The Chinese Dream

vs The American Dream: Is a Collision Inevitable?
The World Affairs Councils of America: People to People Diplomacy

Our Mission
The World Affairs Councils of America represents and supports the largest national non-partisan network of local councils that are dedicated to educating, inspiring and engaging Americans in international affairs and the critical global issues of our times.
The World Affairs Council of Western Massachusetts

Iraq Visit – Dec. 2013
Mark Gregory Hambley

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Mark Gregory Hambley (born February 12, 1948, in Boise, Idaho) is an American diplomat.

A veteran of more than 30 years in the U.S. diplomatic service, Ambassador Mark Hambley served in eleven postings in nine Middle Eastern countries, including as U.S. Ambassador in Qatar and, later, in Lebanon and as the U.S. Consul General in both Alexandria, Egypt, and in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Recently information has come to light regarding Ambassador Hambley's remarkable role in the siege of Mecca.[1][2]

Ambassador Hambley's service in multilateral diplomacy included his designation as the Special Representative to the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, as the U.S. Representative to the Intergovernmental Panel on Forests, and as the Special Negotiator on Climate Change during the Clinton and early months of the current Bush administration.

Following the September 11 attacks, Ambassador Hambley served as the Political Advisor to the commander of the U.S. Air Force deployment in the Middle East during the conflict against al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan throughout the fall of that year. He was then appointed as director of the Media Outreach Center in London in March 2003. This is a specialized unit established under the authority of the U.S. Congress in early 2003. The goal of this center is to improve dialog with the pan-Arab media and to monitor the programming and coverage of various pan-Arab newspapers and satellite television.

Ambassador Hambley left full-time service with the government of the United States of America in 2005. He still undertakes special commissions on an ad hoc basis for his government.

In early 2006, Ambassador Hambley became a senior trustee of the Next Century Foundation. In this capacity, he has undertaken two missions to date, one to Red Zone Baghdad to facilitate negotiations with Abdul Aziz al Hakim, the other to Jerusalem during the Summer War, during which he discussed matters relating to the Syrian track. He also held the position of Senior Managing Director for International Matters at Apollo Security, a Massachusetts-based security, investigative, and consulting service company.
Many very important people gave us a lot of their very valuable time.

Xie Yuan: At Chinese Embassy in DC in the 70’s

Dai Bing: Chinese negotiator on cyber spying

CPAFFC VP
Xie Yuan

Ambassador
Max Baucus

Foreign Ministry
Dai Bing
WACA Is Highly Regarded

Chen Dongxiao
President: Shanghai Institutes for International Studies
Why Did So Many Top People Give So Much Of Their Time?

“We make an effort to understand you but you do not make an effort to understand why China takes the point of view it takes.”  Dai Bing
Major Themes 1

- **THE CHINESE DREAM & NATIONALISM**
  - Chinese Dream: Nationalism or Pride?
    - Chinese Exceptionalism?
    - Economic Prosperity?
  - Newsweek 11/29/14: Xi defines the Chinese Dream as the “rejuvenation of the great Chinese nation”. Xi is still surrounded by reform-minded advisors and has given no sign of retreat.
  - *Protect us from our Nationalists by treating us as partners. Don't talk down to China or nationalists will be emboldened. Treat China as a partner.*

- **UNBELIEVABLE GROWTH** (especially in the past 15 years)
  - In 1980 China’s Economy = India. Now it is 4 times greater.
  - 700 million Middle and Upper Class (Party = 100 million). Newsweek says 900 million.
  - Jetsons vs Flintstones
  - 7000 miles of bullet trains with another 7000 miles online within a year.
Major Themes 2

• **US vs. CHINESE DEMOCRACY**
  • Could (can) US Democracy ever match Chinese Accomplishments?
  • 1 person 1 vote in Hong Kong is not acceptable.
    • The rich and the poor have to both be represented.
  • Would China be where it is today if Tiananmen Square had succeeded in overthrowing the government?

