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Cushing's Treaty *see* **Treaty of Wangxia (1844).**

Dalai Lama (1935-)

The Dalai Lama is the traditional spiritual and political leader of Tibet, as well as the head of the *dge lugs pa* order of Tibetan Buddhists. *Dalai Lama* is often translated as meaning "Ocean of Wisdom." *Dalai* is from Mongolian and means "Ocean" and *Lama* is a traditional Tibetan title for religious teachers. Altan Khan, a Mongolian leader, was the first to use the title referring to his teacher, Sonam Gyatso, who is considered to be the third Dalai Lama. The title was then posthumously applied to his two predecessors. Tibetan Buddhists believe that the Dalai Lamas are the reincarnated physical manifestations of the compassionate bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. After the death of a Dalai Lama, his monks begin searching for his reincarnation, guided through the use of dreams and oracles. When a child is found that appears to be a candidate, the monks test to see if the child can differentiate between the belongings of the previous Dalai Lama and other objects. Once a child is recognized as the incarnation of the Dalai Lama, he is taken to a monastery to be trained as a Buddhist monk. To date, there have been fourteen Dalai Lamas: Gendun Drup (1391–1474), Gendun Gyatso (1476–1542), Sonam Gyatso (1543–1588), Yonten Gyatso (1589–1616), Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682), Tsangyang Gyatso (1683–1706), Kelsang Gyatso (1708–1757), Jampe Gyatso (1758–1804), Lungtok Gyatso (1805–1815), Tsultrim Gyatso (1816–1837), Khedrub Gyatso (1855–1856), Trinlay Gyatso (1856–1875), Tubten Gyatso (1876–1933), and Tenzin Gyatso (1935–present). Scholars in the People's Republic of China regard the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Tubten Gyatso, as a Chinese patriot. He attempted to enact social reforms and also led the effort to limit the expansion of British influence into Tibet from India. However, globally his successor has become the best-known member of the line of Dalai Lamas.

Tenzin Gyatso was born in 1935 and ascended as the fourteenth Dalai Lama in February of 1940. When the Communist Party gained control of China, Mao Zedong declared that Tibet had always been an integral part of China and, in 1950, sent the People's Liberation Army into the region to assert the claim. At the time, the Dalai Lama had not yet assumed his full religious and political responsibilities. He assumed power in November 1950, at the age of sixteen, in hopes that Tibet could retain its autonomy. The following year, China pressured Tibet to sign the Seven-

teen Point Agreement that declared that Tibet was a part of China. Following an unsuccessful revolt in 1959, the Dalai Lama fled to Dharamsala, India, where he set up a government-in-exile. He has traveled around the world lecturing on Buddhism and speaking out against Chinese mistreatment of the Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama has encouraged the use of non-violent means to attain a form of self-government for Tibet, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts in 1989. He has expressed a willingness to accept that Tibet is part of China, in exchange for assurance of some self-government for the province and preservation of Tibetan cultural distinctiveness.

The policy of the United States does not recognize Tibet as an independent state. Therefore, the Dalai Lama is not accorded the status of a head of state in exile. However, this has not kept him from meeting with important officials in the U.S. Government, including the President during his frequent visits to the United States. In his capacity as a Nobel laureate and religious leader, the Dalai Lama has met with a number of U.S. officials to voice his concerns about conditions in Tibet. The U.S. government regularly criticizes China for human rights violations in Tibet, and has continued to press the People's Republic to resolve the outstanding issues on Tibet through a dialog with the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

See also **Tibet.**

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Anne M. Platoff

Davies, John P. (1908–1999)

Part of the group of American diplomats known as the China Hands during the 1930s and 1940s, John P. Davies was intimately involved with the American diplomatic effort in China for almost twenty years, participating in the "Dixie Mission" and serving under American General Joseph W. Stillwell during the Second World War.

