged in trading with China to share their experiences and observations with American community leaders.

New Professional Groups

In addition to the Professional Seminar Programs for foundation executives, Senatorial Assistants, and Washington international affairs correspondents, the National Committee

is exploring the development of seminars for leaders in other professions such as labor, business executives, the military, the bar and in systems corporations.

In addition to maintaining contact with the national journalists the Committee has met through its seminars to date; these same have encouraged the Committee to extend its program to their colleagues in other parts of the country. There are tentative plans for a two-day conference for the Southwestern press, to be held in Southern California, and for another one, possibly in Seattle, for the Northwestern press.

INFORMATION PROGRAM

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

The volume of requests reaching the Committee for informational materials, curriculum aids, films, tapes and speakers, has oriented a part of the Committee's work toward the development of materials and lay information services on China. In its role as a catalyst between the experts and the various institutional channels of information, the National Committee has attempted for the most part to fill the gaps by stimulating other organizations to initiate programs. In some cases where no other suitable institution was available, the Committee has set up projects designed to help others undertake new programs of their own. The Information Program was developed by Pamela Mang who left the staff to resume her studies at Columbia University in September 1967. Her responsibilities, which have been expanded as described, were assumed by one full time and two part time Program Assistants, respectively Patti Hagan, Karen Burke and Arlene Posner.

PUBLICATIONS

First under the coordination of Pamela Mang and now under Patti Hagan, Program Assistant for Information and Research, the National Committee has developed the following publications and services related to China:

An Annotated Guide to Modern China.

Published in April, 1967, the guide is a basic layman's bibliography describing 72 books, pamphlets, and periodicals covering topics of major importance on China. The guide presents a broad range of viewpoints on United States-China relations and is in great demand by schools, universities, journalists and individuals interested in reading about China.

The China Clearinghouse.

A monthly Committee publication launched in August 1967 to keep interested organizations abreast of current programs, films, tapes, lectures and books released on China, the *Clearinghouse* serves as a highly useful informational channel for the groups involved, as well as a forum for exchange of ideas on China developments and projects. The list of participants has grown enormously over the past eight months, largely through the requests of seminar participants and secondary school social studies project leaders.

China Resource Booklet.

A concise, authoritative handbook for journalists, teachers, and laymen will provide a quick factual reference guide on China. Included will be chronologies, maps, statistical, political, economic and biographical information, a glossary of selected historical and Chinese terms, and systems of romanizing Chinese characters.

*United States Government Statements on China: 1949-1968 --
A Chronology.*

The chronology traces the evolution of the United States policy toward China since 1949, with reference to specific events, such as the Korean War, off-shore islands crisis over Amoy and Matsu, and the Ambassadorial Talks in Warsaw. The chronology represents a record of the most significant official government statements on China since 1949.

Information Mailings.

In November the National Committee compiled a packet on the Cultural Revolution consisting of a series of articles by Japanese correspondents recently expelled from Peking, Minoru Shibata, Tadao Ishikawa and Kazuma Egashira; articles by Stanley Karnow, *Washington Post* Hong Kong Bureau Chief, and Robert S. Elegant, *Los Angeles Times* Hong Kong Correspondent.

Also in November, at the time of the annual China representation question at the United Nations, the National Committee compiled a second mailing on China and the United Nations

consisting of the Second Report of a National Policy Panel established by the UNA/USA "China, the United Nations and United States Policy"; "The UNA Panel Report: A Comment" by George Taylor; "Communist China's Changing Attitudes Toward the United Nations" by Byron S. Weng; the November 1966 statements by the Ambassadors to the United Nations from France and Cambodia supporting the seating of the People's Republic of China; the September 1967 statement of Dr. Walter Judd of the Committee of One Million opposing the entry of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations; the official statement of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of China to the United Nations; an official statement of the People's Republic of China by Foreign Minister Chen Yi made in September, 1965; and two charts -- one by Professor Urban Whitaker showing possible solutions for the China-United Nations impasse, the other put out by the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament illustrating the history of the United Nations-China vote.

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

China Conversations.

The National Committee is preparing a sequence of taped conversations with China experts and scholars to form the nucleus of a Committee tape library for use on a loan basis by schools and educational groups. Arlene Posner, Program Assistant for Audio-Visual Materials, is organizing these

conversations, which are aimed at covering areas not now easily available on tape.

The completed tapes include "Chinese Foreign Policy Toward the Third World" with Robert A. Scalapino; "The Cultural Revolution" with Donald Klein interviewing Harald Munthe-Kaas; "United States-China Relations" with George Taylor; "Education in China" with Myra Roper; "Major Trends in Modern Chinese History" with O. Edmund Clubb; "Political Control and Social Reorganization" and "United States-China Relations" both with A. Doak Barnett; "Economic and Industrial Growth" with Alexander Eckstein; "Examinations of China's Military Pattern" with Ralph Powell; "China's Historical Relations with Southeast Asia" with Claude A. Buss; "The Sino-Soviet Conflict" with Donald A. Zagoria; and "China's Nuclear Power" with Alice Langley Hsieh.

The Committee is inviting recognized China scholars John K. Fairbank, Harold Hinton, David Mozingo, Dwight Perkins, Lucian W. Pye, Edwin O. Reischauer, John Stoessinger, James C. Thomson, Richard Walker, and Ezra Vogel to complete the tape series on the following topics: "Definition of Our China Problem and Discussion of Traditional Chinese Society"; "Chinese Foreign Policy in Asia"; "China and the United Nations"; "Ideology and Politics in China"; "Geo-political Conflicts of Interest between China and Japan" and "Social Reorganization."

An Annotated Guide to China Films and Tapes.

The guide is a Committee publication, being prepared by Arlene Posner, with the help of Columbia University Field Staff member, Stephen Andors. It is a selective guide to available audio-visual materials on China.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

At the conclusion of an intensive three-month survey and evaluation of China information and assistance available to secondary school teachers, the National Committee convened a small meeting of China and secondary school curriculum experts in January 1968 to advise on curriculum program needs in secondary schools. The participants concluded that three broad areas need development:

- 1) More accurate, more carefully prepared curriculum materials, probably in unit form, are essential. To this end, the National Committee is preparing a critical bibliography of the materials currently available. Karen Burke, Program Assistant for Curriculum Information, has brought together a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Richard Kagan to prepare *A Critical Bibliography on China Curriculum Materials*. The committee includes Philip West, a member of the Harvard Field Staff and several teachers in the Boston area. The bibliography will feature evaluations of available

curriculum units on China with recommendations for supplementary materials and is intended to fill a long neglected need in secondary school social studies.

2) China training institutes, through universities, should exist to provide secondary school teachers with an intensive substantive orientation in order to prepare them for using the curriculum materials. There is also need to institutionalize similar programs in Colleges of Education in order to train future teachers.

3) An ongoing national resource service center (or regional centers) where specialized information, materials, resources and ideas related to teaching China in secondary schools can be obtained would be valuable. Such a national center has been established quite usefully at Choate School for Russian secondary school studies. Based on the Choate model, the center would also provide cross-communication between teachers and scholars on substance and among teachers on new ideas, techniques, etc.

The National Committee's catalytic role in China program development is highly complementary to these curriculum needs. For the present, there is no need for an expansion of the Committee's program, but the focus will concentrate more on bringing teachers and China scholars together with other organizations and stimulating them to take on more responsibility for the fulfillment of these needs.

Journalists

National Journalists Seminar

July 13-15, 1967

East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, Cambridge

"The Cultural Revolution," Ellis Joffe

"Social Control and Rural Life," Ezra Vogel, Edward Chen

"China and the U.S.," John K. Fairbank

"The Government and Politics of China," Donald Klein

"China's Foreign Policy," A.M. Halpern

"Contemporary Mainland China," John K. Fairbank, Edwin O.

Reischauer, Dwight Perkins, Ezra Vogel, A.M. Halpern

"Reporting and Interpreting China," Frank McCulloch

"American China Policy," James C. Thomson, Jr.

China Seminar for Southern Journalists

February 29-March 2, 1968

Atlanta

"The Cultural Revolution," Richard Solomon

"China, A First Hand View," Mark Gayn

"Social Change and Communist Power," Roy Hofheinz

"Public Health Developments in China," Dr. Kenneth Thomson

"The Cultural Revolution and the Army," Jürgen Domes

"Development of China's Foreign Policy," Harold Hinton

"China's Economic Development and Military Potential,"

Dwight Perkins

"The Nature of CCP Social Control," Richard Walker

"China in Historical Perspective," Robert A. Scalapino

"Problems Facing the Western Journalist Reporting from Hong Kong," Loren Fessler

"Communicating About China: An Exchange on Problems Confronting Scholars and Journalists," Round Table chaired by Donald Klein

"United States-China Relations: Present Problems and Future Prospects," Paul Kreisberg

Differing Perspectives on Communist China

March 29, 1968

Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Robert A. Scalapino, Chairman, with a panel of correspondents from abroad.

Panelists:

Kazuma Egashira, Mainichi Daily News

Stanislas Glambinski, Polish News Agency

Stanley Karnow, Hong Kong Bureau Chief of the Washington Post

Bernard Ullman, Agence France Presse

Co-sponsored with the Center for Chinese Studies in connection with its National Press Institute on China, March 27-29, 1968

Senatorial Assistants -- Washington, D.C. -- 11 meetings

May 25, 1967

"The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"

Richard Solomon

June 29, 1967

"Sino-Soviet Relations"

David Mozingo

August 1, 1967

"China's Relations with Other Asian Nations"

A. M. Halpern, Mark Mancall

September 12, 1967

"China and the U.N."

Urban Whitaker

October 11, 1967

"U.S.-China Relations"

Roger Hilsman

October 17, 1967

"Science and Technology in China"

C.H.G. Oldham

February 1, 1967

"The Cultural Revolution"

Harald Munthe-Kaas

March 12, 1968

"Mao Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution"

Mark Gayn

March 13, 1968

"China's Economic Development and Military Potential"

Dwight Perkins

April 8, 1968

Kazuma Egashira

May 7, 1968

"An Analysis of the Chinese Communist Army: A View
from Taiwan"

Lt. Gen. Wang Sheng and Professor Cheng Hsueh-chia

June 11, 1968 (scheduled)

"Chinese Intellectual History"

Joseph Levenson

China Briefing with National Correspondents I
April 10, 1967
Washington, D.C.
Meeting with Japanese Journalists

China Briefing with National Correspondents II
January 31, 1968
Washington, D.C.
Harald Munthe-Kaas

China Briefing with National Correspondents III
February 28, 1968
Washington, D.C.
Mark Gayn

China Briefing with National Correspondents IV
April 3, 1968
Washington, D.C.
Stanley Karnow

Organizational Leaders -- Washington, D.C.

November 16, 1967
"Chinese Economic Development: Problems and Prospects"
Dick Wilson

February 1, 1968
"The Cultural Revolution"
Harald Munthe-Kaas

Baltimore

February 13, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
35 faculty and graduate students at Johns Hopkins University

Berkeley

January 17, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
Center for Chinese Studies Colloquium

March 25, 1968
Kazuma Egashira
Meeting with Professors, Center for Chinese Studies
University of California

Birmingham

January 9, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
37 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Cambridge

February 9, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
East Asian Research Center faculty, graduate students

April 2, 1968
Kazuma Egashira
East Asian Research Center faculty, graduate students

Chicago

January 26, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
30 board members of the Council on Foreign Relations

April 10, 1968
Kazuma Egashira
Meeting with professors and students at University of Chicago

Columbia, S.C.

January 11, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
25 media and business leaders
30 professional leaders: doctors, lawyers, etc.

SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY LEADERS SEMINARS

Community Leaders Seminars were formed to bring together China experts and establishment leaders to discuss vital questions concerning China. The following is a list of seminars held in various major metropolitan areas:

Anaheim

January 19, 1968

"The Current Situation in China"

Robert A. Scalapino, Edward E. Rice, Harald Munthe-Kaas
450 members of the Orange County World Affairs Council

Ann Arbor

January 27, 1968

"The Current Situation in China"

Harald Munthe-Kaas

10 business leaders from the community

January 29, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

200 faculty and students from the University of Michigan

April 1, 1968

Kazuma Egashira

Meetings with professors and students

Center for Chinese Studies

University of Michigan

Atlanta

January 10, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

30 community leaders, including two former governors,
bank presidents, etc.

March 1, 1968

"Nationalism in Communist China's Policies"

Robert A. Scalapino, Mark Gayn, Paul Kreisberg

Dallas

January 14, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

Exclusive dinner meeting for Dallas community leaders at
the home of Mr. and Mrs. C. Wesley Goyer

January 15, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

200 members of the Dallas Council on World Affairs

35 members of the Retired Officers Association

75 members of the Export-Import Club

Denver

January 23, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

Statewide meeting of the League of Women Voters

40 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Detroit

January 29, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

15 business leaders

Houston

January 16, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

48 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

March 8, 1968

"The Cultural Revolution"

Mark Gayn

35 community leaders

Indianapolis

February 6, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

40 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations and World
Affairs Council

Los Angeles

January 19, 1968

Robert A. Scalapino, Edward E. Rice, Harald Munthe-Kaas

450 members of the World Affairs Council

Louisville

February 2, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
500 community members

March 13, 1968
"The Cultural Revolution"
Richard Solomon
Committee on Foreign Relations

Minneapolis-St. Paul

January 25, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
8 community leaders
40 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

New York

February 5, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
40 community leaders, representing national organizations

February 7, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
200 members of the Women's Group of the Foreign Policy
Association

February 8, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
40 members of the Council on Foreign Relations

February 12, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
Meetings with professors and students
East Asian Institute, Columbia University

February 19, 1968
Harald Munthe-Kaas
30 members of the China Panel, National Council of Churches

April 3, 1968
Kazuma Egashira
Meetings with professors and students, East Asian Institute,
Columbia University

April 4, 1968
Kazuma Egashira
Meeting at the Japan Society

May 9, 1968
Lt. General Wang Sheng and Professor Cheng Hsueh-chia
"The Current Situation in the Republic of China and the
People's Republic of China"
20 community leaders

Philadelphia

February 14, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

35 board members of the World Affairs Council

250 members of the World Affairs Council

35 young people in the World Affairs Council

Pittsburgh

April 4, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

Community leaders

St. Louis

January 24, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

30 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

Salt Lake City

January 18, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

Citywide meeting of the League of Women Voters

47 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations

San Francisco

March 6, 1967

"Asian Policies: Past and Present"

Roger Hilsman

April, 1967

"The Current Situation in China"

Robert A. Scalapino

October 9, 1967

"Chinese Economic Developments: Problems and Prospects"

Dick Wilson

January 17, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

27 community leaders

Seattle

January 22, 1968

Harald Munthe-Kaas

15 community leaders at the Center for War/Peace Studies

25 members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the

World Affairs Council Board and the business community

Meeting with professors and students at the University

of Washington

A P P E N D I C E S

Further evaluation of this entire program area will be relevant following the completion of the critical bibliography and after further discussions with interested organizations, scholars and secondary school teachers.