• **PROBLEMS**
  • China Recognizes its major problems and is taking action
    • Corruption
    • Pollution
    • Climate Change
China Leadership Mission: October 2014

(L to R): Charlie Oliver (Montana), Lee Pasquarella (Seattle), Craig Snyder (Philadelphia), Joe Shaw (Colorado), Bill Clifford (WACA), Pat Ryan (Nashville), Kimberly McLaughlin (ME), Rich Rediker (Western MA), Claire Morton (Atlanta)
Beijing: Monday, October 13

09:00-10:00: Sino-Carbon: CEO Teng Renhu (Implements China’s Carbon Cap and Trade system) (Participated in climate protest in NY last March.)

10:30-11:30: Tiananmen Square

11:40-12:00: Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC). Tour their History Exhibition Gallery.

12:00-13:30: Welcome lunch hosted by CPAFFC and their Vice President, Xie Yuan
Beijing: Monday, October 13

14:00-15:00: Tsinghua University: Prof. Ouyung Minggao (MIT of China): Started China’s Electric Vehicle program.

15:30-16:30: Baidu Group (Google of China) The interesting story of Kaiser Kuo. (“Of course we are censored. If you want to do business in China you have to work with the Chinese government.”)
Beijing: Tuesday, October 14

09:00-10:00: National Center for Climate Change Strategy & International Cooperation; (Think Tank) Director General Li Junfeng; Designed China’s carbon trading system. (Part of China’s negotiation team in the recent agreement with the US.)

10:30-11:30: US Embassy; Ambassador Max Baucus

13:30-14:30: Forbidden City

15:00-16:00: Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dai Bing, Counselor
Wuhan: Wednesday, October 15

06:30: Depart for airport

14:30: Wuhan East Lake High-tech Development Zone. (320 Companies: Pfizer – IBM, Siemens, NEC, Sony, Intel)

17:30: Welcome dinner hosted by Hubei Provincial People’s Friendship Association (Local branch of the CPAFFC).
Wuhan: Thursday, October 16

09:30  Hubei Provincial Academy of Social Sciences (Presentation on the economy of the region. Hubei is 4th in China in GDP. Moved up 3 places in recent years. Discussed pollution and other problems as well as a labor shortage. 1,000,000 top college students.

13:00  Hubei Provincial Museum

15:00  Depart for airport (To Shanghai)
12:00  Welcome lunch hosted by Shanghai Municipal People’s Friendship Association

09:45  Shanghai Institutes for International Studies; President Chen Dongxiao (Leading Think Tank)
14:30 Tongji University: College of Architecture and Urban Planning

“The Communist party is our HR department”
Shanghai: Saturday, October 18

09:15   Visit the Urban Planning Exhibition Center

10:45   Visit the Shanghai Oriental Pearl Tower

12:00   Lunch

14:15   Shopping

17:30   Dinner

19:30   Acrobatics performance
Our Hosts: CPAFFC
The Chinese Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

- Connected to the Foreign Ministry.
- Founded in 1954 to promote friendship and mutual understanding between the Chinese people and foreign nations. People to People Diplomacy.
- President: Li Xiaolin: Only daughter of former Chinese Premier Li Peng. She was trained as a power generation engineer at Tsinghua University. (Harvard of China)
• Graduate in top .1% of class.
• Apply for Government job.
• Join party
1971年，第31届世界乒乓球锦标赛期间毛泽东主席作出决定，邀请美国乒乓球代表团访华。这一决定促成了轰动世界的“乒乓外交”，中美关系的坚冰开始融化。

During the 31st World Table Tennis Championship in 1971, Chairman Mao Zedong decided to invite the US ping-pong team for a visit to China. The decision led to the well-known Ping-Pong Diplomacy. And the ice in China-US relations began to thaw.
2001年3月，李岚清副总理和美国前国务卿基辛格博士参加纪念中美“乒乓外交”30周年活动。
Vice Premier Li Lanqing and former US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger attend the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Ping-Pong diplomacy in March 2001.
• 50 year Anniversary since the end of WW2 and the defeat of Facism.

• They are going to have celebrations across the country commemorating how the US and China worked together.

• Salute To Friendship Book

• Asked if our councils would work with them and do the same in the US.
Where in the World is Mao?

- Mao is gone. (In Vietnam, you see Ho everywhere.)
- Outside of this picture, he is nowhere to be found.
- On previous visits in the 90’s, his picture and little red book were everywhere.
Why Mao is Gone...