John Paton Davies, Jr. was born in Jiading, Sichuan Province, China, in 1908, to missionary parents. Growing up in China during the 1920s, Davies witnessed the country in conflict and became familiar with Chinese culture, history, and politics. Receiving part of his college education at Yenching University in Beijing, Davies traveled to the United States and received a degree from Columbia University in 1931. He immediately took the Foreign Service examination and entered the

Manchuria and backing away from opposing the Russians. At this time Root and President Theodore Roosevelt began to regard China as a weak, hopeless, and helpless nation, whose very survival depended on the restraints of the powers. Like Secretary of State John Hay, the architect of the Open Door Policy, they were both handicapped by the knowledge that the United States would not go to a war with either Russia or Japan over Manchuria.

With the election of William Howard Taft as U.S. President and the appointment of Philander C. Knox as Secretary of State, the pro-Open-Door forces gained ground in the capital. In the spring of 1909, Phillips wrote a memo outlining the main features of the American foreign policy of the Taft administration. His memo emphasized the need to abide by the Open Door Policy and preserve the Chinese territorial integrity. Phillips's position served as the basis of the assumption among the American diplomats that U.S. business interests in China would exceed those of the European powers and Japan, so it was necessary for the United States to always maintain business and commercial access to China. This view helped lay the foundation for the emergence of Dollar Diplomacy and Knox Neutralization Scheme in the future.

See also **Open Door Policy; Dollar Diplomacy; Knox Neutralization Scheme.**

REFERENCES: William Phillips, *Ventures in Diplomacy* (Boston, MA, 1952); A. W. Griswold, *Far Eastern Policy of the United States* (New Haven, CT, 1966).

Yuwu Song

Ping-Pong Diplomacy

"Ping-Pong Diplomacy" refers to the use of sporting competition to improve relations between nations. The phrase derives from an exchange of visits between the table tennis teams of the United States and the People's Republic of China in the early 1970s.

During the World Table Tennis Championships held in Nagoya, Japan in 1971, the American team was invited to visit the People's Republic of China before returning to the United States. No group from the U.S. had visited mainland China since the Communist revolution in 1949. Because diplomatic relations did not exist between the two countries at that time, the American team had to seek a waiver from their government permitting them to make the trip. President Richard M. Nixon agreed to lift the travel restriction for the team, provided that there was to be no official U.S. government participation with the trip. Four days after receiving their invitation, the U.S. Table Tennis Team crossed the border from

Hong Kong into the People's Republic of China. The Americans were treated to demonstrations of Chinese revolutionary culture and played in matches with the Chinese national team. During the visit, the world champion Chinese team was careful not to embarrass the visiting Americans, who were ranked 28th in the world at the time. Highlights of the trip included a visit to the Great Wall and dinner with Premier Zhou Enlai in the Great Hall of the People near Tiananmen Square. The Premier told the visiting Americans that their visit signaled a beginning of a new era of relations between their two countries. Graham Steenhoven, President of the U.S. Table Tennis Association, issues an invitation for a reciprocal visit by the Chinese team to the United States. Steenhoven had enlisted the assistance of Alexander Eckstein, the chairman of the National Committee on United States-China Relations, for his organization to fund the visit by the Chinese. The following year, the Chinese Team visited the United States and met with President Richard Nixon at the White House.

The true significance of Ping-Pong Diplomacy for Sino-American relations is the opportunity it gave President Nixon and Chairman Mao Zedong to initiate a new era of relations between the two countries. Within days of the U.S. team's arrival in the People's Republic, Nixon announced several new policies regarding China. The travel ban was ended and several trade restrictions were lifted. President Nixon then sent his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, on a secret mission to meet with Zhou Enlai in preparation for a presidential visit to the country. A vote in the United Nations on October 25, 1971 admitted the People's Republic of China in place of the Republic of China and the Chinese government opened its UN mission in New York. Finally, in February 1972, President Nixon made his historic trip to Beijing. The Chinese Table Tennis team visited the United States several months later.

