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CHINESE-AMERICAN ATTITUDES

TOWARDS CHINA

A Case Study

by

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National and International Affairs

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PREFACE

The author has had an academic interest in China for over thirty years and has lived in half a dozen Asian countries with large Overseas Chinese populations for a total of over seventeen years. This experience provided an opportunity to study the attitudes of the Overseas Chinese towards China while it was undergoing a period of extensive political change. Familiarization with the attitudes of Asian Overseas Chinese towards China served as background for this study.

The motivation for this study arose from the activities, especially the field trips, of the 24th Executive Seminar. On the Seminar's first field trip to New England the author was impressed with the fact that there are many Chinese Americans in senior positions in industry, commerce, academia, government and the arts. Chinese Americans are statistically insignificant and as a grouping have never enjoyed influence or political clout as have other ethnic groups such as the Greeks. However, with today's heightened interest in China it struck the author that the views of Chinese Americans towards China would be worth soliciting. Therefore this study was undertaken.

It was decided to seek the views of as wide a sampling of Chinese Americans as possible, within the time and resource restraints of the Seminar. Interviews were concentrated in six Northern and Middle Atlantic states where many prominent Chinese Americans are located. To the extent possible, Chinese Americans who have been citizens for twenty or more years were interviewed, avoiding recent arrivals with political views towards China formed prior to arrival in the United States.

A conscious and deliberate effort was made to avoid any questions which might elicit automatic pro or anti Peking and Taiwan responses. This was done by conducting the interviews in relaxed settings using an historical and cultural approach to the subject. A good number of those interviewed requested anonymity and some also requested assurances that they would not be quoted in reports to government agencies such as the Immigration Service. While several interviewees spoke on the record it was deemed best to provide anonymity for all. The academic nature of the Executive Seminar's objectives was explained to those interviewed, while at the same time identifying U.S. Government sponsorship. Apart from changing a few selected background facts about interviewees to protect their anonymity, no substantive comments have been changed.

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It would probably be impossible for comments on attitudes towards China from any group of Americans to be completely free of political bias. This is especially so for Chinese Americans who themselves, as well as relatives and friends, have been greatly affected by events in China over the past 40 years (many of the interviewees came to the U.S. as a direct consequence of the communist revolution in China). However, the author is confident that most of the information obtained from the interviews represents the frank views of Chinese Americans and is relatively free of deliberate political bias. In several cases, interviewees, after a cautious or even suspicious warmup discussion, became voluble and eagerly expressed their views, thereby extending an agreed interview of one hour into one of several hours. Almost all of the interviewees said that their views towards China had not previously been solicited by anyone. The selection, emphasis and organization of information presented and the conclusions derived thereof are solely the responsibility of the author.

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INTRODUCTION

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Of the sixteen persons interviewed, nine have visited the China Mainland during the last few years and seven have visited Taiwan. All of those who visited China contacted relatives while there. Three of these visited China for business purposes but took advantage of the visit to meet relatives. Five visited both Taiwan and the China Mainland on the same trip. All of the interviewees have relatives in China and over half still have relatives in Taiwan. All but two of those who have not yet visited China plan to do so in the near future. The two who do not plan to visit China believe that it would be impossible to do so for political reasons, one because he served in the U.S. Army in Korea, and the other because his family, both in China and abroad, was and still is strongly opposed to the Chinese Communist party. Most of the interviewees left China soon after World War II and came to the U.S., initially as students. Six came directly to the U.S. Of the others, six lived on Taiwan initially, three in Hong Kong and one in Singapore. One interviewee was born in Southeast Asia, went to China for higher education and then came to the U.S. One interviewee was born in the U.S., returned to China at the age of four, and returned to the U.S. sixteen years later. Four of the interviewees were women.