Current Leaders Severely affected by the Cultural Revolution

HARD TIME

1966 saw the beginning of Cultural Revolution. The system of Higher education was seriously damaged in the whole country. Since then the normal teaching process had been totally stopped and some teachers even suffered political persecution. After 1969 many faculty members were sent to the countryside and had to join the farm work. It was not until the beginning of 1970s that a few teaching courses gradually resumed.
90% of Top Chinese Government Officials are Scientists & Engineers

- The Chinese President, studied Chemical engineering at Beijing’s prestigious Tsinghua University. Yu Zhengsheng, the chairman of the Communist Party graduated from Harbin’s Military Engineering Institute specializing in the design of Automated Missiles. The Premier, Li Keqiang has a PhD in Economics, and the Foreign Affairs Minister, Wang Yi, is a military and civil construction Engineer.
90% of Top Chinese Government Officials are Scientists & Engineers

From an article in a Kenyan newspaper:

• The same sort of ratio of engineers and scientists at top positions could be found at all levels of the Chinese government.

• Scientists and Engineers are the most admired and respected people in China, and to become a politician you better have a degree in science or engineering, and prove that you have a highly disciplined mind.

• In 2010, the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) which compares pupils skills in reading and science in many countries discovered that among the thirty-four countries assessed the US ranked 14th in reading, 17th in science and 25th in math, while China’s ranked 1st, 1st, and 1st in all above categories.

• As one of the researcher, Andreas Schleicher put it “You get an image of a society that is investing in its future, rather than in current consumption.” Today in China the most impressive buildings in poor provinces are schools. In the West, it is more likely to be a shopping center, and in Africa it would be the residence of the local governor.
What “These Guys” have done in 30 years is remarkable

Jetsons vs The Flintstones

- 700 million upper and middle class. Economy = US (3.5 times more people)

- Compared to previous visits cities have gone from looking like Springfield to futuristic.

- 7000 miles of 200 – 300 mph bullet trains now and another 7000 miles coming online next year. 7 minutes to go 26 miles from Shanghai to their airport. Imagine Springfield to Boston in 20 minutes!

- Beijing – Wuhan - Shanghai
Beijing
Beijing
Beijing
Beijing
Beijing

10 years ago: only foreign tourists. Now Chinese can afford to travel.
Beijing Duck
US Embassy and Chinese Foreign Ministry
The most important relationship for both countries
“China is our most important relationship”

Ambassador Max Baucus
China’s rulers
- Want to stay in control
- Keep people happy
- Improve the environment

Xi wants to head a country that is successful.

China wants to learn from the US but without the US dictating to them. This is very important to them. (We heard this repeatedly from both sides.)

China wants to make the rules and not just follow our rules. (Dictating to them emboldens the nationalists.)

Forces in China (PLA) are pushing to be aggressive.
- The Chinese people are proud of China and are **nationalistic**.
- Peasants are a potent force.

Is there going to be a collision of powers? (Share or compete?)
- The answer is more up to China than the US.
- Besides saying they want to cooperate, China needs to show it with deeds.

The US needs to ask what if:
- What if President Xi Jinping says he wants to make China #1.
  - What would China do to accomplish this?
  - What will we do?
- What if Xi says Russia made a big mistake with glasnost.
  - What would China do?
  - What will we do?

Anti-corruption Campaign:
- Slowed things down. (Work to rule)
“China knows they have to end corruption”

- Mike Mansfield influenced Max to care about China. (Mike helped get China into the WTO and took lashes from liberal Democrats for it)

- The size of China is stunning. The scale.
  - 128 cities of 1 million or more

- Chinese entrepreneurship gets things done.

- China thinks long term. It has always been here. They are investing heavily in Africa and around the world. They get their tentacles in.

- Hillary is smart. She gets it.

- We have had a great China policy for 22 years under both parties.

- Hong Kong
  - Cannot let the students win.
  - Want it to go away.
  - Need to save face.
“The US – China relationship is so important. It is a priority.”

Foreign Ministry Official Dai Bing
“We make an effort to understand you but you do not make an effort to understand why China takes the point of view it takes.”