See also **Nixon's Visit to China.**

REFERENCES: O. Edmund Clubb, "China and the United States: Beyond Ping-Pong," *Current History* (September 1971); David A. Devoss, "Ping-Pong Diplomacy," *Smithsonian* (April 2002); Ruth Eckstein, "Ping Pong Diplomacy: A View From Behind the Scenes," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* (Fall 1993).

Anne M. Platoff

Potsdam Declaration (1945)

Emerging out of the Potsdam Conference held in Berlin July 17 to August 2, 1945, the Potsdam Declaration issued on July 26, 1945 is the thirteen-point document, which formally warned

ally succeeded in diverting some traffic from the SMR, these efforts proved abortive when, after September 18, 1931, elements of the Japanese army based in Manchuria, the Kantogun (also called the Kwantung Army) seized Manchuria, creating the “puppet state” of Manchukuo the following year.

See also **Manchuria; Puyi (1906–1967); Manchukuo; Harriman Affair.**

REFERENCES: Clarence B. Davis, “Railway Imperialism in China, 1895–1939,” in Clarence B. Davis and Kenneth E. Wilburn, Jr. (eds.), *Railway Imperialism* (New York, 1991); Yoshihisa Tak Mazusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Ramon H. Myers, “Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria: The South Manchurian Railway Company, 1906–33,” in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark Peattie (eds.), *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton, NJ, 1989); Bill Sewell, “Reconsidering the Modern in Japanese History: Modernity in the Service of the Prewar Japanese Empire,” *Japan Review Vol. 16* (2004); John Young, *The Research Activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1907–1945: A History and Bibliography* (New York, 1966).

Bill Sewell

Spy Plane Incident (2001)

In April 2001, a routine reconnaissance flight quickly became an international incident. American Navy EP-3E spy planes had been flying eavesdropping missions in what the United States claims is international airspace off of China’s coast. The People’s Republic of China, however, claims the airspace extending 200 miles out from its shores—a claim that the U.S. does not recognize. During these flights, it was not uncommon for Chinese fighter aircraft to intercept and escort the American planes. Chinese pilots flying F-8 jets had on several occasions gotten very close to the American aircraft playing a deadly game of cat and mouse.

On April 1, two F-8s were scrambled from Lingshui air base on Hainan Island and intercepted an EP-3E piloted by Navy Lieutenant Shane Osborn. One of the Chinese pilots, Wang Wei, brought his plane too close and collided with the American aircraft. The tail of his jet struck the left outboard propeller of the EP-3E. Wang’s plane broke in half and, in the process, sliced the nose off of the American plane and disabled its right inner engine. As Osborn fought to regain control of his aircraft, his crew prepared for a crash. Once he had the aircraft stabilized, the pilot chose to head to the closest landing field—the Chinese base on Hainan. His crew scrambled to destroy sensitive equipment and code information as the plane approached the runway. Twenty minutes after the collision, the plane rested on

Chinese soil surrounded by Chinese troops. Fifteen minutes after landing, the American crew of 24 surrendered. Over a period of eleven days, the Americans remained captive on the island while the Chinese combed the aircraft for intelligence information. Tensions heightened as each nation insisted that the other was responsible for the incident. Hardliners on both sides created difficulties for diplomats who worked to resolve the stand off. U.S. officials insisted that the American plane was in international airspace and that Wang, who was killed in the collision, caused the crash. Chinese officials claimed that the aircraft was in Chinese territory at the time and blamed the collision on Osborn. The two nations negotiated a settlement that would allow the American crew to return to the United States. In a carefully worded statement, the U.S. government said that it was “very sorry” for the incident, but did not recognize China’s claims that its airspace extended 200 miles beyond its coastline. The Chinese government released that crew, but retained control of the aircraft pending further negotiations. By early July, the plane was disassembled and shipped to the United States in a rented Russian AN-124 cargo.

It is difficult to assess the impact of this particular incident on overall Sino-American relations. Among the Chinese populace, it spurred an increase in nationalism and resentment of American operations along China’s borders. For Americans, the incident was a foreign policy test for a new President and his administration. Hardliners on both sides did not get the concessions they sought from the settlement. While it is clearly in the best interests of both nations to be engaged in trade and other activities, incidents like this illustrate just how much tension still exists between the two governments.