The author has chosen to present six composite cases as representative of the views of those interviewed. This is both fitting to the parameters of this effort as well as facilitating the anonymity promised to the interviewees.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER ONE: ROBERT TAN

Robert Tan is a scientist employed by the U.S. Government. He is sixty-two years old and was born in Shanghai where his uncles and cousins still live. He came to the U.S. in 1941 as a student. He visited Taiwan in 1946 where he married his wife who is also from Shanghai. He has three grown children. Tan has visited China several times in the past five years and traveled extensively while there. He usually visits relatives in both China and in Taiwan when he travels to the Far East. He has experienced no special problems in visiting both areas but uses two passports to avoid embarrassment to either regime. He finds the Chinese both in China and in Taiwan eager to question him about the situation in the "other China".

Tan says that he, like most Chinese Americans, is proud of China's present position in the world. Tan still remembers the shame of China in the past when it was exploited and pushed around by foreign powers. Tan says all Chinese are still loyal to China as a cultural and historical entity. However he and many others are not loyal to the communist government and do not accept communist methods of political control, but he is willing to forget the past and accept China for what it is today. Tan describes China today as a recognized and respected world power which is the seat of Chinese culture and history.

Tan believes that Taiwan, with its strong economy and sound industrial base, has much to contribute to Mainland China. He is hopeful that a way can be found to bring the two Chinas together without Taiwan simply giving in to Peking's demands. He believes that free and open channels of communication between the peoples of China and Taiwan will lessen the political differences and, in time, bring all Chinese back together. In the meantime he feels strongly that the United States must stand behind and protect Taiwan, while using all possible means to encourage the two sides to open a dialogue aimed at reconciliation.

Tan is genuinely impressed by the leadership and policies of Deng Xiao-ping and believes that Deng has done much to bring China to a more moderate and realistic type of government. Based on his visits to China and talks with many Chinese, Tan believes that most young Chinese have little faith in communist theory and system of government. They are more concerned with economic stability and progress and an opportunity to better themselves. Because of Deng's pragmatic approach they support him and his programs. However, they are critical of older officials who have been in power too long and are looking backward and talking nonsense instead of adjusting to China's needs for the future.

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Tan regrets that his children have become completely American and entered into the American competition for a better life while neglecting most of the traditional Chinese cultural and family values.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER TWO: HELEN LIU

Helen Liu is fifty-six years old. She and her husband, who is sixty-four years old, came to the U.S. from Southeast Asia in the mid 1960's. Her husband is a semi-retired former businessman. Their four children preceded their parents to the U.S., coming as students. All of the children now have excellent jobs after graduating from U.S. universities. Helen is from North China. She met her husband when he came to China from Southeast Asia as a student in the mid 1940's. They married in China and returned to Southeast Asia in 1949. Helen has several brothers and sisters who are professors at various universities in China. They suffered at the hands of the communist government. Their property was seized and they were imprisoned, both after the communist takeover and during the Chinese cultural revolution in the late 1960's. They have been rehabilitated as a result of the present government's policies and now hold responsible teaching positions. Helen and her family suffered serious racial discrimination while living in Southeast Asia and have made many sacrifices to send their children to the U.S. for education. Helen is now a successful businesswoman after beginning as an accountant in a small firm.

Helen takes a philosophical approach to the suffering and discrimination endured by her family in Southeast Asia and her relatives in China. She says that the history of China and the Chinese people is full of cruelty and suffering. She accepts this as the fate of the Chinese people, but is proud of her family's struggle and successful survival in spite of the difficulties. Helen believes that China was in a very sad condition before the communist takeover and is much better today. She is opposed to communist methods but accepts the results. She is fearful that China may face future problems but hopeful that China will not retrogress to the worst times under Mao.

Helen is eager to visit China in the near future. She wants very much to see China again and to hold a family reunion as soon as possible. She is fearful that she may lose this opportunity if she waits. Helen would not have considered it possible to visit China only a few years ago because of the communist persecution of her relatives. However, she has talked to many other Chinese Americans who have visited China and is reassured that she can now do so without problems for herself and her relatives. Helen has a strong sense of Chinese identity and believes that Chinese culture and history have much to contribute to her children. She has attempted to instill a sense of Chinese cultural identity in her children and has encouraged them to meet and know their cousins. Helen is very

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proud of her children and their achievements in the United States. But she feels the need to fill out their educational experience and development by knowing China and their family origins. Her family and cultural roots are very important to Helen and she will not rest until her children have opened a bridge to the homeland of her ancestors.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER THREE: WILLIE CHANG

Willie Chang was born in the United States but went to China with his family when he was four years old. He returned to the U.S. after living at his family home in Kwangtung Province for twelve years. He is fifty-four years old and a lawyer who became involved in local politics in New York and is now a high ranking municipal official. Chang has close relatives in China and Hong Kong. He has no connections with Taiwan.