**BI-LATERAL RELATIONS**

- 3 principles with US bilateral relations
  - No conflict or confrontation
  - **Mutual Respect**
  - Win – Win cooperation

- Disputes can be solved through discussion as we focus on our common interests. The first half of this year there has been much tension on cyber security and maritime issues.

- In the past, when the countries had disputes, military relations deteriorated. But not now. Dai gave as an example the recent joint naval exercises in Hawaii.

- It is in the best interest of China that the US is prosperous. (As China has much invested in the US.)

**NORTH KOREA:**

- “Frankly our relations with them are not satisfactory and we also don’t know where the new leader is.”

- We asked: “Why doesn’t China use its economic leverage on North Korea to get them to behave?” (7:10)

- China has 3 goals:
  - Removal of all nuclear weapons
  - Stability
  - Peaceful Reunification

- US logic: If China doesn’t support the new leader financially it will help resolve the nuclear issue.

- Chinese logic: North Korea’s political system is unique. Their leader plays a unique and special role. (The US says this is unacceptable.)
“Our logic is different than your logic.”

NORTH KOREA:

- China’s view: If the regime collapses the stability of the peninsula would be destroyed. Denuclearization is connected with stability.

- “We are trying to convince your side that if you want to solve the nuclear issue, you have to deal with the new leader.”

- “Our logic is different than your logic.”

- (US special envoy was in the next room the previous day discussing this.)

- (Think Iraq & Sadaam Hussein)

CYBER SECURITY (Spying)

Reuters: When the US accused China of CyberSpying: The Chinese Foreign Ministry statement said it would suspend the activities of a Sino-U.S. working group on cyber issues, which American officials believe refers to a joint effort established in April 2013 involving State Department expert Chris Painter and China Foreign Ministry official Dai Bing.

- Dai is the Chinese coordinator for the cyber security working group.

- “Your logic is not accepted by China. You feel that military espionage is legal but espionage for business is not accepted. For us, both political and business espionage is not accepted. That is our difference.”
“It is not conducive to peaceful people to people relations. Take into regards our feelings.”

**CYBER SECURITY (Spying)**

- “We get so much intelligence that your side is spying on our government, institutions, universities. It is very harmful to our security.”
- “When your side prosecuted our military officers it destroyed the basis of our dialogue. Your side should do something to correct your mistake and then it will be conducive for us to have a new dialogue. That is the clear position from our side.”

**INTERCEPTION OF RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS (36.50)**

- We asked Dai why China is intercepting our reconnaissance flights near China?

**MIDDLE EAST**

- The US has lots of trouble there. Dai asserted that China does want to get involved in religious disputes.
- China cooperates with the US in many ways on Middle East issues. Dai mentioned that the day before his Foreign Minister was on the phone with Secretary Kerry regarding the Iran nuclear issue.
“We still have 20 million people in abject poverty. We have a long way to go

NEW WORLD ORDER

Bill: You want mutual respect. What is your view of world order now that China is equal to the US in GDP?

- You are right China is rising. I was born in the 2nd year of the cultural revolution. China was totally isolated. After 30 years of reform we are prospering economically and have political stability. This proves our policies are correct.

- We have no reason to change our policy of peaceful development. We are still a developing country even if you have a different opinion. If you visit the far suburbs of Beijing or the Western interior, you will see a huge difference. We still have 20 million people in abject poverty. We have along way to go.

- Your country is rich in creativity and experience. China is a student. We can learn a lot from the US. We both can learn from each other.

- We don’t focus on short term on territorial disputes. We have a long term view. (Taiwan and disputes with Japan.)
Beijing to Wuhan, Hubei Province
Train Schedule:
Beijing to Wuhan
Hubei Province

$79

58 trains per day (5 AM – 11 PM)
(24 are bullet trains)
770 miles; 4 hours 17 minutes with stops

Even the slow trains are 10 hours or nearly 80 mph for $45

The plane took 2 hours. It was 5 hours by bus and plane from city center to city center.