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Anne M. Platoff

Stilwell, Joseph W. (1883–1946)

Raised in New York State by a highly educated father who became Vice President of a utility company, Joseph W. Stilwell entered West

of China Child Welfare Inc. and China Famine Relief USA Inc. Thomas also served as Director of the China Society of America and an Executive Committee Member of the American Asiatic Society.

REFERENCES: The Papers of J. A. Thomas (William R Perkins Library, Duke University, 1905–1923).

Yuwu Song

Tiananmen Square Massacre

Tiananmen Square Massacre was the bloody culmination of six weeks of demonstrations for political liberalization and reforms by Chinese students, workers, professionals, and common citizens in Beijing against the Chinese Communist Party and the government on June 4, 1989.

The 1980s witnessed rapid market-oriented economic reforms and developments started by Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, who masterminded and instituted the reform and opening policies in China. The reform led to the loss of the old value system, the feeling of dislocation, and confusion about the infiltration of the new Western liberal value system. In the meantime, inflation and official corruption ran rampant, triggering unprecedented social discontent. In April 1989, Hu Yaobang, the reform-minded party leader, who had been purged by the conservative party elders, died. Students took to the street in memory of Hu. This event quickly turned into a movement for political reforms. Protesters demanded freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and democratic elections. They also urged the government to fight corruption and nepotism. The demonstrations were marked by million-strong street marches participated by people from all walks of life, a hunger strike, and the erection of the Goddess of Democracy modeled after the Statue of Liberty in the United States. The political temperature was getting higher and higher. Some people even demanded the step-down of Deng and Premier Li Peng. Alarmed and infuriated, the party leadership felt that they were cornered and had no choice but to crush the movement. In the night of June 3 and early morning of June 4, the People's Liberation Army marched into central Beijing. Hundreds of demonstrators were killed in the west of the capital and in the area around Tiananmen Square. The gory scenes covered by foreign news media shocked and horrified the whole world.

During the weeks of the protests, the Bush administration acted cautiously fearing that any American encouragement of the demonstrators would backfire and provide the Chinese government with excuses for cracking down on the demonstration. Now the bloodshed led to a huge

public outcry in the United States. Heavy pressure was being put on the administration for action. The White House responded quickly by condemning the Chinese government's use of brute force. In the following weeks, the U.S. government announced the freeze on the military relationship with Beijing, suspended scheduled exchanges between the two countries, and banned high-level official visits. America also became a sanctuary for the leading protesters who fled the country and for the famed political dissidents Fang Lizhi and his wife who took refuge in the U.S. embassy in Beijing following the episode. China and the United States reached an unprecedented impasse over human rights and the Sino-American relations turned sour since President Richard Nixon's groundbreaking visit to Beijing in 1972.

See also Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997); Bush, George H. W. (1924–); Scowcroft-Eagleburger Mission (1989).

REFERENCES: Roger V. Des Forges, Luo Ning, and Wu Yen-bo (eds.), *Chinese Democracy and the Crisis of 1989: Chinese and American Reflections* (Albany, NY, 1993); Chu-yuan Cheng, *Behind the Tiananmen Massacre: Social, Political, and Economic Ferment in China* (Boulder, CO, 1990).

Yuwu Song

Tibet

Geographically, Tibet is a region in the Himalayas of Central Asia that is inhabited by the Tibetan people. Politically, the term is usually used to refer to the Tibet Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Culturally, Tibet includes surrounding areas with large Tibetan populations where Tibetan influence has been historically strong. Portions of the current Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan and Qinghai could be considered part of cultural Tibet, as well as portions of India including Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal. The borders of the political entity called Tibet have varied throughout history. Tibetans are recognized as one of the minorities of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and have a distinctive language and culture. Their culture is closely integrated with a unique form of Buddhism. The temporal state was administered by lamas, with the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama considered to be head of state. Throughout much of its history, Tibet has been under the influence of outside powers such as the Mongols, the Chinese, the British, the Nepalese, and the Indians. However, there have also been significant periods of time when the government of Tibet controlled its own internal and external affairs. While the status of Tibet is still in dispute, in re-

ality it is a territory controlled by the PRC government, which considers Tibet to be an integral part of China. Beijing traces its claim to Tibet to the historical relationship between Tibet and China dating back to the time when Mongol rulers were in control of much of this part of Asia.