SPEAKERS ASSISTANCE

The Committee has established a comprehensive resource file on China speakers in the United States and abroad, under Program Assistant David Merwin. The file includes articles and books written by the available speakers.

STAFF AND UNIVERSITIES PROGRAM

THE STAFF BEHIND THE PROGRAM

It should be noted here that the extensive program work of the last year would not have been possible without the cooperation of numerous Committee members, especially the scholars aforementioned and the National Committee staff.

New York Staff

While the Program Staff is more frequently in contact with the public and members of the Board, the secretaries here deserve special mention, for none of the above would have been possible without their dedication and hard work. Grateful recognition is due: George Angelas, Caroline Bliss, Sally Brown, Pat Lang and Janet McInroy.

Harvard Field Staff

The Harvard Field Staff has made possible any number of National Committee programs in New England and beyond. Under the inspiration of Andrew Nathan and the direction of Fox Butterfield, the field staff organized the National Journalists Seminar at Harvard University in July 1967. Owen deLong helped to introduce the field staff concept both to Harvard and to the University of Michigan and Columbia University. Philip West, an original field staff member who has continued working

with the National Committee in 1968, has undertaken the long-term responsibility for coordinating and testing the two-week high school unit on "Social Change in Rural China." The chairman of the current field staff is Charles Hayford and in September of 1967, Tom Rawski assumed the chairmanship of the Speakers Bureau from its founder, Fox Butterfield, who is now in Taiwan. In the late Fall of 1967, Eric Widmer, in cooperation with Committee member, Jerome Wiesner, organized a three meeting seminar for aerospace officials in Boston. Currently Richard Kagan, with the assistance of Karen Burke and the field staff, is preparing the critical bibliography on curriculum materials. Other field staff who have contributed to the National Committee's program during the past year are: . Ralph Huenemann, Barbara Koch, Peter Seybolt and Douglas Spelman.

University of Michigan Field Staff

The Michigan Field Staff is chaired by Daniel Bays. Its program includes the China Lecture Bureau which offers both speakers and films to groups in the Midwest and has the cooperation of the University of Michigan Extension Service for providing speakers throughout the state of Michigan. Numerous high schools and elementary schools in the Detroit-Ann Arbor area have been most responsive to the services of the Lecture Bureau. The Michigan Field Staff is also preparing a China background booklet in connection with its work in the National Press Institute on China held at the end of

March. The materials will be useful for the National Committee's information publication program. The members of the Michigan Field Staff in addition to Daniel Bays are: Samuel Kupper, Brian McClean and John Wong.

Columbia University Field Staff

Chaired by Stephen Andors, the Columbia Field Staff is in the process of establishing a China Speakers Bureau. Currently the field staff is involved with Arlene Posner in film evaluation and coordination for the film bibliography to be published in 1968.

Other field staffs are projected for the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Washington at Seattle.

SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL GROUP SEMINARS

Professional Group Seminars focus on the participants' special interest in informational and problem areas of United States-China relations. The following is a list of seminars held for professional leaders:

Aerospace Executives -- Boston -- 3 meetings

October 11, 1967

"Science in China's Development"

C.H.G. Oldham

November 15, 1967

"The Current Internal Situation in China"

A. Doak Barnett, Dwight Perkins, Ezra Vogel

December 13, 1967

"China, the United States, and the Future of Asia"

John K. Fairbank, James C. Thomson

Foundation Executives -- New York -- 9 meetings

April 12, 1967

"Current Developments in China"

A. Doak Barnett, Robert A. Scalapino

May 15, 1967

"China's Economic Development and Trade"

Alexander Eckstein, Leon Hermann, Dana Robinson

June 26, 1967

"China: International Cooperation and Treaty Practices"

Luke T. Lee

September 25, 1967

"Sino-Soviet Relations"

Roger Hilsman

October 16, 1967

"Science and Technology of China"

C.H.G. Oldham

November 20, 1967

"Chinese Economic Policy in the Light of the Cultural
Revolution in Hong Kong"

Charles Hoffmann, Dick Wilson

January 8, 1968

"The Current Situation in China"

Harald Munthe-Kaas

February 27, 1968

"China and the World: The Dilemmas of Communication"

John M.H. Lindbeck

March 22, 1968

"U.S. Policy Toward China"

Paul Kreisberg

Labor -- Washington, D.C. -- 3 meetings

March 20, 1968

Jay Lovestone, Head of International Affairs Department
of the AFL/CIO and staff

"China Briefing"

Harald Munthe-Kaas

April 5, 1968

"The Current Situation in China"

Leaders in IUD/AFL/CIO

Harald Munthe-Kaas

April 24, 1968

Jay Lovestone, Head of International Affairs Department
of the AFL/CIO and staff

"The Current Situation in China"

Robert A. Scalapino

Congress -- Washington, D.C. -- 3 meetings

January 31, 1968

Republican Members of the House of Representatives

"The Cultural Revolution"

Harald Munthe-Kaas

March 11, 1968

Democratic Members of the House of Representatives

"Mao Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution"

Mark Gayn

March 12, 1968

Republican Members of the House of Representatives

"Mao Tse-tung and the Cultural Revolution"

Mark Gayn

CHRONOLOGY

1964:

September	AFSC Working Party convened
Fall	Eugene Boardman selected to work on China as FCNL Friend in Washington
December	Berkeley China Conference. China trade report published by San Francisco World Trade Association

1965:

February	<u>New China Policy</u> published
April	National China Conference in Washington, D.C. Chamber of Commerce statement on China
May	Zablocki report
Fall	Ford Foundation grant to UNA announced
December	1st organizing meeting to follow up on National China Conference

1966:

January		2nd organizing meeting sets up steering committee to launch a national committee
April		NCUSCR Organizing Group mails out invitation to membership
June	9	organizing meeting of NCUSCR membership; Development Committee appointed. NYC press conference announcing NCUSCR
	29	W. Coast group commits to raise \$12,500
August	1	NYC office opened at 777 UN Plaza
	2	New York incorporation papers received
September	9	Development Committee meeting adopts By-Laws & program proposal
Fall		meeting with V. Pres. Humphrey

1966 cont.:

November	4	2nd Board meeting; Board of Directors officially replaces Development Committee, and elects new members to bring total to 90.
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1967:

March		1st community leaders seminar: San Francisco with Roger Hilsman
April		<u>Annotated Guide to Modern China</u> published
	12	1st of foundation executives seminars in NYC
	10	1st seminar for national correspondents in Washington, D.C.
May	25	1st Senatorial legislative assistants' seminar in Washington, D.C.
June	9	NCUSCR annual membership meeting; adoption of program expansion proposal, including field staffs, inviting Japanese leaders, and seminar program expansion.
		China Clearinghouse launched
July	13 - 15	National Journalists Seminar; Harvard
August		Thomas & Scalapino in Asia meeting with potential speakers for seminar program
		briefing for Senator Percy
October	11	1st of Aerospace executives seminars, Boston
November	16	1st of organizational leaders seminars; Washington, D.C.

1968:

January		1st of seminars with members of Congress
February	29 to Mar. 2	Southern Journalists seminar, Atlanta
		Briefing of President Johnson by six scholar/members of NCUSCR

APPENDIX A

STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN OF MEMBERS BY REGIONAL & OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS 1966 & 1968

<u>REGIONAL TOTALS:</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1968</u>
New England	6	12
NY & Central Atlantic	32	70
South	2	18
Midwest	9	23
Rocky Mtn. States	2	6
California	19	33

OCCUPATIONAL TOTALS:

New England

Academic	6	10
Business	0	1
Professional	0	1

NY & Central Atlantic

Academic	7	15
Business	6	8
Religious	5	7
Labor	1	4
Professional	13	31
Communications	0	5

South

Academic	2	6
Business	0	1
Religious	0	1
Professional	0	5
Communications	0	5

Midwest

Academic	6	10
Business	2	8
Professional	1	3
Communications	0	2

Rocky Mtn. States

Academic	1	3
Business	0	1
Professional	1	2

California

Academic	6	12
Business	10	12
Religious	1	1
Professional	2	8

APPENDIX A

National Committee on United States-China Relations

Members by
Regional and Occupational Divisions

NEW ENGLAND

Academic:

Frederick C. Barghoorn ✓
Department of Political Science
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

*John K. Fairbank ✓
Director
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Nathan M. Pusey
President
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lucian W. Pye ✓
Department of Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

*Edwin O. Reischauer ✓
Former U.S. Ambassador to Japan
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Benjamin I. Schwartz
Department of History and
Government
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

James C. Thomson, Jr.
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ezra F. Vogel
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Jerome B. Wiesner ✓
Provost
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mary C. Wright
Department of History
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Business:

Augustin H. Parker
Chairman of the Board
Old Colony Trust Company
Boston, Massachusetts

Professional:

Alfred O. Hero, Jr.
Executive Secretary
World Peace Foundation
Boston, Massachusetts

NEW YORK AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC

Academic:

*A. Doak Barnett ✓
 Department of Public Law and
 Government
 East Asian Institute
 Columbia University
 New York, New York

Detlev W. Bronk
 President Emeritus
 Rockefeller University
 New York, New York

O. Edmund Clubb ✓
 East Asian Institute
 Columbia University
 New York, New York

Andrew W. Cordier ✓
 Dean
 Faculty of International
 Affairs
 Columbia University
 New York, New York

Roger Hilsman ✓
 School of International
 Affairs
 Columbia University
 New York, New York

Harold C. Hinton
 Institute for Sino-Soviet
 Studies
 George Washington University
 Washington, D.C.

Betty Goetz Lall ✓
 Director of Urban Affairs
 Research Associate
 The New York State School
 of Industrial and Labor
 Relations
 Cornell University
 New York, New York

John W. Lewis
 Department of Government
 Cornell University
 Ithaca, New York

*John M. H. Lindbeck ✓
 Director
 East Asian Institute
 Columbia University
 New York, New York

Franz Michael
 Associate Director
 Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies
 The George Washington University
 Washington, D.C.

Ralph L. Powell
 Department of Far Eastern Studies
 School of International Service
 American University
 Washington, D.C.

Joseph S. Sebes, S.J.
 Dean
 School of Foreign Service
 Georgetown University
 Washington, D.C.

Francis O. Wilcox
 Dean School of Advanced Interna-
 tional Studies
 Johns Hopkins University
 Baltimore, Maryland

Henry M. Wriston
 President Emeritus
 Brown University
 Honorary President
 Council on Foreign Relations
 Marstons Mills, Massachusetts

*Donald S. Zagoria ✓
 Department of Political Science
 Hunter College
 New York, New York

NEW YORK AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC - Cont'd.

Business:

Robert S. Benjamin ✓
Chairman
United Artists Corporation
Former President
UNA-USA
New York, New York

*Benjamin Bittenwieser ✓
Limited Partner
Kuhn, Loeb & Company
New York, New York

Randolph P. Compton ✓
Vice President
Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc.
New York, New York

Charles S. Dennison ✓
Vice President of Overseas
International Minerals and
Chemicals Corporation
New York, New York

Harold Hochschild ✓
Honorary Chairman of the Board
American Metals Climax
New York, New York

William T. Lusk ✓
Former President
Tiffany & Company
New York, New York

Henry E. Niles ✓
Chairman of the Board
Baltimore Life Insurance Co.
Baltimore, Maryland

Robert V. Roosa
Partner
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.
New York, New York

Religious:

John C. Bennett ✓
President
Union Theological Seminary
New York, New York

Robert S. Bilheimer
Director of International
Affairs Programs
National Council of Churches
New York, New York

*Maurice N. Eisendrath ✓
President
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
New York, New York

*George Higgins ✓
Executive Secretary
Catholic Association for
International Peace
Washington, D.C.

*David R. Hunter ✓
Deputy General Secretary
National Council of Churches
New York, New York

Donald E. MacInnis
Director
China Program, Asia Department
National Council of Churches
New York, New York

Will Maslow ✓
Executive Director
American Jewish Congress
New York, New York

NEW YORK AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC - Cont'd.

Labor:

Joseph A. Beirne
President
Communications Workers of
America, AFL/CIO
Washington, D.C.

Harry Goldberg
International Representative
AFL/CIO
Washington, D.C.

Jacob S. Potofsky
General President
Amalgamated Clothing of America,
AFL/CIO
New York, New York

A. Philip Randolph ✓
Vice President
AFL/CIO
New York, New York

Professional:

Frank Altschul
Vice President and Secretary
Council on Foreign Relations
New York, New York

George A. Beebe
President
Society for Citizen Education
in World Affairs
New York, New York

Colin Bell ✓
Former Executive Secretary
American Friends Service
Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Max Bishop
Executive Director
World Affairs Council of
Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Ernest A. Brooks ✓
President
Old Dominion Foundation
New York, New York

*Everett Case ✓
Former President
Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
Former President
Colgate University
New York, New York

Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
New York, New York

*Robert W. Gilmore ✓
President
Center for War/Peace Studies
New York, New York

Ernest A. Gross
Partner
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost,
Colt & Mosle
New York, New York

David L. Guyer
Vice President
Development and Public Affairs
Institute of International
Education
New York, New York

William Henderson
Director
China Institute
New York, New York

Arthur N. Holcombe
Honorary Chairman
Commission to Study the Organiza-
tion of Peace
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

NEW YORK AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC - Cont'd.

Professional - Cont'd.