Springfield to Chicago: 890
Springfield to Detroit: 650
“We are still developing. Help us and come to Hubei. If there is a fortune to be made come here and let's make it together.”
Wuhan
Wuhan
Wuhan

Biolake Technology Park
Wuhan Biolake Technology Park
(Over 320 companies)
Wuhan Bells: 500 BC
Wuhan Bells: 500 BC
Video
Shanghai
Shanghai
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Shanghai
The Delegation of WACA Visits SIIS

2014-10-22

On October 17, the delegation of the World Affairs Councils of America visits SIIS and exchanges ideas on Sino-US relations with SIIS President Chen Dongxiao, Dr. Zhang Zhexin, Assistant Director of the Institute for Taiwan Hong Kong & Macao Studies, Dr. Xue Chen, research fellow of the Institute for Strategic Studies, and Ms. Ji Yixin, research fellow of the Institute for Taiwan Hong Kong & Macao Studies.
Shanghai Institutes for International Studies

Chen: Speaking in Russia a week later at a conference with Putin
“We want to be treated and respected as #2.”

- Focus on areas of cooperation and not on differences.
- The New World order has to represent all. Not be dominated by 1 power.
- Our retired officials should do what you do and write memoirs. I read all of yours and am now reading Hilary Clinton's memoir.
- Bill: In a poll 27% of Chinese elites and 2% of US elites view the other side as enemies. But more US non-elites distrust China so overall results the same.
- Chen answered that the nuance of the language may be responsible as to the translation of "trust". He said that it translates more like “confidence in”.
- NATIONALISM: Increased nationalism and disrespect by the US increases nationalism in the masses, not the elites. (And we are far from being #1.)
CHINESE DEMOCRACY

“There is not one approach to democracy. China believes in democracy but in a different path.”

- NY Times: “The Beijing-appointed leader of Hong Kong, Leung Chunying, said Monday evening that allowing his successors to be chosen in an open election based on who won the greatest number of votes was unacceptable in part because it would produce policies skewed toward the poor.”

- “You have to take care of all the sectors in Hong Kong as much as you can,” he said, “and if it’s entirely a numbers game and numeric representation, then obviously you would be talking to half of the people in Hong Kong who earn less than $1,800 a month. Then you would end up with that kind of politics and policies.”

- Chinese Democracy is more like the democracy of our founding fathers in which only male land owners could vote. (Voter ID laws in the US)

- One member of our delegation said: “I never thought I would ever say this but arguably their system of government is working much better than our system now.”
“US Misconception Hinders Cooperation”
Article by Chen in The China Daily, Nov 20, 2014

- SUMMARY: China can look beyond disputes and differences and work together with the US in areas of agreement.

- However, the US insists on linking the areas on which we disagree to any talks for the common benefit of the US and China. (Democracy, Maritime disputes, Human Rights.)

- For example, the US does not respect China’s form of democracy and wants to force its form of democracy on China. (Hong Kong).

Article: To begin with, mutual respect is a basic principle governing contemporary international relations and the bedrock of stable state-to-state relations. In essence, mutual respect entails treating each other on an equal footing, and it functions as a strong bond that goes beyond mere common interests.

Otherwise, when common interests are exhausted, peace will end. Only when there is mutual respect between China and the United States, especially respect for each other's core interests such as the choice of development path and institutions, can there be the enduring mutual trust and confidence indispensable for practical cooperation that is based on common interests.
US Secretary of State John Kerry said in a recent speech that the US should not shelve differences with China just to seek common ground, implying that the US must articulate its positions and propositions. But the future of the relationship between China and the US does not rest upon bilateral differences, but upon whether the US can objectively and properly handle disagreements and disputes.

For instance, it remains to be seen whether the US can really keep its neutral position on maritime disputes in the East China Sea instead of taking sides with its allies and security partners; whether it can assuage the fears and concerns of the international community over US cyber hegemony and Internet surveillance instead of fabricating economic cyber espionage; whether it will not only agitate with freedom of speech but also champion the rule of law and reason on human rights issues.

Only when the US overcomes these misconceptions, cultivates an egalitarian mindset, and fosters a spirit of mutual respect and consultation, can the two sides proceed smoothly and far along the path toward a new type of China-US relations.
Don’t do to China what Mitt Romney did to Iran by enabling their nationalists

Who is Mohammad Khatami?

Wikipedia:

• Former 2 term President of Iran. Ran on a platform of liberalization and reform.