There is also a Tibetan Government-in-exile led by the Dalai Lama, who fled to India in 1959. This government is headquartered in Dharamsala in northern India. As the traditional spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama represents his people for much of the world while the government of China administers his homeland. The Tibetans counter Chinese claims to Tibet with the argument that, during the period from 1913 to 1951, Tibet governed its own affairs and was therefore an independent state. When the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) entered the territory in 1949, Tibet met a number of the criteria that commonly are used to define a sovereign state. A distinctive Tibetan government that included a head of state, a cabinet of ministers, a national assembly, and a judicial system controlled the territory of Tibet during this time. The Tibetan government levied taxes, issued its own currency and postage stamps, and maintained a small army. In addition, the Government of Tibet maintained diplomatic relations with its neighbors including Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Mongolia, China, and British India. It also had limited relations with Russia and Japan. Whether the action of the PLA was an invasion or a peaceful liberation is a matter of perspective. The result, though, was that from that point in time the People's Republic of China has had control over the territory of Tibet. During the transition period that followed, the Tibetan government attempted to retain some autonomy through negotiations with the Chinese government, most notably the 17 Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, signed in 1951. At the time the agreement was signed, Chinese troops were already occupying part of Tibet. After the Tibetan government in exile was formed, the Dalai Lama refuted the validity of this agreement citing that the Tibetan representatives who signed did not have the authority to enter into agreements, that the document was signed under duress, and that the Chinese government has not abided by the conditions of the agreement. Key points of the 17 Point Agreement stated that Tibet was a part of China, provided for the incorporation of the Tibetan armed forces into the PLA, and guaranteed religious freedom in Tibet. Since the departure of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa, the Chinese government has worked to modernize Tibet and integrate it into the People's Republic. The Chinese contend

that great strides have been made in advancing Tibet from a feudal society to a society where education and medical services are provided to all. The Tibetan Government in Exile, on the other hand, has accused the Chinese of a number of human rights violations in the territory.

The Dalai Lama has enjoyed great popularity internationally for his struggle for Tibetan independence and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. Absent from most discussion of the Tibetan question, however, have been the influential powers of the West. The status of Tibet has been debated on a number of occasions by the General Assembly of the United Nations, but for the most part the nations of the world have only gone as far as to chastise China for violating Tibetan human rights. Over 50 years after the signing of the 17 Point of Agreement, the status of Tibet is still contested.

The policy of the United States does not recognize Tibet as an independent state. It reaffirms the status of Tibet as a part of China. However, during the time period between the flight of the Dalai Lama and President Richard Nixon's trip to Beijing in 1972, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency provided support to Tibetan rebels who were resisting the Chinese control over Tibet. This strategy was part of Washington's Cold War policies in Asia and not an effort to help Tibetans to gain independence. As relations normalized between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the 1970s, U.S. policy regarding Tibet has placed an emphasis on the human rights situation in the region. The U.S. has frequently criticized China for human rights violations in Tibet and has encouraged the Chinese government to engage in a dialog with the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

See also Dalai Lama (1935-).

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Anne M. Platoff

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a United Nations document adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948. This document defines a common standard of human rights that apply to all human beings regardless of their citizenship. By joining the UN, all member nations agree to the principles of the UN Charter, including the organization's pledge "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." The Universal Declaration is an attempt to define "fundamental human rights."