Joseph Johnson ✓
President
The Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace
New York, New York

Herman Kahn
Director
Hudson Institute
Croton-on-Hudson, New York

Mrs. Herbert Lehman
New York, New York

Quigg Newton
President
The Commonwealth Fund
New York, New York

Earl D. Osborn ✓
President
Institute for International
Order
New York, New York

Mrs. Harvey Picker
Vice President
Interchange Foundation
New York, New York

Mrs. Josephine W. Pomerance ✓
Chairman
Disarmament Issues Committee
UNA-USA
New York, New York

Mrs. Libby Holman Reynolds
President
The Christopher Reynolds
Foundation
New York, New York

Bayard Rustin ✓
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York, New York

Dore Schary
Producer, Playwright
New York, New York

*Orville H. Schell ✓
Partner
Hughes, Hubbard, Blair & Reed
New York, New York

*Eustace Seligman
Partner
Sullivan & Cromwell
New York, New York

John Slawson
Executive Vice President Emeritus
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

Peter Solbert ✓
Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sun-
derland & Kiendl
New York, New York

Mrs. S. Emlen Stokes
Morristown, New Jersey

*Carl F. Stover ✓
President
National Institute of Public
Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Herbert E. Striner ✓
Director
Program Development
W. E. Upjohn Institute for
Employment Research
Washington, D.C.

Cleon Oliphant Swayzee
Consultant to the Ford Foundation
Foreign Area Fellowship
Foundation and U.S. Universities
on Foreign and International
Programs
New York, New York

Norman Thomas ✓
New York, New York

NEW YORK AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC - Cont'd.

Communications:

William Attwood
Editor in Chief
Cowles Communications, Inc.
New York, New York

Robert C. Christopher
Foreign Editor
Newsweek
New York, New York

Edward P. Morgan
Chief Correspondent
Public Broadcast Laboratory
Washington, D.C.

William A. Rusher
Publisher
National Review
New York, New York

Seymour Topping
Foreign News Editor
The New York Times
New York, New York

SOUTH

Academic:

Howard L. Boorman ✓
Department of History
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

William Friday
President
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Arthur Larson ✓
Director
Rule of Law Research Center
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Kenneth S. Pitzer
President
Rice University
Houston, Texas

Willis M. Tate
President
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas

Richard L. Walker
Director
Institute of International
Studies
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Business:

Vincent A. Carrozza
Executive Vice President
Dallas Texas Corporation
Dallas, Texas

Religious:

Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D.
Archbishop
Archdiocese of San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas

SOUTH - Cont'd.

Professional:

Eugene Barnett
Arlington, Virginia

Mrs. William M. Christopherson
First Vice President
League of Women Voters
of the United States
Louisville, Kentucky

John Davis Torrey, Jr.
Brigadier General, U.S. Army
(Retired)
Executive Director
Dallas Council on World Affairs
Dallas, Texas

Talbott Wilson
Partner
Wilson, Morris, Crain & Anderson
Houston, Texas

Communications:

William C. Baggs
Editor
The Miami News
Miami, Florida

John W. Bloomer
Managing Editor
The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Alabama

Hodding Carter III
Editor
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Ralph McGill
Publisher
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

John Seigenthaler
Vice President & Editor
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

MIDWEST

Academic:

Jackson Bailey
Director
Center for East Asian Language
and Area Study
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Eugene Boardman ✓
Department of History
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

*Alexander Eckstein ✓
Chairman
Center for Chinese Studies
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Robben W. Fleming
President
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

MIDWEST - Cont'd.

Academic - Cont'd.

Albert Feuerwerker
Department of History
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

John A. Hannah
President
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Charles A. McClelland ✓
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Alfred G. Meyer ✓
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Donald N. Michael ✓
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Rhoads Murphey ✓
Department of Geography
Center for Chinese Studies
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

John W. Nason
Former President
Foreign Policy Association
President
Carleton College
Northfield, Minnesota

Tang Tsou ✓
Department of Political Science
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Gilbert F. White ✓
Department of Geography
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Business:

Irving B. Harris
President
Standard Shares Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

Philip M. Klutznick
Former U.S. Ambassador to U.N.
Chairman of the Board
Urban Investment & Development Co.
Chicago, Illinois

Ralph Lazarus
Chairman of the Board
Federated Department Stores, Inc.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Arnold H. Maremont ✓
President
Maremont Industries
Chicago, Illinois

John Nuveen
Vice Chairman of the Board
John Nuveen & Company
Chicago, Illinois

Eugene B. Power
Chairman of the Board
University Microfilms
Director
Xerox Corporation
Ann Arbor, Michigan

MIDWEST - Cont'd.

Business - Cont'd.

William Swartz ✓
President
Embosograf Company
Chicago, Illinois

Weston E. Vivian
Former Member
U.S. House of Representatives
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Professional:

Charles A. Bane ✓
Isham, Lincoln & Beale
Chicago, Illinois

C. Maxwell Stanley
President
Stanley Foundation
Muscatine, Iowa

William C. Rogers
Director
Minnesota World Affairs Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Communications:

John Cowles
Chairman of the Board
The Minneapolis Star and
Tribune Company
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Alan Geyer
Editor
The Christian Century
Chicago, Illinois

ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES - SOUTHWEST

Business:

Joseph A. Amter
Investment Banker
President
Peace Research Organization Fund
Denver, Colorado

Professional:

Ben M. Cherrington
Regional Director
Institute of International
Education
Denver, Colorado

James G. Patton ✓
President
United World Federalists
Former President
National Farmers Union
Tucson, Arizona

ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES - NORTHWEST

Academic:

John M. Allison
 Director
 Overseas Career Program
 University of Hawaii
 Honolulu, Hawaii

Charles E. Odegaard
 President
 University of Washington
 Seattle, Washington

*George Taylor
 Director
 Far Eastern & Russian Institute
 University of Washington
 Seattle, Washington

CALIFORNIA

Academic:

Woodbridge Bingham
 Department of History
 University of California
 Berkeley, California

*Claude A. Buss ✓
 Department of History
 Stanford University
 Stanford, California

Charles S. Casassa, S.J.
 President
 Loyola University of Los Angeles
 Los Angeles, California

Owen Chamberlain ✓
 Nobel Laureate for Physics
 Department of Physics
 University of California
 Berkeley, California

Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Griffith II
 U.S.M.C. (Retired)
 Research Associate
 Hoover Institution on War,
 Revolution and Peace
 Stanford University
 Stanford, California

Roger W. Heyns
 Chancellor
 University of California
 Berkeley, California

Alice Langley Hsieh
 Senior Staff Member
 Social Science Department
 The RAND Corporation
 Santa Monica, California

Chalmers Johnson
 Director
 Center for Chinese Studies
 University of California
 Berkeley, California

Mark Mancall ✓
 Department of History
 Stanford University
 Stanford, California

*Robert A. Scalapino ✓
 Chairman, National Committee
 on U.S.-China Relations
 (1966-68)
 Department of Political Science
 University of California
 Berkeley, California

CALIFORNIA - Cont'd.

Academic - Cont'd.

G. William Skinner ✓
 Department of Anthropology
 Stanford University
 Stanford, California.

Urban Whitaker ✓
 Department of International
 Relations
 San Francisco State College
 San Francisco, California

Business:

Ransom M. Cook ✓
 Chairman
 Wells Fargo Bank
 San Francisco, California

Seniel Ostrow
 President
 Sealy of Southern California
 Los Angeles, California

Marriner S. Eccles ✓
 Chairman of the Board
 Utah Construction and Mining Co.
 Former Chairman
 Federal Reserve Board
 San Francisco, California

William Roberts ✓
 President
 Ampex Corporation
 Redwood City, California

Jack Gomperts ✓
 President
 Calagrex, Inc.
 San Francisco, California

B. T. Rocca, Sr. ✓
 Honorary Chairman of the Board
 Pacific Vegetable Oil Corporation
 San Francisco, California

Clarence Heller ✓
 Partner
 Schwabacher & Company
 Chairman
 Northern California SANE
 San Francisco, California

Louis Sloss ✓
 President
 Morris Brown Realty Co.
 San Francisco, California

Edgar R. Kaiser ✓
 Chairman of the Board
 Kaiser Industries
 Oakland, California

Allan Sproul ✓
 Director
 Wells Farge Bank
 San Francisco, California

*Daniel E. Koshland ✓
 Chairman
 Executive Committee
 Levi Strauss & Company
 San Francisco, California

Bart Lytton
 Los Angeles, California

CALIFORNIA - Cont'd.

Religious:

Donald Harvey Tippet
Bishop
San Francisco Area Methodist Church
San Francisco, California

Professional:

Harry S. Ashmore
Executive Vice President
Center for the Study of
Democratic Institutions
Santa Barbara, California

William Coblentz
Partner
Jacobs, Sills and Coblentz
San Francisco, California

Mrs. Horace Gray
Santa Barbara, California

Louis Heilbron ✓
President
World Affairs Council of
Northern California
San Francisco, California

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Partner
Loeb & Loeb
Los Angeles, California

Clark Kerr ✓
Former President
University of California
Berkeley, California

I. H. Prinzmetal
Attorney
Los Angeles, California

Maynard Toll
Partner
O'Melveny & Myers
Los Angeles, California

OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

Religious:

Theodore Gill
Director
Joint Study Commission on Education
World Council of Churches
Geneva, Switzerland

Professional:

Guy Searls
Director
Universities Service Center
Correspondent
London Observer
Hong Kong

* Member of the Board

APPENDIX B

From the certificate of incorporation on the National Committee on United States-China Relations, Incorporated: "The purpose for which the Corporation is...formed is exclusively educational and in connection therewith to enhance knowledge and understanding in the United States with respect to the policies toward each other of, and the relations among, the United States of America, the Republic of China, and Communist China, by presenting a full and fair exposition of all the pertinent facts, through--among other means--public discussion groups, forums, panels, lectures or similar programs, and encouraging qualified organizations and individuals to engage in non-partisan analysis, study and research, for the purposes of preparing lists of speakers, bibliographies, study materials, and articles for public dissemination."

APPENDIX C

Program, Berkeley Conference, December, 1964

Reprint from London Economist, March 12, 1966



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An Institute

on

CHINA TODAY

THE

THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE COMMITTEE FOR
ARTS AND LECTURES AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

in cooperation with

The World Affairs Council of Northern California and the American Friends Service Committee
are sponsoring

An Institute on China Today

on

Saturday, December 12, 1964

WHEELER AUDITORIUM — UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Registration Wheeler Auditorium — 9:00 A.M.

Morning Session 9:30 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.

Introductory Remarks

Chairman, Chalmers A. Johnson

The Perimeters of Political Power in
China Today

H. Franz Schurmann

Two Views of China by Recent
Visitors

Felix Greene and James Duncan

The Dilemma of American Policy
Toward China

A PANEL — Jack Gomperts, Clare Boothe Luce, Henry
Luce, Robert A. Scalapino, George Taylor, James
Townsend

Lunch 1:00 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.

Afternoon Session 2:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.

The Chinese View of Their Place
in the World

C. P. Fitzgerald

China and the United Nations

George Taylor

The Sino-Soviet Dispute

Robert A. Scalapino

Remarks

By representatives of the World Affairs Council and
the American Friends Service Committee

Closing Statement

Chairman, Chalmers A. Johnson

SPEAKERS

JAMES DUNCAN

Canadian businessman, who spent September and
October, 1964, in Communist China and Taiwan, hav-
ing also visited the Mainland in 1959.

C. P. FITZGERALD

Visiting Professor at the University of British Colum-
bia, Vancouver. Author of "The Chinese View of
Their Place in the World" and numerous other works
on China.

JACK GOMPERTS

President of the World Trade Association of San
Francisco.

FELIX GREENE

Recent visitor to Communist China and the Soviet
Union, author of "Awakened China" and "The Cur-
tain of Ignorance."

CHALMERS A. JOHNSON

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of
California at Berkeley, and author of "Peasant Na-
tionalism and Communist Power."

THE HONORABLE CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Former Ambassador to Italy, civic leader and author
of many essays on American foreign policy.

HENRY LUCE

Editorial chairman of Time, Inc.

ROBERT A. SCALAPINO

Professor and Chairman, Political Science Depart-
ment, University of California at Berkeley, and author
of various writings on China.

H. FRANZ SCHURMANN

Professor of History and Sociology, University of
California at Berkeley, and author of numerous arti-
cles and two forthcoming books on Communist China.

GEORGE TAYLOR

Director, Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University
of Washington, Seattle, and author of many works on
modern China.

JAMES TOWNSEND

Assistant Professor, Political Science, University of
California at Berkeley, and author and teacher on
Chinese politics.

China out of the cupboard

FROM A CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN CHICAGO

THE President said that it would never get through Congress, it and the people (although nobody asked them) said that the President must have his reasons for not bringing it up. And so, for fifteen years, any proposal for change, modification or even discussion of American policy towards Communist China was still-born or died of under-exposure. In March, 1964, a lone brave warrior named Fulbright made a speech on the Senate floor calling not for diplomatic recognition of China, not for inviting her into the United Nations, but for introducing "an element of flexibility" into the American approach to China. He received 12,000 letters, two-thirds of them favourable, but the citadel was not moved. Two years later, having tackled Vietnam, Fulbright the Foolhardy is once again aiming his slingshot at America's China policy.

The first witnesses before this week's full-dress public hearings of Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee were Professors Doak Barnett and John King Fairbank, who as leading China scholars represent the most liberal sector of American opinion on the subject. Professor Barnett recommended bringing Communist China gradually out of diplomatic isolation, first by encouraging unofficial contacts and non-strategic trade and then later by recognition and admission to the United Nations. This was a radical programme for the Senators, perhaps, but it was one that had already been endorsed by citizens' groups throughout the country. For during the past year Americans have begun to look again at China policy and to advocate some sort of modification in it.

The ferment over the Vietnamese war, particularly fear that the war may bring a direct collision between China and the United States, combined with long pent-up frustration over China produced this movement. Even though it began with a conference at Berkeley in December, 1964, its movers were not the "Vietniks" for which that university is notorious. Almost all were middle-class and middle-aged; the approach was through lectures, conferences, study groups and publications. The conference idea travelled to Washington, DC, where a few Congressmen and Senators, church leaders, Quakers and the United States Chamber of Commerce were brought in. Speakers fanned out westward and the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women produced long reading lists for their study projects on modern China. In the colleges, China courses expanded and an inter-university lobby group, Americans for Reappraisal of our Far Eastern Policy, did just that. Among their best speakers were McCarthy-scarred old China hands who were emerging from ten years of political seclusion to lecture and write on the need for a new approach to China.

THE ECONOMIST MARCH 12, 1966

AMERICAN SURVEY

CLIMAXING what the Chinese might call the Year of the Conference was a series of international meetings of China scholars in Chicago and five other Midwestern cities last month. More missionary than academic, the conferences sought to bring new perspectives on China, especially foreign first-hand ones, to the Middle West. An informal survey of 650 observers at a large public session in Chicago indicates either that the conferees had done their job too well or that they had been preaching to the converted. In any case, Senator Fulbright: 98 per cent of the Chicago audience favoured seeking cultural relations with Communist China, 90 per cent advocated trade relations, 88 per cent admission to the United Nations (66 per cent opposed the expulsion of Nationalist China) and 87 per cent approved diplomatic recognition. The same survey conducted at a lecture on China in Billings, Montana, showed smaller majorities in favour of cultural relations, trade and recognition and outright opposition to Communist China's admission to the United Nations.