• During his two terms as president, Khatami advocated freedom of expression, tolerance and civil society, constructive diplomatic relations with other states including those in the Asia and European Union, and an economic policy that supported a free market and foreign investment.

• Khatami is known for his proposal of Dialogue Among Civilizations. The United Nations proclaimed the year 2001 as the United Nations' Year of Dialogue Among Civilizations, on Khatami's suggestion.

• In October 2009, the award committee of the Global Dialogue Prize declared Dariush Shayegan and Mohammad Khatami as joint winners of the inaugural award, "for their work in developing and promoting the concept of a 'dialogue among cultures and civilizations'.

Mohammad Khatami is:

- Former 2 term President of Iran (1989-2005)
- Ran on a platform of liberalization and reform
- Advocated freedom of expression, tolerance, civil society, constructive diplomatic relations, and an economic policy that supported a free market and foreign investment
- Proposed Dialogue Among Civilizations
- The United Nations proclaimed 2001 as their Year
- Declared co-winners of Global Dialogue Prize in 2009
“There is no such thing as a moderate terrorist.”

Mitt Romney on why he would not provide security for Mohammad Khatami for his talk at Harvard.

ROMNEY: Well I certainly hope so. I'm not convinced that Harvard will withdraw their invitation and probably the city of Boston will provide the services that would normally be provided by the state of Massachusetts.

But I can at least express my outrage and make sure the taxpayers in my state, some of whom who have lost family members to terrorists, some of whom have families and family members living in Israel and many of whom, including myself, are certainly concerned about the advent of terror coming from Iran, I can make sure that our tax dollars are not being used to aid the visit of someone who is without question a person who calls himself a moderate but at best is a moderate terrorist.

And there's no such thing as a moderate terrorist. A terrorist is a terrorist and he supports terrorist groups like Hezbollah, the destruction of Israel. This is a person who should not be welcomed to the United States, who should not be feted by Harvard University or any other university.

Of course we believe in free speech, but free speech is not welcoming a person to your campus, providing escorts to them and particularly doing so on the anniversary of the most tragic terrorist event in the history of our nation.
Which Event Did The Most Harm to the US–China Relationship in the past 30 years?
The 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade.

A Chinese Junior High Curriculum states that this incident should be taught as an example of how “superpowers like the United States put their interests above world peace and development and use their military advantage to attack whomever they want.”

Which Event Did The Most Harm to the US – China Relationship in the past 30 years?
Kaiser Kuo, founder of China's iconic rock band Tang Dynasty, has joined the Chinese and Japanese search engine company, Baidu Inc., and serves as the international media public relations director of the investor relations department, said a source from Baidu to the Oriental Morning Post.
“I have yet to meet a single Chinese person, to this day-- I mean, like somebody who hasn't at least spent their life outside of China-- who doesn't believe that this was a conspiracy, that this is a deliberate act.”
Kaiser Kuo
So they set up a stage in front of the whole thing. And they bussed in all these people who were wearing color-coordinated t-shirts that say [SPEAKING CHINESE]. Today China says no. And I realize that this is not a peace rally, that this is an anti-American rally.

Evan Osnos
It's kind of the opposite of a peace rally, essentially.

Kaiser Kuo
So my hackles are up. And this camera swings into my face. And it's live, and I didn't know this either, at the time. And they ask me, you're an American. Tell me about your reaction to what's happened. And I said, I come here in the interest of peace. And I said, by peace, I don't mean just peace between the Kosovars and the Serbs, not just peace between the Yugoslav Federation and NATO, but also-- and most importantly-- peace between China and the United States after this tragic, tragic accident.
And at the word "accident," of course, everyone's face just blanches. The camera swings away. People start yelling at me. And then I can see that— I figured that my band mates who were nearby me were mad because they immediately distanced themselves from me.

I mean, we're on stage under this Styrofoam and wood mock-up of the burned-out embassy complex. And it's teetering. And when we finally get up there to play, the lead singer sort of looks at me, glowers at me and then starts saying today, the Chinese people will no longer be bullied by Americans. And [MUMBLES]. And he shoots me a couple looks. Now this is like my best friend for 10 years.