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all people are entitled to a basic set of human rights regardless of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Among the rights guaranteed by the convention are life, liberty and security of person; freedom from slavery or servitude; freedom from torture or cruel punishment; freedom from discrimination; the right to trial; and freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. Other rights included in the Declaration are freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; and freedom of peaceful assembly and association. Many nations, including the People's Republic of China (PRC), contend that each member of the United Nations is entitled to deal with its own internal affairs without interference from other nations. Other nations contend that as member states, nations are obligated to abide by the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights when dealing with their own people. Each year the United States Department of State issues a human rights report for the People's Republic of China. The American government has criticized the Chinese for violations of many of the rights defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the Chinese government's treatment of dissidents, religious groups, detainees, restrictions on the press, harassment of individuals working for governmental change, and the suppression of ethnic minorities. The reports are quite detailed and very critical of the People's Republic. On the other hand, the Chinese government asserts that economic rights and social mobility are among of the most basic human rights. The PRC has defended its record contending that economic reforms have improved conditions for millions of its citizens. China continues to counter its critics by demonstrating that citizens have greater freedom to travel, have increased op-

portunities for education and employment, and enjoy a higher standard of living.

While there is a lack of agreement among UN members on their obligations regarding the rights outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the document has become the internationally recognized definition of "human rights." It forms the basis for the dialog that continues about China's treatment of its citizens.

See also **Human Rights in China (HRIC); Human Rights.**

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Anne M. Platoff

U.S.-China Business Council (USCBC)

On the one hand, the USCBC is a conventional interest group, promoting expanded opportunities for American companies to trade with and invest in China. On the other hand, because of the rocky nature of state-to-state relations between the two countries, USCBC has performed an additional role as one among dozens of private associations seeking to improve understanding between the United States and China. In both respects, it follows in the footsteps of its early 20th century predecessor, the American Asiatic Association.

Originally called the National Council for U.S.-China Trade, USCBC was founded in 1973, in a context where U.S.-China relations were steadily thawing and commercial relations were on the immediate agenda. Since that time, its activities have fallen under four headings—giving advice to American businesses, legislative lobbying, publishing a bimonthly magazine, and (as previously noted) promoting improved overall bilateral relations. The Council is a membership organization, individual corporations constituting its members and their dues providing its financial base. Members bring specific business-related questions to the Council's staff. Through this process and various member programs, USCBC accumulates experience-based information, which it can share with members, as needed. In addition to providing such consultation, USCBC promotes a legislative agenda that is favorable to increased business interaction between the United States and China. In particular, it has long championed Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) status for China, an effort that achieved a milestone (but not final success) with

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James I. Matray is professor and chair of the History Department at California State University, Chico. He has published more than forty articles and book chapters on U.S.-Korean relations during and after World War II. Author of *The Reluctant Crusade: American Foreign Policy in Korea, 1941-1950* and *Japan's Emergence as a Global Power*, his most recent books are *Korea Divided: The 38th Parallel and the Demilitarized Zone* and *East Asia and the United States: An Encyclopedia of Relations Since 1784*.

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Edwin E. Moise has degrees from Harvard and the University of Michigan. He is now professor of history at Clemson University. He is the author of *Tonkin Gulf and the Escalation of the Vietnam War* and other books on Vietnam and China.

Steven Napier is a political scientist, historian, and writer of philosophy. He holds a BA and MA from Marshall University. In addition, he is the author of *FDR's Monetary Policy* (pending), and *Property And Commercial Law In British India: A Comparative History* (pending).

Cynthia Ning is associate director of the University of Hawaii's Center for Chinese Studies, and executive director of the Chinese Language Teachers Association. She is the author of *Communicating in Chinese*, a series of textbooks for beginning level instruction in Mandarin Chinese; and *Exploring in Chinese* (forthcoming), a video-based series for Mandarin Chinese

instruction at the intermediate level. She also teaches and writes about Chinese comic literature and film, and has a growing interest in sports as a social phenomenon.

Meredith Oyen is currently completing her Ph.D. in U.S. Diplomatic History at Georgetown University. Her research centers on the role of immigration and the overseas Chinese in U.S.-Chinese relations.

Edy Parsons is a Ph.D candidate at Department of History, Iowa State University.

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