The old China journalist, Mr A. T. Steele, who recently sounded out leaders of opinion for his new book, "The American People and China," also found that the public does take a noticeably more flexible view of China than either the Administration or Congress and that there is "general public support" for increased contacts and communication with the mainland. He noted that eagerness for relations with China varied along the obvious geographical lines: it is strongest on the west coast, especially in San Francisco which hankers after its old trading connection, followed along the liberality scale by the internationally-minded east coast, the mid-west and finally the southern and mountain states where those who hate Negroes usually hate China too.

APPENDIX D

Program, Washington Conference, April, 1965

Five Pages of National Press Notices:

The Washington Post, May 5, 1965
The New Republic, May 8, 1965
The Providence Sunday Journal, May 9, 1965
The Milwaukee Journal, May 1, 1965
The Washington Post, April 30, 1965
The Washington Post, May 1, 1965
The Nation, May 14, 1965
Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado
The Providence Journal, May 9, 1965
The Washington Post, May 23, 1965
Inquirer, May 12, 1965

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Dr. Robert A. Scalapino, Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Bert D. Segal, Director, National and International Affairs Department, I.U.E., A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Dr. David M. Stowe, Associate General Secretary for Overseas Ministries, The National Council of Churches

Dean Francis Wilcox, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
Hon. Kenneth T. Young, Former Ambassador to Thailand

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E. Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation

ECUTIVE SECRETARY

Cecil A. Thomas

SCHEDULE

Wednesday, April 28
8:00 p.m. Special Pre-conference Program — International Inn

"Trade with China: Pros and Cons" — Chairman, Edwin P. Neilan. Speakers: James Duncan, Howard Stephenson, and others to be announced.

Thursday, April 29
8:00 a.m. Pre-conference Congressional breakfasts

9:00 Registration — International Inn

10:00 "The United States and China Since 1945" — Professor John King Fairbank and Professor Richard L. Walker. Discussants: Professor Michael Lindsay and Rev. Joseph S. Sebes, S.J.

12:30 p.m. Luncheon — Senator Peter H. Dominick, Senator George S. McGovern, and other Congressional representatives.

3:30 "Trade with China" — James Duncan, Howard Stephenson

6:30 Banquet — Speaker: Edgar Snow

Friday, April 30
9:00 a.m. "China and the United Nations" — Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland, Professor Arthur Lall, Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang

11:00 "Travel and Cultural Exchange" — Dr. Geoffrey Andrew, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert W. Barnett, Dr. Luther Evans, Ambassador Kenneth T. Young (invited)

1:00 p.m. Luncheon — "The Future of U.S. Relations with China" — Professor Robert Scalapino

A post-conference workshop is being planned for Friday afternoon to enable conference participants to carry the discussion more effectively back to their organizations and home communities.

A new one-hour color sound film on the People's Republic of China by Felix Greene, recent visitor to China and author of *The Curtain of Ignorance*, has just been secured for a special showing at an appropriate time during the conference. Other visual aids and program materials will be available.

For information:

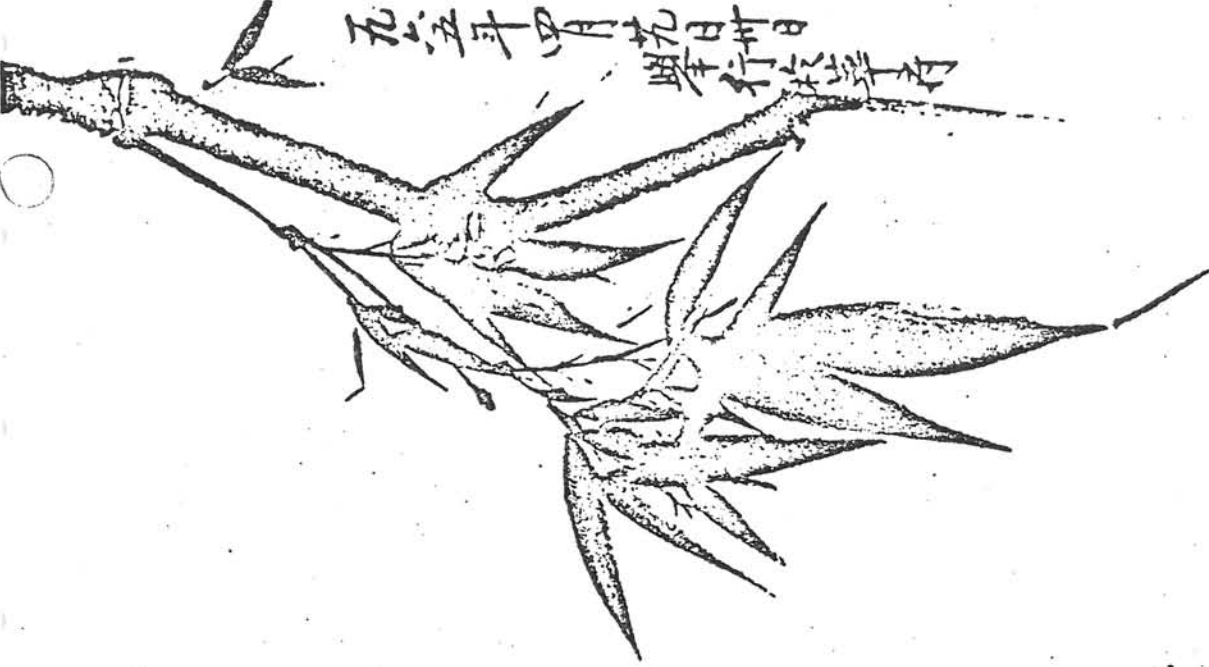
National Conference
on the United States and China
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Area Code 202: Lincoln 7-4343

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

April 29—30, 1965

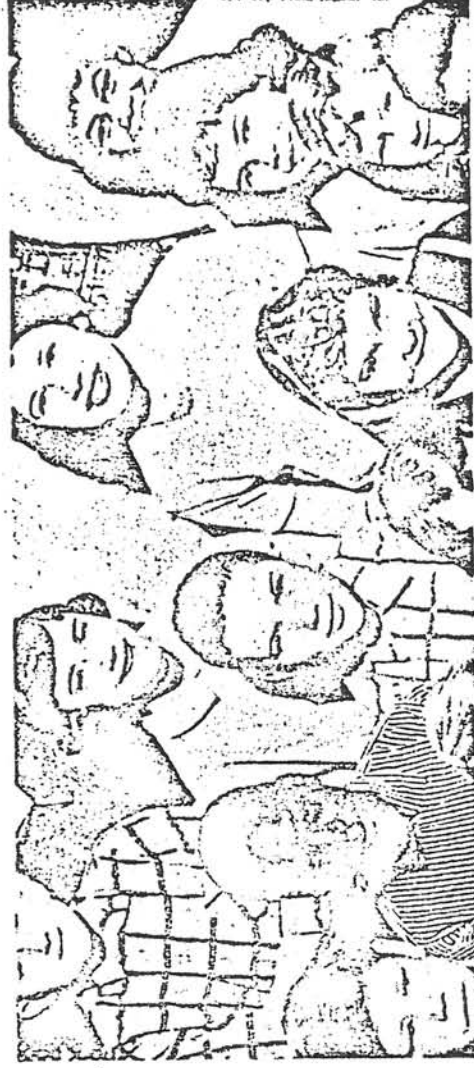
The International Inn, Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY AND THE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

in cooperation with the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE



SPEAKERS

Dr. Geoffrey Andrew, Executive Director, The National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, recent visitor to the Chinese People's Republic, arranges Canadian academic exchanges with Chinese educators

Robert W. Barnett, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs
The Honorable Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs

James Duncan, former Chairman, International Chamber of Commerce of Canada and recent visitor to the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of China

Dr. Luther Evans, former UNESCO Director-General, former Librarian of Congress and Director, International and Legal Collections, Columbia University
Professor John King Fairbank, Director, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University

Professor Arthur Lall, former Permanent Representative of India at the United Nations, Visiting Professor of International Studies, Cornell University

Professor Michael Lindsay, Professor of Far Eastern Studies, School of International Service, The American University

Edwin P. Neilan, Chairman, Executive Committee, Chamber of Commerce of the United States

Professor Robert Scalapino, Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, author of various writings on China

Rev. Joseph S. Sebes, S.J., Acting Dean, School of Business Administration, Georgetown University

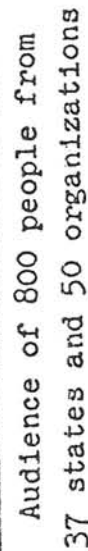
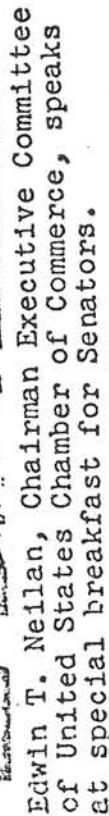
Howard Stephenson, Executive Secretary, the San Francisco Area World Trade Association of the Greater San Francisco Chamber of Commerce

Edgar Snow*, journalist, author, recent visitor to the Chinese People's Republic
His Excellency Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States

Professor Richard L. Walker, James F. Byrnes Professor of International Relations, University of South Carolina

The Honorable Kenneth T. Young, former Ambassador to Thailand (invited)

*Health permitting.



NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

April 29—30, 1965

The International Inn, Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by

in cooperation with the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

150 of Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1883

Also last week, the American Friends Service Committee, in cooperation with both Georgetown and American universities, held the first significant national conference on American-Chinese relations since the Communists came to power on the mainland.

The conference's objective was to stimulate attention on the problem, rather than to promote any particular viewpoint. Some 800 conferees heard a gamut of speakers ranging from high State Department officials and the Nationalist Chinese Ambassador to Senators, a U.S. Chamber representative, critical professors and an Indian diplomat. It was perhaps no inadvertence at all that such a conference was held while the United States was involved in a war in South Viet-Nam aimed at containing Chinese aggression. For China is the primary lesion of U.S. problems in Southeast Asia. In a way, for this country to face Asian communism in South Viet-Nam, or Laos, or Thailand, even in North Viet-Nam, is like a doctor treating a cancer patient limb by limb. The primary lesion of the Communist cancer is in Peking, and sooner or later this Nation will have to address itself to China directly.

Businessmen and chambers of commerce, particularly the one in San Francisco which used to depend so much on China's ports, tend to think that trade is the way to start a rapprochement. South Dakota's Senator McGovern told the conference that one first step might be to lift the restrictions on selling U.S. surplus grain to China. He added a restriction that he, as former director of the United States Food for Peace Program, found particularly desirable.

...freable. ...s a The American Friends Service Committee, in a ...has a booklet of Quaker proposals, suggested a ...ask a realistic look at Taiwan, support of its in- ...teach it but encouragement of China-Taiwan talks ...mmu-attle the problem of competing Chinas. ...a sys-tem's events represented only small steps ...xpend-; long road ahead toward resolving the U.S.- ...prosp-; impasse, an impasse so great that the two ...s-tries only talk to each other in sporadic secret ...and formal exchanges in Warsaw. But the steps ...were taken, and taken in the midst of an emotional ...heat towards China. The Quakers, the two local uni- ...versities and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce should ...be commended for their lead.

Peking and Washington

At a time when you might least expect it, several interesting moves were made here last week toward a dispassionate look at the United States's relations with Communist China.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, without disavowing its relations with Communist China, has recently passed a resolution urging the Administration "to explore steps designed to more effectively open channels of communication with the people of mainland China."

of mainland China. And while Ernest J. Lauder, chairman of the Chamber's policy committee, said this was not aimed at trade with the People's Republic of China, he said the Chamber's policy was aimed at trade with the mainland. Lauder said the Chamber's policy was aimed at trade with the mainland. Lauder said the Chamber's policy was aimed at trade with the mainland.

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idea. "Halberstam says, besides the Fairbank, 'the Viet Cong,' a revolution to the Viet Cong." Gra- something more to helicopters. The rotor, something war in 1955, describing a revolutionary back in 1955, describing a Ham Greene, "We talk so glibly about the individual, but the treatise," Hanoi said, "has never been treated as a threat has never before. Under- mous peasant has troubled to - so like an individual before the commissar priest, no one before the time Com approached him, spent time in questions, or something." It is him There is something. "him. Besides the politics, that nism says Fairbank, on personal tem, says enormous New Republic nism."

May 8, 1965

Sponsored by
THE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

By LEWIS W. WOLFSON
Journal-Bulletin Washington Bureau

Washington — There are serious men here who believe that the United States policy of isolating Communist China has succeeded mainly in isolating the United States from China — as well as from other nations with different views — and that it is time to give it up.

They are willing to bet that such a new departure would deprive China of its best card in the game, and they are saying that the current high degree of Chinese belligerence is, in effect, the best argument for a new turn in American foreign policy.

China, according to this view, yearns for the prestige and authority of a great power but acts in the world with the responsibility of some minor underdeveloped nation.

Seize the initiative from her with a sweeping new approach, the argument goes, and she no longer will have the easy advantage of profiting from instability in the world and, instead, will find world responsibilities thrust upon her.

Conference

This view was put forward at an unusual two-day National Conference on the United States and China held here a week ago. Although the conference was apparently not a sounding board for any changes in administration policy, a device sometimes practiced here, it had considerable respectability.

The conference was planned nearly six months ago, before the escalation of the war in Viet Nam, and thus the organizers were more than worried about the timing. But no rightwing groups picketed it, no bearded radicals tried to seize the spotlight, a few notable administration officials participated and 600 to 700 professors, teachers, students, women from civic organizations and a sprinkling of embassy officials, journalists and clergy made up an enthusiastic audience.

Two senators spoke at one of the luncheons and a total of about 50 congressmen attended breakfasts held for them on both mornings of the conference.

Prof. Robert Scalapino, chairman of the political science department at the University of California, summed up the conference theme as follows:

"The U.S. policy of containment by isolation can never be successful."

The idea, he went on, is rather to force the Chinese to make more and more big decisions on "the critical issues of our time." From this will come doubts about how simple the world is, necessitating a more cautious foreign policy.

"They will resist this. Isolation helps totalitarian policy. They like our policy just as much as we like theirs."