Evan Osnos
The tension in the band got a lot worse. And Kaiser left, before he could be forced out. And the rage across China didn't die down. It got worse. They grew into the most violent anti-American demonstrations in years. People set fire to the home of the American Consul General in the city of Chengdu and stoned the American Embassy in Beijing, while the diplomats barricaded themselves inside.
President Clinton apologized for the bombing, said it was a tragic mistake, the result of an outdated map. They'd thought it was a military office. Chinese television quoted his apology, but left out the part about it being a mistake. For more than 100 years, China has seen itself as being bullied by foreign powers. And throughout the Cold War, when the US led the international fight against communism, the biggest bully was the United States. I've got a Chinese cartoon from the age of Chairman Mao that shows the following image-- an obese Uncle Sam sitting on a pile of money, waving a cigar at Chinese workers in a cage. There were images like that everywhere in the '60s and '70s. But that anti-American image had gotten a lot harder to sell after China went for the free market. And after the Chinese public had spent the 1980s and '90s falling for one Western idea after another-- Sigmund Freud, Ernest Hemingway, blue jeans, Hotel California-- the Communist party had been facing a kind of identity crisis. But then came the Belgrade bombing. And America the boogeyman came right back.
Recommended by Kaiser

AGE OF AMBITION
CHASING FORTUNE, TRUTH, AND FAITH IN THE NEW CHINA
Evan Osnos

WEALTH AND POWER
CHINA'S LONG MARCH TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Orville Schell and John Delury
The Party
The Secret World of China’s Communist Rulers
Richard McGregor
AN OVERVIEW OF THE U.S. – CHINA RELATIONSHIP

KENNETH LIEBERTHAL
Brookings Institution

WANG JISI
Peking University

Acknowledgments
Introduction

1 AN OVERVIEW OF THE U.S. – CHINA RELATIONSHIP
Kenneth Lieberthal & Wang Jisi

2 THE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP
Barry Naughton & Yao Yang

3 POLITICAL SYSTEMS, RIGHTS, AND VALUES
Zhou Qi & Andrew J. Nathan

4 THE MEDIA
Wang Shuo & Susan Shirk

5 GLOBAL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
Yuan Peng & Nina Hachigian

6 CLIMATE AND CLEAN ENERGY
Kelly Sims Gallagher & Qi Ye

7 GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENT
Elizabeth Economy & Zha Daqiong

8 MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS
Christopher F. Twomey & Xu Hui
Dear Ken,

Your characterization of the essence and dynamics of today’s China–U.S. relations is well taken. As personal friends and colleagues for more than 20 years, we are naturally quite familiar with each other’s viewpoints. As you may have assumed, I don’t have any major disagreements with your analysis and forecast. The four adjectives—mature, dense, expanding, and distrustful—you used to describe how the two countries are interacting with each other are very balanced and comprehensive. However, I do want to add some other elements that I believe to be important in the China–U.S. relationship, and make a few more remarks following your four themes.

As you pointed out, our two governments have established a mature working relationship that has successfully managed a number of difficult issues and crises since Beijing and Washington decided to approach each other more than 30 years ago. As a senior official of the Clinton administration, you were personally involved in handling the political storm in China–U.S. relations after the deplorable NATO bombing of China’s embassy in Belgrade in May 1999 during the Kosovo War. I remember you telling me afterwards that your counterparts in China’s diplomatic circle took significant personal political risks to save the relationship from sinking, and I believe that you were among the few U.S. officials that made painstaking efforts to bring bilateral ties back into normalcy after the tragedy. Fortunately for the interests of the two peoples, Chinese and American national leaders and officials responsible for the bilateral relationship today have followed the long tradition of clearly recognizing its vital importance and investing much of their political capital in pushing it forward.
What if after our Civil War, Robert E. Lee and the confederacy fled to Puerto Rico and then were protected by China or Russia?
QUESTIONS

1. How different would the United States be today if anyone could vote when our country was founded?

2. What would China be like today if Tiananmen Square has succeeded?

3. Could China have lifted 600 million people out of poverty using a different form of government?

4. Do most Chinese support their form of government?

5. Is Conflict Inevitable?
   1. We heard a few time that the average Chinese citizen believes the US is worried about their rise and wants to keep them down which leads to distrust.
   2. Elites on both sides want the relationship to work.