Relations With China

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Far East and the Pacific has taken a cautious but courageous step in becoming the first congressional group to publish a report urging that, "at an appropriate time," consideration be given "to the initiation of limited but direct contact with Red China through cultural exchange activities."

The Subcommittee, headed by Congressman Zablocki of Wisconsin, suggests that priority on these cultural exchanges go to scholars and journalists. It does not urge an opening up of trade relations with China at this time, and it does not delude itself into thinking that there will be any softening of China's anti-Americanism during the next few years. What the Subcommittee desires is to encourage every opportunity to increase each country's knowledge of the other, and to make it more evident that it is not the United States which is isolating China, but China itself which is discouraging such contacts.

The Subcommittee report also urged that the United States consider recognition of China's neighbor, Moscow-oriented Outer Mongolia. The Congressmen were aware, however, that when the United States tried to do just that a few years ago Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China, which would like to reclaim Mongolia as its own, should it ever retake the mainland, forced the Administration to back down.

It is understood that the Subcommittee members were emboldened by testimony from Roger Hilsman, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs under President Kennedy, and that their report might have been even bolder had not a few of the members pleaded digestion difficulties in their home constituencies.

Nevertheless, the Subcommittee certainly has taken a significant step away from the ostrich head-ducking that has come to characterize Chinese-American relations.

The Subcommittee's action follows a recent resolution here by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce calling for an opening of the "channels of communication" between the two countries. A national conference sponsored by the American Friends of the Service Committee also attempted to focus attention on Chinese-American relations.

It is only through the leadership of a peccably respectable group as these that an Administration in Washington can be persuaded to note that perhaps the old "China Lobby" really is dead and that this country now can afford to take whatever realistic steps toward China it deems necessary in order to further our national interests.

Some, though not all, of the experts expressed a warning that military pressure must also be kept on to convince China that the United States is no paper tiger. Denied the option of aggressiveness, they said, China may then have to turn a softer policy line.

Mr. Scalapino summed it up by saying that the United States must stick to a policy of military firmness but that "important from our standpoint is the kind of psychological, political stance we take."

"Now is the time to say we will trade, exchange scholars, under certain conditions accept you in the United Nations."

Even, he said, take the initiative on the real sticking point of Sino-American policies, the continued existence of an independent Chinese government on Taiwan.

The U.S. should continue to make it clear to Peking that it cannot annex Taiwan, that we shall not allow it, but at the same time say to the Communists, "let all the people of Taiwan make the final choice for themselves."

Senator George McGovern, D-S.D., told the conference, "As long as we treat China like an international outlaw, we cannot be surprised if she reacts by scorning our standards and judgments. Through greater contact with other nations, it would be far more difficult for Communist China to act as a law unto itself."

The more outspoken participants in the conference insisted that the United States had nothing to lose by taking such an initiative.

A report by the sponsoring American Friends Service Committee, for example, called "A New China Policy," said this: "We do not know whether China would stop its virulent attacks on the intentions and the good faith of the United States if the U.S. accorded China the normal courtesies of international relations, but we do know that China is not likely to change if we do not."

Others acknowledged varying degrees of risk—especially to the current war effort and morale in Southeast Asia—but saw such offers as tossing the ball to the Chinese in the eyes of peoples they are anxious to court as we

points has been made and looked over before both inside and outside of government circles.

Officially, all have been put down as offers that would be unrealistic in the light of U.S. commitments to other countries in Asia, or exercises in futility, or, at best, gestures which might be used another day but would be ill-timed now.

When a reporter approaches a knowledgeable government official here and asks why aren't we doing more about China, the result usually goes something like this:

He is shamed into acknowledging that a number of bright, thoughtful people in the White House and State Department, who are just as enlightened as all the academic and journalistic China experts, have devoted a good deal of attention to trying to answer the question.

But then he is told that the intransigence of the Chinese leaders thwarts any approach. Every trial balloon has been shot down. A surplus food offer? No. The beginnings of trade? No. Visits by journalists? First, yes, then no.

And look what happened, they say, when the then assistant secretary of state Roger Hilsman, proposed, in December, 1963, the "open door" to discussions with Red China, given certain policy changes. Vehemently rebuffed.

Change in policy is never precluded, but the Chinese have not shown the slightest interest, administration officials say.

Several experts felt that this attitude means a further locking of U.S. policy into a narrow, military posture toward China to preserve her containment. In the long run, they say, this is impossible, so something else must be tried.

Further, a number of the speakers righteously proclaimed (with variations) that "America can no longer ignore the existence of one quarter of the world's population."

It was an oversimplification, but to be expected at a conference where those attending spoke of bringing a great nation with "understandable" aspirations into the family of

There was a great counter the customary image of a menacing monolith led by unreasonable men.

An important motive force for the conference was a thorough survey released last December which found that 28 per cent of the 1,500-person select sample did not know that Communists ruled mainland China.

WASHINGTON POST Sunday, May 23, 1965

It is, of course, always easier to take potshots at the policymakers than it is to take on the responsibility of making policy, especially when it must be meshed, as it must be currently, with military moves.

Every one of the previous

Asian Speakers Spar Over Peking UN Role

By H. RUSSELL AUSTIN
Of The Journal Staff

Washington, D. C.—The Nationalist Chinese ambassador to the United States and the former ambassador of India to the United Nations, who used to fight over Red China's admission on the floor of the world organization, renewed their dispute Friday in a new arena.

In speeches at the closing session of the first national conference on the United States and China, before more than 700 delegates from 37 states, they fought to a verbal draw.

But the United States assistant secretary of state for international organization broke the deadlock by throwing his weight, predictably, on the side of the gentleman from Taipei.

"It is obvious that the government on the island of Taiwan (Formosa) is unable to discharge the responsibilities which the UN Charter vests in great power China," said the former chief Indian UN delegate, Arthur Lall, now a visiting professor at Cornell university.

Lall pointed out that because of the exclusion of mainland China, the withdrawal of Indonesia and the nonrepresentation of the divided Koreans and Vietnams, nearly half of Asia's people are unrepresented in the UN—more than all the people of North and South America, Africa and Oceania.

Unqualified to Belong

"This is not only an unhealthy state of affairs for the world body," Lall said, "but a dangerous

of my country is legally and morally disqualified to be a member of the UN.

"That regime has been condemned by the general assembly for having committed aggression in Korea," he said. "It is today championing what it calls 'wars of liberation.' What this regime stands for is exactly the opposite of what the UN stands for."

Harland Cleveland, assistant secretary of state threw his weight on Tsiang's side when he said:

"The participation of the Peking regime in the United Nations is an academic question. It is made academic by the free choice of a hard and hostile line by the authorities in Peking toward the United Nations."

Seek to Subvert UN

"The Chinese leaders now seek to subvert the United Nations by encouraging defection and by threatening to set up a rival organization."

Although the conference, sponsored by Georgetown and American universities in cooperation with the American Friends Service committee and other organizations, did not attempt to work out a consensus among the 35 China experts who spoke, two of the final speakers came close to striking a balance among the opinions heard.

Prof. Robert Scalapino, chairman of the department of political science at the University of California, said:

"Containment by isolation has not been successful and never can be successful. It only serves the cause of fanaticism in China. We ought to complicate decision making for the Chinese Communist leaders, as it would be complicated if they had multiple contacts with the international community."

"It is time for us to say, 'We will exchange scholars with you, we are interested in trade, we will accept you in the United Nations under certain circumstances.'"

"China will resist this attempt," Scalapino predicted. "China's leaders do not want us to change our present policy. They like it just as it is."

A University of Wisconsin specialist in east Asian history, Prof. Eugene Boardman, also called for understanding and patience in dealing with China.

"The United Nations is trying to keep the peace of the world and to substitute peaceful settlement for violent settlement of international disputes. This is anathema to the present generation of Chinese leaders, who extol, support and practice violence as the chosen instrument of their foreign policy."

Exchanges

What is considered by many the first key to contact with the Chinese is to get American journalists into China.

It now stands that about 50 news outlets have approval from the State Department but are refused Chinese visas. They have tied this to a settlement of the Taiwan issue (to which nearly every strand of the web of Sino-American non-relations is tied).

Said Robert W. Barnett, deputy assistant secretary of state for far eastern affairs:

"We would like to have our people meet with the people of China. In this field of relationship, it is Peking which is blocking the exchanges of newspapermen which many see as a needed first forward stride for wider association between our peoples."

But this has gone up and down, with periods when the State Department was against and the Chinese for. Moreover, the U.S. approval of newsmen's travel are exceptions on a general ban on travel to China and travel of Chinese here.

Break through this barrier, say the critics, and follow with exchanges of all kinds of data, and of scholars, teachers, students, business and professional men, agricultural technicians, cultural ex-

Friends report:

"formed

Red China Painted By State Dept. Aide As Bully of World

Cleveland charged that the U.N.'s effort "to substitute peaceful settlement for violent settlement of international disputes" is "anathema to the present generation of Chinese Communist leaders."

He traced the record of Chinese aggression and refusal to abide by U. N. decisions, as the long and short of it is that the Chinese Communist leaders want no part of the United Nations as we know it.

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Trade

Red China now trades with more than 100 nations and its trade with non-Communist countries in 1964 totaled more than two billion dollars worth of goods.

They forswear interest in trade with the United States. In turn, this country not only has had a blanket bar to China trade dating back to the Korean War, but also has tried to discourage others from trading.

Advocates of trade usually concede that there is not too much in the way of needed goods or quality that the Chinese can offer us, and that China well may turn down any proposal.

But it is the political advantage of an offer that is prized. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce calls it a move "to more effectively open channels of communication." Pragmatists say it will put the Chinese on the spot in the eyes of the world.

Said Howard R. Stephenson, executive secretary of the San Francisco Area World Trade Association:

"This trade, were it to develop, would also benefit the Chinese. It would help them build their economy. But if we really trade, the benefits to us will be greater than the benefits to them. If we believe in the competitive system, let's compete. We can't compete by maintaining a policy of economic isolation."

Said Senator McGovern, who wants to sell wheat and other surplus food to the Chinese:

"Removing the political barriers around Food Peace might not prompt foreign governments, including mainland China, to U.S. food."

"But at least we have taken a position before the world that the United States will enhance both political and political great power."

Harland Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, said the concluding session of the United States and China National Conference on the two-day conference at the International Inn was jointly sponsored by Georgetown University and the American Friends Service

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Three Aspects of Change

The Providence Sunday Journal, May 9, 1965

Opening up the lines in three policy areas is most talked about by the idea men on China policy. These areas are seating in the United Nations, trade, and the lifting of the travel ban along with the promoting of exchanges of newsmen, scholars, and professional men, and of all kinds of information.

UN Recognition

For 16 years the United States has kept Red China out of the UN and kept nationalist China's permanent seat on the Security Council as one of five big powers.

The theory, expressed at the conference by Harland Cleveland, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, is that Red China could subvert the U.N. faster than the UN could liberalize China's policies.

"Only if they modify their hostility toward the community of nations can they really expect to play an acceptable role in that community for the benefit of themselves—and the rest of us, too," Mr. Cleveland said. Now there is some indication China could gain membership on the next vote. There is also a question about whether she wants it.

At the conference, John K. Fairbank, director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard, had this view:

"The argument for bringing China into the UN is not that we are now forced to do so nor even that we ought to, but rather that it would be our smartest move in the current situation."

"By keeping China out of the UN for so long we have built up a bargaining position, just as our bombing North Viet Nam tries to build up a bargaining position. If we seem likely to gain more by giving up these tactical policies, we can do so."

Arthur Lall, former permanent representative of India to the U.N. had another rarely-heard argument:

"There is the feeling that if China, outside the U.N., can get on fairly well—in the view of many Asian countries, very well—then why should we continue in the U.N.?"

"I will not name the states I have in mind, but I can see certain other states leaving the U.N. in the foreseeable future if China continues to be virtually excluded from this organization."

Letter Calls Taiwan Obstacle

April 30, 1965
THE WASHINGTON POST

United States insistence on maintaining Taiwan as a Nationalist Chinese bastion is the principal obstacle to normalization of relations between the United States and Communist China, Edgar Snow, prominent American writer on Asia, said in a letter made public yesterday.

Snow, who recently conferred with Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in Peking, said the mainland Chinese are adamant in their demand that the United States recognize Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan and agree "in principle not to interfere with the efforts to unite Taiwan with the mainland."

Once the United States cedes these matters of principle, Snow says Chou told him the "timing and manner of American armed withdrawal would be subject to negotiation." Snow added that Communist Chinese officials were unanimous in agreeing that this was the only fundamental issue in the 15-year impasse between Washington and Peking.

His letter was made public at the National Conference on China — its second — being held at the International Inn. Snow was to have been the speaker at a conference dinner last night, but illness detained him in Peking.

Meanwhile, more than 100 academicians, students, businessmen and other interested persons took part in a two-day conference on U.S.-China relations. The conference is jointly sponsored by Georgetown University and American Friends for the Committee.

The Friends Service Committee also used the Conference to unveil a 63-page reference in Washington on the calling for a new, more flexible American policy reflected this awakening interest.

INITIATIVE came from the American Friends Service Committee, and it was sponsored by Georgetown and American Universities. Nearly 1000 people from 37 countries attended the session.

The conference had no policy objective. It presented to the audiences opinions of all kinds — ranging from those of the Nationalist Chinese ambassador and some academicians who think the only answer is a punitive lesson for Mao Tse-tung, to a film about China by Felix Greene, who has never found anything to criticize about Communist China.

Under discussion were such topics as diplomatic recognition, United Nations membership, trade, newspaper and cultural exchanges. There was no unanimity of opinion on any issue, either by the speakers or the questioners in the audience.

nize Peking as the legitimate government of China; end restrictions on communication, trade and cultural exchange; declare U.S. willingness to negotiate with Peking and join in mutual interest projects; and show concern for the "well-being" of all China.

The report, entitled "A New China Policy—Some Quaker Proposals," is being published for the Committee by the Yale University Press.

It advances the contention that the current impasse between the United States and Communist China is leading to mutual suicide and makes

U.S.-Chinese relations. The various points of view expressed ranged all the way from proposals to recognize Peking to calls for an even stronger American line against Chinese "aggression and totalitarianism."

May 14, 1965

NATION

U.S. Opinion Divided Over Asian Giant

By R. H. SHACKFORD
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

American public opinion is as sharply divided as that of Asians over correct policies and attitudes toward Communist China.

But the important new factor in the United States is increasing public discussion, after years of almost

silence about China — its short- and long-range problems — after explosion of the Chinese atomic bomb and the expanded war in Viet Nam.

Much of the discussion — which can hardly be called a "debate" — is based on opinion and wishful thinking rather than on hard facts. But at least there is growing awareness that China is the most formidable challenge the U.S. and the rest of the world face.

A recent 2-day national conference in Washington on the U.S.-China relationship reflected this awakening interest.

Shackford

BUT THE SPEAKERS in general and the audience attitudes confirmed the need for far greater knowledge of the basic facts about China and all its ramifications.

Some speakers revealed their own lack of information. For example, a former Librarian of Congress, Luther Evans, called for the U.S. Government to begin a major program of translation of Communist Chinese publications. A Canadian newspaperman, Frederick Nossal, who served a period in Peking, reminded Evans that for 15 years the consulate general in Hong Kong had translated almost available publication from the mainland.

The conference ended on what the final speaker himself called a "centrist" position. He was Dr. Robert Scalapino of the University of California.

HE WAS HEAVILY applauded when he urged the U.S. to look ahead — "start opening doors" — to the day when there could be exchanges and trade; bringing Peking into more world decisions and, in certain circumstances, into the UN.

But he warned his applauders that they would boo him after his next paragraph — urging absolute firmness by the U.S. on aggression, "either old or new," and doing everything possible to prevent extremism from dominating inside the Communist world (that is, Peking's version of communism). He rejected all thoughts of abandoning the struggle in Viet Nam, warning that if the Chinese win there, it will be Thailand or Venezuela or somewhere else tomorrow.

Ahab and the China Whale

An assorted group of scholars, bureaucrats, ministers, Congressmen, newsmen, ladies and old China hands gathered in Washington for two days at the end of April to talk and think about the unthinkable — understanding, recognizing and communicating with Communist China. The big news they made was the fact that the time had come for such a conference. Registration began just a day after the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, capitalists all, resolved that the United States ought to "explore steps designed to more effectively open channels of communication with the people of mainland China." And it came a few months after the Harris poll reported a softening in the hawkishness of the American people. Once 7 to 1 against admitting Red China to the UN, the people now oppose admission by only 2 to 1.

The Quakers, who organized the conference with the help of Georgetown and American Universities, persuaded such diverse groups as the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the League of Women Voters, Americans for Democratic Action, and the United Automobile Workers to take part.

Despite this diversity, the two days belonged to individuals and groups advocating some accommodation with Communist China. First of all, they outnumbered the others. At the main banquet, two-thirds of the few hundred present there burst into applause when O. Edmund Clubb, head of the State Department's China desk until the days of McCarthyism, called for policies that would ease the way of American newsmen into China. Only a third broke into applause when Clare McDermott, former Peking correspondent for Reuters, suggested that no woman in the hall would enjoy life in modern China. More important, the conference itself — the forum, the speeches, the distribution of books and pamphlets — meant clearer light on China and sharper analysis of the logic of U.S. policy.

One speaker did not show up. Edgar Snow was ill in Switzerland, but he sent a statement that was mimeographed and distributed to the participants. "The truth is that the American chase in Vietnam is part of a larger hunt for China which has obsessed American power for fifteen years," he said. "It may be compared to the lifelong pursuit of Moby Dick by the brooding New England whale hunter, Ahab. . . . In the end Ahab kills the whale and therefore destroys himself. . . . Is the American pursuit of China . . . just as senseless, as profound, as inevitable and as fatal? Or is there some way to halt the hunt short of catastrophe to Ahab, or Moby Dick, or to both?" The participants did not answer those questions, but they made a small beginning toward grappling with them.

Donner 1, Colo. — ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

U.S.-China Relations Explored By Recent Washington Conference

GALION, OHIO, INQUIRER
Page 12 Wed., May 12, 1965

By MRS. EDWARD C. HEOLL
Gallion League of Women Voters

For the past 15 years the U.S. Government has maintained a curtain of ignorance against mainland China, shielding the American public from normal contacts and knowledge of events as they have developed in the land where 700 million Chinese people reside. The same can be said of mainland China, where the government has daily misinformed its people, one-fourth of the world's population, as to the nature of those whom they call Enemy Number One, the American Imperialists.

This mutual ignorance and misinformation has resulted in the Bamboo Curtain, creating hostility and tension to a degree that can lead only to mutual suicide.

The American Friends Service Committee of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), believing in the oneness of mankind and the worth of each person, feels that men can resolve their differences without violence, and that the present situation, lacking any mutual understanding between China and the U.S., is dangerous not only for ourselves but for the entire world.

For the purpose of opening to public discussion the present stalemate between the U.S. and China, the A.F.S.C., in conjunction with Georgetown and American Universities, sponsored a U.S.-China Conference in Washington, April 29-30. Some 37 national organizations cooperated, including the A.A.U.W., the N.E.A., Y.M.C.A., League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, and the National Council of Churches as well as individual church divisions such as the Methodist Church, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Presbyterian Church, Protestant Episcopal Church, and the United Church of Christ. Thirty-seven states were represented among the 750 participants, and members of Congress were present at two invitational breakfasts.

Every possible angle of U.S.-China relations was discussed and debated. Pros and cons were given equal opportunity to be heard, in line with the democratic process. Official views of

the State Department were presented along with those of other diplomats; academic opinions from professors and scholars were voiced as well as realistic reports from Canadian journalists and educators who have recently returned with first-hand knowledge of conditions in China. The entire proceedings were taped by the Voice of America, for later broadcast to the Chinese People's Republic.

Discuss Trade

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, rounding up a convention in Washington the previous day, furnished members for two panels on "Trade with China". This organization had just passed a resolution favoring such trade with not a single dissent from the 1,000 delegates present. Ben Segal, of the AFL-CIO, emphasized trade as a weapon of subversion. "We have an opportunity to corrupt China with our material prosperity. Are we afraid of the challenge to compete?" "Who would have guessed 20 years ago," added Howard Stephenson of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, "that our best overseas trading partner today would be Japan? and our best in Europe, Germany?"

At present, China's trade with non-communist nations accounts for 60 per cent of her total foreign trade of about \$1 billion per year. Although she would no doubt refuse to enter into trade negotiations with the U.S. at first, because of our policy of embargo over the past 15 years, a three-cornered trade through Hong Kong could easily be set up if the U.S. Government consented to relax the present restrictions. Even a lifting of the secondary boycott on shipping and banking with third countries would help American business. Taking a banker's position, Harris Vennema of Philadelphia expressed concern over China's ability to pay.

The ethno-centric history of the Chinese people was outlined as a basis for understanding the present regime by Professor John King Fairbank of Harvard University. He foresaw that by the year's end we would still be in the Vietnam ground war, with mounting casualties. The two sides, Peking's "total war for liberation", and Washington's, that "aggression comes from the

north", are both half-truths. Military containment is not enough, nor is economic aid. We must have something to offer at the social and political ideological level to the people of China's periphery.

Cites Power of Gun

Professor Richard Walker of the University of South Carolina asserted that the U.S. has a more legitimate influence in Asia than China, since land divides and water connects, and that this hegemony must be demonstrated by the power of the gun, the only thing understood by China. He proceeded to dispel what he called the myths of U.S. losses and Chinese gains, but lost his audience when he stated, in referring to China's vast population, that "people do not count."

A dissent came from Rhoads Murphey, editor of the Journal of Asian Studies, who felt that it is difficult to defend against world opinion that only acts of violence can make any impact on China, and that vital security interests are involved. This only perpetuates bellicosity and builds up the internal state of China because it is threatened.

Professor Michael Lindsay of American University added that communism is curable. China's illusions of the western world can be dispelled by contact, and any communist who starts to think is a potential ally. Such revisionism might take 10 to 15 years to effect a change for the better, but if we cannot use conventional diplomacy to accomplish this, we must be prepared to be unconventional.

Opening the panel on "China and the U.N.", Asst. Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland stated that the question of China's admission was academic. China is opposed to joining a world order dedicated to peace, her ideology calls for war, she considers the U.S. an imperialist agency, and she will never cooperate in arms control or other fields as this would mean changing her basic dogma. To the supposition that international obligations might change China's sense of responsibility, Cleveland stated that "The shrew is not so readily tamed." American policy must be one of military containment until China's mood changes, un-

til revisionism can set in. When asked from the audience whether this meant until Mao (Chairman Mao Tse-tung) dies, he replied, "Every government we deal with is on the way out!"

Opposes Red Seat

Dr. Tingfu Tsiang, Ambassador from the Republic of China on Taiwan, felt that the communist regime of the People's Republic on the mainland was legally and morally unqualified for U.N. membership which if given would enhance its prestige and damage its neighbors who stand in fear of the Red Colossus. "The least you can do is not to repeat the mistakes of Nehru," he finished.

To this Professor Arthur Lall, former U.N. representative from India, replied that if China had been a member of the U.N., making a satisfactory channel for negotiations available, the recent clash between China and India could have been avoided. Members of the Security Council must be Great Powers, with a special responsibility to preserve the peace of the world. Interesting panels were that on "The government of Taiwan is not qualified to discharge the responsibility of a Great Power, since sovereignty vests in the people and cannot lie where the Chinese masses do not reside. A country has a right to determine its internal organization, and much as we may dislike the form, we cannot interfere."

Perhaps one of the most interesting panels was that on "Travel and Cultural Exchange". Without fuller knowledge on both sides, chances of any improvement in U.S.-China relations are poor. Dr. Geoffrey Andrew of Canada related his experiences in a recent visit to China, where he found the "tremendous effort of a people trying to change a fossilized civilization into modern society." Director of a Canadian exchange program with Chinese educators, he called for U.S. encouragement of public travel in China.

Dr. Luther Evans, former UNESCO Director-General and Librarian of Congress, proposed that the U.S. Government and people should try to do everything possible to enhance receipt and distribution of information on China. Much is known by the government, but it is kept in archives and not disseminated for public knowledge since

we have no official relations with China. The Toronto Globe & Mail's Frederick Nossal, recently returned from a correspondent's sojourn in China, asked why small U.S. newspapers will not print Chinese information even when it is available to them. It was felt that a curtain of fear hangs over the American public.

Moral Commitment

Robert Barnett, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, emphasized our moral commitment to Taiwan, and that no amount of cultural exchange with China should overlook this premise of our Asian policy. The entire question of Taiwan was alluded to more or less indirectly throughout the conference, out of respect perhaps for what Mr. Cleveland referred to as a government on its way out.

Concluding the conference, Professor Robert Scalapino of the University of California spoke on "The Future of U.S. Relations with China." He stated that power today is held by three continental mass societies which are independent, isolated, self-sufficient, and ethno-centric; the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and China. It is difficult for any of them to adjust their views to those held by the others. Each feels it is morally right. The U.S. has made many mistakes in its foreign policy, chiefly in underestimating the psychology of inevitability and the importance of organization per se which have resulted in communist gains.

We must define a centrist position in our China policy, neither extreme left nor extreme right, but an urbane, mature position of moderation. We must attempt to involve China in important decision-making on world problems. China will resist, reject our overtures. But we must be patient, firm against aggression, and flexible enough that we do not become polarized at one extreme or another. In view of the American temperament, this is difficult to do, but we must learn to compromise, to accommodate, in order to help preserve world peace.

Cecil Thomas of the Friends Service Committee closed with the thought that "Wars begin in the minds of men, and it is there that the bridges of peace must be built."

APPENDIX E

National Committee on United States-China Relations

- 1) Statement of Purpose
- 2) Organizing Group
- 3) Tentative Program
- 4) Letter of Invitation

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES CHINA RELATIONS STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The National Committee on United States China Relations believes that we urgently need a public discussion of our current China policy: the basic issues, present problems, and possible alternatives. Such a discussion is essential in terms of our national interest and the peace and security of the world.

The Committee recognizes that there are no simple or easy solutions to the many problems confronting us in our relations with mainland China, particularly in view of our special relations with Taiwan. For over a decade and a half, the contest of power and purpose between ourselves and the People's Republic of China has developed with a maximum of mutual hostility and suspicion and a minimum of contact. This contest has already involved military conflict, and it poses substantial risks of war.

The basic differences in ideological outlook, national goals and commitments between us and the leaders of mainland China constitute a major obstacle to improvement in relations, which will not soon be resolved. However, despite our recognition of the difficulties posed by

Chinese power and policy, the likelihood of their initial negative reaction, and the fact of U.S. interests and obligations in Asia, we must continue and increase our search for constructive responses.

The Committee — representing a wide variety of Americans in public life from business, labor, religious, academic and nongovernmental organizations — exists to encourage and facilitate a nationwide educational program* on United States China relations. The Committee where proper and feasible will assist concerned organizations and individuals in such an educational effort.

We do not intend to advocate any policy proposals, but are hopeful that out of a national dialogue on the subject there will emerge a consensus as to whether any modifications in our existing policies are desirable.

We urge all Americans, who share our belief that public discussion and increased knowledge and understanding of U.S. China relations are needed, to join with us in this effort.

The Committee's possible educational program includes studies, conferences, public discussions, consultation with nongovernmental organizations, etc. The Committee will promote research and discussion but will not take positions on issues.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES CHINA RELATIONS

ORGANIZING GROUP

CHARLES A. BANE, Isham, Lincoln & Beale; former President, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Chicago, Illinois.

A. DOAK BARNETT, Professor, Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

JOHN BENNETT, President, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y.

BENJAMIN J. BUTTENWIESER, Limited Partner, Kuhn, Loeb and Co., New York.

WEN CHAMBERLAIN, Department of Physics, University of California, Berkeley, California; Nobel Laureate.

GREVILLE CLARK, Lawyer, Co-author of *World Peace Through World Law*.

CHARLES DENNISON, Vice-President, International Minerals and Chemicals Company, New York, N.Y.

THEODORE GILL, President, San Francisco Seminary, San Anselmo, Calif.

ROBERT W. GILMORE, President, Center for War/Peace Studies, New York, N.Y.

JACK GOMPERTS, former Chairman, World Trade Association, San Francisco, Calif.

HENCE HELLER, Partner, Schwabacher & Co., San Francisco, Calif.

DAVID HUNTER, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Churches, New York, N.Y.

DANIEL E. KOSHLAND, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Levi Strauss Company, San Francisco, Calif.

BETTY GOETZ LAIDL, Research Associate, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, New York, N.Y.

WILLIAM E. MORAN, JR., Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

B.T. ROCCA, SR., Honorary Chairman of the Board, Pacific Vegetable Oil Corporation, San Francisco, Calif.

ROBERT A. SCALAPINO, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

EUSTACE SELIGMAN, Partner, Sullivan & Cromwell; Honorary Chairman, Foreign Policy Association, New York, N.Y.

ALLAN SPROUL, Director, Wells Fargo Bank; Director, Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp., San Francisco, Calif.

CARL F. STOVER, Executive Director, National Institute of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C.

ANNA LORD STRAUSS, Former President, League of Women Voters of the U.S., New York, N.Y.

CECIL THOMAS, Associate Peace Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, San Francisco, Calif.

(Associations listed for identification purposes only)

APRIL 1966

POSSIBLE PROGRAM FOR THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON U.S. CHINA RELATIONS

RESEARCH AND CONFERENCE PROGRAM

It should be noted that while such action may lead to position papers and policy proposals for an improved U.S. China policy, these will not be positions taken by the Committee. Some of the critical questions to be examined on which alternate policy proposals may result are contained in the following "Working Party Topics."

PUBLIC DISCUSSION PROGRAM

to encourage serious consideration of various proposals by a wide and strategically placed audience. All proposals will be presented in the name of those recommending them, not in the name of the Committee. The Committee hopes to engage qualified people and existing agencies to:

1. stimulate discussion on mass media
2. convene regional opinion-leaders' conferences, on the pattern of the 1965 Washington China Conference
3. arrange for specialized dissemination of the results of studies
4. consult with appropriate national voluntary organizations as to their own policy positions and educational programs on this issue.

A MATERIALS PREPARATION PROGRAM

to encourage competent organizations and individuals in the preparation of lists of speakers and resource people, relevant bibliographies and study material, compilations of statements by organizations and individuals, reprints of useful articles and background materials.

WORKING PARTY TOPICS

- 1—Recent discussions and stands with respect to admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N. What are the lines of argument, the divisions of opinion, the current Peking position, and the range of realistic alternatives?
- 2—China's economic relations with the communist and non-communist nations. Trade trends during the last five years.
- 3—Disarmament and arms control—China's stand on disarmament and arms control, proliferation of nuclear weapons, etc. Prospects of involvement of China in disarmament and arms control.
- 4—National and international policies which would maximize the chances for constructive change in the developing nations coming without mass violence or the imposition of totalitarian political systems.
- 5—China's basic foreign policies—the influence of U.S. policy on these; the extent and bases of Chinese expansionism; the relationship of China's domestic policies and problems to her foreign policies Chinese military policy.
- 6—The Sino-Soviet dispute—its implications for U.S. policy; its effect on neighboring communist countries (North Vietnam, North Korea etc.)
- 7—Non-governmental contacts between Chinese and Americans—th record to date; possible future role for such contacts.
- 8—Bases of popular American attitudes towards changing U.S. Chin policy.
- 9—Summary of U.S. policy towards China from 1950 to 1965 and exploration of the results of this policy.
- 10—Chinese domestic policies and their implications for U.S. Chin policy.
- 11—Present position and future of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

ORGANIZING GROUP FOR

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES CHINA RELATIONS

260 CALIFORNIA STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111

April 14, 1966

We wish to invite you to join with us in forming a national committee on United States China relations. As you can see by the enclosed statement of purpose and proposed program, we are forming an ad hoc committee to increase the quantity and quality of education and discussion on this important question. It is needless to stress to you the great importance and urgency of this task. The only question that has been in our mind has been that of timing, and of course our great reluctance to add another committee to everyone's overburdened life. We have discussed this matter among ourselves and feel that we can wait no longer.

Our plans are to have a National Committee of fifty to sixty people, distributed both geographically and in terms of the various important publics of our country. We have made a good start and, if we are joined by people like yourself, will succeed in demonstrating the widespread basis of this concern and create a greatly needed national discussion. The actual operation and staff supervision would be handled by a fairly small Executive Committee, although of course any member of the National Committee who is able to attend the Executive Committee meetings would be welcomed as a full participant. Because of the educational nature of this committee (which will not take policy positions) and our plan to keep all National Committee members fully informed, this type of setup should be adequate.

At the moment we are incorporating the Committee as a New York State membership corporation and plan to apply for Federal tax exemption in the near future. Our present thinking is to announce the Committee's formation after achieving a representative committee and suitable staff.

It is quite obvious that continuing work needs to be done in the precise articulation of our program plans. We have asked various groups of experts to give thought to this matter and submit their recommendations to us. If you have any suggestions or comments on the enclosed material or the proposals made in this letter, we would be delighted to have them.

We feel we are doing the right thing in initiating this effort because of the almost universal encouragement we have received from a wide variety of individuals in government, business, labor, academic, and nongovernmental organizations. We hope that you will feel the same and will join us in serving as a member of the National Committee. We of course will be glad to discuss this matter further with you either by mail or in person, but hope that this invitation will give you enough information for you to agree to join us.

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Scalapino
For the Organizing Group

Enclosures: Organizing Group
Statement of purpose and program
Return card and envelope

APPENDIX F

- 1) USIS Press Release
- 2) Letter from Vice President Humphrey
- 3) Press Editorials
- 4) Press Clippings

USIS PRESS RELEASE, SENT TO U.S. EMBASSIES ALL OVER THE WORLD 6/10/66

CITIZENS CHINA STUDY GROUP WELCOMED

Washington -- The State Department has welcomed the formation of a citizens committee, including experts on Asia, which will sponsor public discussion of Communist China.

Robert J. McCloskey, Department spokesman, on June 10 said, "We welcome any endeavours which help keep the American public informed about (Communist) China through objective and analytical seminars, debates and information programs."

The Committee was formed in New York June 9. More than 60 prominent business, academic, professional and religious leaders throughout the United States are members. It is called the National Committee on United States China Relations.

"We have noted with interest the news story about the creation of this groups," Mr. McCloskey said.

Mr. McCloskey recalled that Secretary of State Rusk, in an appearance before the Far East Subcommittee of the House of Representatives last March, had supported study of Sino-American relations.

"We strongly hold," Mr. McCloskey said in paraphrasing the Secretary, "that Communist China's policies and intentions in all their aspects need to be examined and re-examined continually."



THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1966

Dear Dr. Scalapino:

I read with interest of the formation of the National Committee on United States-China Relations.

I was particularly pleased to hear of your activity since, on my return a short time ago from the Far East, I had on several occasions spoken of the need for such a group.

I hope you will keep me abreast of your activity. I would welcome, in addition, any thoughts and ideas you might personally have regarding Asian and Chinese policy.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


Hubert H. Humphrey

Dr. Robert A. Scalapino
University of California
Berkeley, California

Editorials

Approach to China

THE NEWLY ORGANIZED National Committee on United States-China Relations, a group of some 60 leaders in the academic, business, labor, professional and religious fields, has set out to discover what this country clearly needs—a realistic China policy.

The organization has no intention of tailoring or advocating any specific policy proposals but hopes to provide objective analysis and to stimulate sophisticated discussion of China policy.

To such ends, the committee proposes to provide study materials, to organize international scientific and medical conferences to which both American and Chinese specialists will be invited; to hold national and regional public conferences on China; to conduct seminars on specific issues, and to promote cultural and scientific exchanges. It plans a market survey on possibilities of U.S. trade with Red China and will examine such questions as a resumption of diplomatic relations, the admission of China to the United Nations, and the participation of China in disarmament negotiations.

IT IS NOTEWORTHY that the Committee will establish headquarters in San Francisco as well as in New York, and that the membership of Bay Area residents is proportionately high. On its roster are President Clark Kerr of the University of California, Marriner Eccles of the Utah Construction and Mining company, Jack Gomperts, former chairman of the World Trade Association and others. Co-chairman and spokesman of the Committee is Robert A. Scalapino, UC professor of political science and a noted Asian scholar. Prominent among its organizers is another San Franciscan, Cecil Thomas, associate peace secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

The arrival of this organization on the national scene is both hopeful and timely, as public and official sentiment grows toward alteration of the traditional standoffish attitude toward China, and as numerous proposals come forward to "contain, not isolate" China and to "build bridges" between the United States and its most bitter antagonist.

Looking Ahead at China

It is an overdue but welcome sign of the times that a group of prominent, concerned citizens should now organize the National Committee on United States-China Relations. Its aim is to help prepare the American people for their inevitably expanding ties and dealings with the most populous and perplexing nation in the world.

The Committee eschews policy pleadings but it represents and hopes to mobilize a forward-looking and generally centrist body of opinion. This is in reassuring contrast to, for instance, the backward-looking group which calls itself the Committee of One Million and seeks to freeze the status quo. The new Committee wants to lay out what it considers the intelligent alternative courses for American leaders and citizens, and to prevent the know-nothings and polemicists from having the field to themselves. The Committee's job is cut out for it and we hope it does it well.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 12, 1966

Committee on China

Formation of a new National Committee on United States China Relations is welcome indeed. The business and religious leaders and scholars who make up the group are persons of repute and their objective, which is to serve as a national resource center through which the current discussion of U.S. China policy can be maintained at a high intellectual level, is most worthwhile.

In a statement of purpose, the committee founders said, "We do not intend to advocate any policy proposals, but are hopeful that out of a national dialogue on the subject there will emerge a consensus as to whether any modifications in our existing policies are desirable." This is a fair and open-minded approach which repudiates, for example, the tired clichés of the so-called Committee of One Million, which for several years has propagandized against admission of mainland China to the United Nations.

The committee members obviously, and properly, believe a change in U.S. policy toward mainland China is overdue. There are many indications that the American people are ready to take another look at a policy that has been frozen for nearly 20 years. Perhaps the best indication of that is the fact that Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the head of the Chinese Nationalist government on Formosa, has been in the United States for nearly a year trying to stop an improvement in relations between Washington and Peking.

Yet this must come if there is ever to be any peace in the world, and we are confident it will come if the American people are encouraged to study the facts objectively. The facts will speak for themselves. Here is a field in which the new committee can perform a valuable public service.

APPENDIX G

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS
777 United Nations Plaza
12th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10017

DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

(June 1966 - November 1966)

Robert A. Scalapino, Acting Chairman

Carl F. Stover, Treasurer

A. Doak Barnett

Claude A. Buss

Alexander Eckstein

Robert W. Gilmore

Jack Gomperts

David Hunter

Daniel E. Koshland

John M. H. Lindbeck

Robert Mang, ex officio

Cecil Thomas, ex officio

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES CHINA RELATIONS

Program Proposal for the Year October 1966 - September 1967
(for discussion, Development Committee Meeting, September 9)

Introduction:

Throughout the United States a searching, anxious interest is growing concerning the new and perplexing developments inside China and the future direction of American China policy.

Newspapers across the nation daily remind us of increasing world-wide speculation over United States-China relations.

Increasingly, China scholars are asked for speeches, background information, books, position papers, conferences, and analyses of China.

Top level leaders in all branches of government and both major political parties are watching and studying the situation at home and abroad.

A sizable American public seems ready to seriously consider and discuss the problems and opportunities in Sino-American relations.

A danger exists that without sufficient information about viable alternatives, an impatient public will demand a simple answer, causing a polarization of opinion that forecloses discussion.

At such a time, we believe it urgent to expand the dialogue, to examine the options, and to reach and inform an ever-widening circle of citizens.

The National Committee on United States China Relations therefore proposes to help meet these needs with the following educational programs and projects:

I. Information Program

The primary function of the Information Program can best be described as that of a clearing-house for information on past and present activities and publications, current events, and factual background materials relating to China. Within this general framework, we propose three categories of activities:

- A. Publication and Compilation of Materials for Distribution to Public, Mass Media and through other Organizations
Regular publications (newsletter and resource bulletin), issues packets, reprints and layman's bibliographies.
(See first information proposal.)

- 1) The committee will produce its own materials only in those areas where it feels existing materials are inadequate.

- 2) Where outside material does exist and is suitable, arrangements will be made with the author or sponsoring organization to reprint and/or distribute the material, with proper crediting, to groups and individuals who would otherwise not receive them.
- 3) Stimulation of other groups to produce needed materials. The Committee will first determine the need, then decide which organization can best produce materials to meet this need. Then a proposal would be presented to the individual or organization and aid offered where feasible for e.g.: help in distribution. This method could also be used to induce organizations hitherto not involved in this area, to include China in their programs.

Particular attention will be paid to producing and/or compiling for distribution materials which can be put to effective use by other organizations in their own ongoing program. Inquiries will be made with national organizations such as the League of Women Voters about what materials, not already available, they could use and whether they would distribute these materials through their local branches.

B. Support Materials for Conference and Seminars Programs

Content and purpose of support materials will vary in order to meet the particular needs of each conference or seminar. In general however, the materials fall into three categories:

- 1) Maintenance of a China "Resources File" covering information on speakers, research institutes, audio-visual aids, etc.
- 2) Production or compilation of material designed for specific conference requests e.g.: materials on U.N. for UCLA Conference this fall.
- 3) Production or compilation of background material for mass media programs and for special seminar programs.

C. Education Program

1) Teacher Education

The most immediate need in this area is to compile and maintain a file of existing programs for training teachers for education on East Asia, what organizations are willing to aid teachers in this field, what curriculum development centers are including China in their projects, and what

resources in terms of curriculum outlines, audio-visual aids, educational materials, etc., are available for use in teaching about China.*

Once such a survey has been made, the National Committee would set up a program to meet existing needs; e.g.:

a. Cooperation in setting up teacher's seminars on China:

-----Seminars on "Teaching About China," to be held at teacher's colleges or educational centers, under the joint sponsorship of the National Committee on United States China Relations, the National Council for the Social Studies (or the National Education Association) and the college or center.

-----Timing: each seminar would be three days and would take place during school holidays. Three or four, each at a different location, could be held in one year.

-----Participants: educators, school consultants, graduate students in education.

-----Purpose: To introduce educators to background materials and facts on China, available source materials for school use, and present practices in teaching about China; to formulate ways of improving current educational practices; to bring about increase cooperation between China scholars and educators.

Emphasis would be placed on providing participants with extensive literature for future use and exhibits of curriculum materials would be set up.

b. Providing teachers with information about existing educational materials on China.

c. Aiding teacher's colleges in providing adequate curricula on China. This might include bringing in scholars as guest lecturers.

* Nothing comparable to such a file exists at the present time. Although the high school program of the Foreign Policy Association attempts this to some degree in its capacity as consultant to high schools, its concern with China is limited by the fact that its program includes the whole range of foreign affairs. (The F.P.A. feels that such a service on the part of the National Committee would, far from competing, be a valuable assistance to them in their own program.

- d. Working with major colleges to set up summer institutes for teachers on China.

2) Classroom Aids for Teachers

This category is concerned with materials for use in the classroom:

- a. The Committee will explore with the major school world-affairs weeklies -- Civic Education Service, American Education Publications, Inc. and Scholastic Magazines and Book Services -- the possibilities for the Committee providing, and their publishing, articles on China. (It is estimated that Scholastic Magazine alone reaches 16 million students a week.) These three organizations also publish "depth studies" on a single subject or area. Since the weekly magazines tend to be superficial in their coverage, the Committee should also explore the possibilities of their producing "depth studies" on China.
- b. If the Committee, on the basis of the above-mentioned survey, feels that existing educational materials are inadequate, it would commission scholars, educators, and/or curriculum development centers to produce additional materials; giving where necessary and possible, financial aid and aid in distribution. This would include production of audio-visual aids -- in particular tapes and records.
- c. The Committee would compile and distribute an annotated bibliography designed for use in high schools.

SPECIAL STAFF FOR INFORMATION PROGRAM:

Information Secretary
Research Assistant
Secretary

II Mass Media Program

There are two purposes of the Mass Media Program. First, to stimulate radio and television programming on China and United States-China relations; second, to provide resources and background information for the news and features sections in mass media.

A. Promote or Sponsor Special Network (Commercial and Educational) Television Production

- 1) The China Question of the United Nations as viewed by non-aligned nations. A panel discussion, perhaps in cooperation with the United Nations Association, to include diplomats from non-aligned nations at the United Nations, for late September or early October, 1966.
- 2) Background films on China
Production of special feature films on China -- e.g.: China -- From Asian and American Eyes, (Summer, 1967) to include interviews with scholars and government leaders in Washington, D.C., Tokyo, Hong Kong, Phnom Penh and Bangkok.
- 3) T.V. panels of scholars and statesmen by the National Committee on various current events about China.*
Participants would include scholars and government experts on China. Possibly, such programs could include bringing persons back from Hong Kong.

B. Preparation and Distribution of Special Fifteen Minute Tapes by Scholars on China for Radio Audiences, especially for Distribution to Small Independent Stations across the Country, e.g.: China's Economy -- Alexander Eckstein; China's Foreign Policy -- Robert Scalapino; etc.

SPECIAL STAFF FOR MASS MEDIA PROGRAM

$\frac{1}{2}$ Field Representative

III Businessmen and Professional Seminar Programs

The purpose of the seminar program is to engage civic leaders, businessmen and labor and religious leaders in a continuing discussion about China in their own community.

FORMAT

A series of three round table invitational meetings (not more than 20 - 30 persons); two presentations, each thirty minutes long, at each session. An outline description follows:

4:30	Presentation
5:30	Discussion
6:00	Cocktails

*If we were to put one together today -- "What's going on inside China?"

6:30 Dinner
7:30 - 9:30 Discussion

First Meeting

Two China Scholars

- 1) Chinese Nationalism including Chinese civilization, European colonialism in the 19th century, the revolution in the 20th century, and current drive for great power status.
- 2) Chinese Communism in World Affairs, including Chinese theory of revolution, Sino-Soviet dispute, Sino-other Asian Communist differences (Korea, Japan, etc.)

Second Meeting

Two Scholars

- 1) Internal China Today
economic problems, development and prospects including agriculture, industry and foreign trade.
- 2) Comparison of Nationalist and Communist Chinese Views
including biographies of top leaders of both parties views on Tibet, India, Korea, Inner Mongolia, treaties and diplomatic relations with Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Third Meeting

A foreign diplomat or scholar and State Department Official or scholar.

- 1) a moderate critical analysis of U.S. foreign policy indicating advantages of moderate changes, a kind of searching for new approach;
- 2) State Department problem and practical difficulties including difficulty of changing policies, stressing China's intransigence, American people's emotional attitude -- a general indication of the broad political realities of dealing with such a complex issue.

NOTE: This third meeting should not be a debate but a mutual and an accurate appraisal of United States policy, its problems, weak points and barriers.

Possible Target Cities For Seminars

Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, Atlanta, Cleveland,

Columbus, St. Louis, Louisville, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Toledo, Memphis, Wichita, Detroit, Milwaukee, Des Moines, Chicago, Little Rock, Savannah, New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, Denver, Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles.

Approach

Three cities should be selected:
Seminar participants decided upon and invited.
First meeting could be held in each of three cities on consecutive nights; same for second meeting (different speakers) one month following. The first meeting team would take in three more cities in the second month. The third month following there would be a maximum of 9 nights for the Chairman.

Literature

Appropriate brief summary literature include transcripts of the participants' speeches should be made available at each seminar without cost.

SPECIAL STAFF FOR SEMINAR PROGRAM

Field Representative
Secretary

IV. Conferences Program

Purpose: To provide resources and information to organizations and groups which request assistance in planning China conferences; and to bring together scholars to examine complex questions concerning United States-China relations.

A. Conferences Aids:

Fulfilling requests for assistance with local and regional conferences around the nation, including:

- a. a speakers referral service
- b. literature
- c. contingency fund for subsidies in exceptional cases of need or emergency

B. National Symposia and Working Parties on:

- a. Question of "Containment but not Isolation"
- b. United Nations question*
- c. Chinese Economic and Diplomatic Relations
- d. Taiwan and Nationalist China
- e. Question of U.S. Recognition of China
- f. Communist China's Internal Political, Economic and Social Problems

* Depending on UNA study

SPECIAL STAFF FOR CONFERENCE PROGRAM

1/2 Field Representative

Research Assistant (West Coast)

Secretary

V. International Meetings

Purpose: To increase communication and generally to create an atmosphere of mutual interest especially among individual mainland Chinese and Americans.

NOTE: (The international meetings and exchanges part of the National Committee program is difficult to project. At the membership meeting on June 9; it was decided that this part of the program should for the time being be secondary to the internal United States educational activities of the Committee. However, it is generally agreed that contact with persons from other countries who have access to China is an exceedingly important source of information. Therefore, the following proposal is meant as an initial attempt to project the Committee's program in this international area.)

An international, week-long meeting of scholars and journalists in late spring or early summer 1967, probably on other than U.S. or Chinese territory.

Possible places: Japan, Canada, Hong Kong, France, Geneva, or in connection with the U.N. in New York in September 1967.

Subject: China, the United States and international cooperation, to include papers on:

- a. disarmament
- b. international law
- c. economics of development
- d. international credit and trade
- e. institutions of international cooperation
- f. information and travel

Invitees to include select scholars and journalists from: United States, China, Russia, Great Britain, France, Scandinavia, West Germany, Japan, Canada, Nigeria, Ghana, Mexico, Argentina, Australia, etc.

Staff -- regular staff to serve in exploratory phase. Special staff to be added as prospects for meeting develop.

Regular Staff

Executive Director; Associate Director (West Coast); Program Director;
1 Administrative Assistant (Secretary & Bookkeeper); 2 Secretaries.

Robert A. Scalapino

Chairman, Development Committee

S. A. Bine

Lincoln & Beale

Barnett, Professor

San Francisco, Columbia Univ.

Edwin O. Reischauer, Professor

Harvard Univ.

William Roberts, President

Amplex Corporation

B. T. Rocca, Jr., Honorary Chairman

of the Board

Pacific Vegetable Oil Corp.

Bayard Rustin, Exec. Director

A. Philip Randolph Institute

University of Calif.

Orville H. Schell, Jr., Partner

Hughes, Hubbard, Blair & Reed

Benjamin L. Schwartz, Professor

Harvard University

Louis Sloss

Morris Brown Realty Co.

G. William Skinner, Professor

Stanford University

Peter Solbert

Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl

Allan Sprout, Director

Wells Fargo Bank

Carl F. Stover, President

National Institute of Public Affairs

Herbert E. Striner

The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research

William Swartz, President

Embossograph Co.

George Taylor, Director

Far Eastern & Russian Institute,

University of Washington

Norman Thomas

Bishop Donald Harvey Tippett

California Nevada Conference

of the Methodist Church

Tang Tsou, Professor

University of Chicago

Louis Heilbron, President

World Affairs Council of Northern Calif.

Glenn Heller, Partner

Schwabacher & Company

Monsignor George Higgins

National Catholic Welfare Conference

Roger Hilsman, Professor

Columbia University

Harold Hochschild

David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary

National Council of Churches

Joseph Johnson, President

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Edgar F. Kaiser, President

Kaiser Industries

Clark Kerr, President

University of California

Carl L. Kline, M.D.

American Orthopsychiatric Association

Daniel E. Koshland, Chairman, Exec. Committee

Levi Strauss Co.

Betty Coetz Lali, Research Assoc.

Cornell University

Arthur Larson, Director

Rule of Law Research Center

Duke University

John M. H. Lindbeck, Assoc. Director

East Asian Research Center, Harvard

William T. Lusk, President

Tiffany & Company

Mark Mancall, Professor

Stanford University

Arnold H. Maremont, President

Maremont Industries

Will Muslow, Exec. Director

American Jewish Congress

Charles A. McClelland, Professor

University of Southern Calif.

Alfred G. Meyer, Professor

Univ. of Michigan

Donald G. Michael, Professor

Lucian W. Pye, Professor

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A. Philip Randolph, Vice President

AFI-CIO

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Jerome B. Wiesner, Provost

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mary C. Wright, Professor

Yale University

Donald Zagoria, Professor

East Asian Institute, Columbia Univ.

Gilbert White, Professor

University of Chicago

Jerome B. Wiesner, Provost

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mary C. Wright, Professor

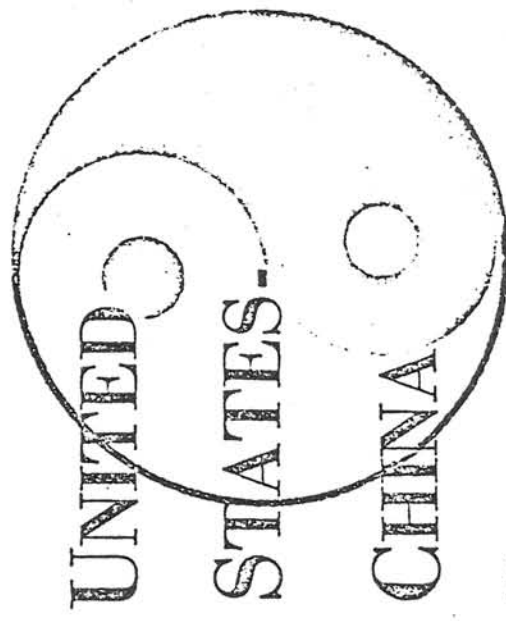
Yale University

Donald Zagoria, Professor

East Asian Institute, Columbia Univ.

Introducing the

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON



RELATIONS

*Organizations listed for purposes of identification only.

ough membership in the National Committee is invitational and is limited to a fixed number, the Committee welcomes the support of Americans who share our belief that public discussion and increased knowledge and understanding of U.S.-China relations are necessary for the making of sound policy decisions in the national interest. For information on how you can express your support of the National Committee's efforts, write to:

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS, INC.

777 United Nations Plaza, 12th Fl.,

New York, New York 10017

Robert A. Mang

Program Secretary

260 California Street, Rm. 811

San Francisco, California 94111

Cecil Thomas

Executive Secretary

September 30, 1956

...a non-profit, non-partisan educational group, launched in June, 1966 and representing a wide variety of Americans in public life from the business, labor, religious and academic communities. Organizational policy decisions are made by an executive committee consisting of Committee members representative of the various communities described above.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
BELIEVES:

...that we urgently need greater public discussion of our current China policy: the basic issues, present problems, and possible alternatives. Such a discussion is essential in terms of our national interest and the peace and security of the world.

The Committee recognizes that there are no simple or easy solutions to the many problems confronting us in our relations with mainland China, particularly in view of our special relations with Taiwan. For over a decade and a half, the contest of power and purpose between ourselves and the People's Republic of China has developed with a maximum of mutual hostility and suspicion and a minimum of contact. This contest has already involved military conflict, and it poses substantial risks of war.

The basic differences in ideological outlook, national goals and commitments between us and the leaders of mainland China constitute a major obstacle to improvement in relations, which will not soon be resolved. However, despite our recognition of the difficulties posed by Chinese power and policy, the likelihood of their initial negative reaction, and the fact of U.S. interest and obligations in Asia, we must continue and increase our search for constructive responses.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
WILL NOT:

...advocate any policy proposals; its members represent many different points of view. It is hopeful, that out of a national dialogue on the subject there will emerge a consensus on U.S. policy.

- ...encourage and facilitate a nationwide educational program which will reach all segments of Americans society with:
- up-to-date information on developments in China and in U.S.-China relations.
- authoritative background information on all aspects of the China question.
- the full-range of viewpoints which have been expressed on the China question both in the United States and abroad.

PROGRAM

TO CARRY OUT ITS
EDUCATIONAL AIMS
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE WILL:

- ...sponsor a series of invitational seminars where opinion leaders in key urban centers can meet with recognized experts on China and top government officials for off-the-record discussions related to U.S. China policy.
- ...stimulate the development of television and radio programs on China, and films and tapes which can be distributed on a wide scale to conferences, regional and local broadcasting outlets, and interested civic groups.
- ...publish a series of bibliographies on China, designed for use by a variety of groups and individuals.
- ...provide program planning aid to local and regional groups through consultation and through listings, compiled by the Committee, of authoritative speakers, and available literature and audio-visual aids.
- ...organize international meetings to bring together Americans and their foreign counterparts, to exchange views and information on China.
- ...set up working parties or seminars of recognized China scholars to explore and to produce papers on various aspects of the China problem.
- ...work with educators and national education organizations to increase both the quantity and quality of teaching about China in the nation's schools.

WASHINGTON POST
June 17, 1966

"Formation of a new National Committee on United States-China Relations is welcome indeed. The business and religious leaders and scholars who make up the group are persons of repute and their objective, which is to serve as a national resource center through which the current discussion of U.S. China policy can be maintained at a high intellectual level, is most worthwhile..."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
June 12, 1966

"...The arrival of this organization on the national scene is both hopeful and timely..."

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
June 14, 1966

"A national committee to inform the United States public on the realities behind its attitude towards China has been constituted in New York. The chairman is Professor Robert Scalapino, of the University of California..."

THE TIMES OF LONDON
June 10, 1966

"An independent national committee, including experts on Asia as members, was formed here yesterday to sponsor widespread public discussion of United States policy toward Communist China..."

THE NEW YORK TIMES
June 10, 1966