Chang's family in China had all of its property confiscated and has undergone severe difficulties since the communists siezed power in China. Chang would not consider visiting China to see his relatives. He has talked to other Chinese who visited China. He is convinced that he would only attract suspicion and cause trouble for his relatives. This is largely because he was drafted into the U.S. Army and served in Korea during the Korean War when U.S. troops fought against Chinese troops. One of Chang's friends who also served in Korea was questioned at length during a visit to China because of a photo he carried showing him in uniform in Korea.

While Chang is opposed to communism, he believes that a revolution was needed in China because of the weak and corrupt Kuomintang government. Chang, however, recognizes the economic progress in Taiwan which has occurred under the Kuomintang. He is proud of this as a Chinese achievement. He is equally proud of China's standing and prestige today and considers this a major achievement of the communist government in Peking. Chang says all Chinese were humiliated by China's weakness before the communist revolution and bitterly resented China's subservience toward Western powers. Chang believes that most Chinese Americans still have a cultural loyalty to China regardless of the government in power. Chang dismisses the possibility of any Chinese thinking of Taiwan as representing the real China or attracting any type of cultural loyalty. All Chinese have their roots on the China Mainland, including the present leaders on Taiwan. Chang believes that Deng Xiao-ping is a good leader for China. He has confidence that Deng would never attack Taiwan and has the wisdom and patience needed for wooing Taiwan back to a reunion with Mainland China. Chang believes that the thinking and attitudes of Chinese leaders in Peking and Taipei are very similar and they understand each other better than any non-Chinese could. He also believes that the political restraints

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and methods of controlling the people are similar under both the communists in Peking and the Kuomintang in Taiwan.

While keenly interested in the situation in China and proud of China's standing in the world, Chang insisted that he would never feel safe in returning to China for a visit. Chang regrets that his children, like most Chinese, are striving to become more American and have little interest in China and Chinese culture.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER FOUR: SAMUEL YANG

Samuel Yang fled to Taiwan with his parents in 1949 just before the communists took over in China. He came to the United States from Taiwan as a graduate student in 1954. He returned to Taiwan in 1958 to marry a woman who, like Yang, came from Chekiang Province in China. Yang and his wife have close relatives both in China and in Taiwan. Yang has taken two trips to visit his family village and relatives in China in recent years. Yang, after teaching for ten years in U.S. universities, is now a senior engineer in an American firm.

Yang has been treated with great courtesy and respect by Chinese officials when he visited China. He has given lectures on chemical engineering in several Chinese universities. He is a hero in his home town where he is renowned as the local boy from a peasant family who made it big in the U.S. His brothers, sisters and other relatives were never mistreated because of Yang's status as a U.S. citizen.

Yang finds considerable good will towards the U.S. among all of the China Mainland residents whom he has met on visits. He concludes that anti U.S. propaganda by the Chinese communist government has not been very effective and was not believed even by the peasants.

Yang is convinced that few Chinese believe in communism. China under its present leadership is not following communist practice or theory. Communism is only a label of convenience under which present leaders are carrying out policies which are best for China and its people. However, for purposes of stability and international politics it is essential that Chinese leaders give lip service to communism. Yang is an enthusiastic supporter of Deng Xiao-ping and his policies. He believes Deng embodies all of traditional Chinese values as a great leader. He believes that Deng has the force of personality, wisdom and patience to lead China through the present period. Yang believes that Deng is capable of rising above China's recent history under communist rule to bring Taiwan and China together as one.

Yang has passed on much information to friends and relatives in China about Taiwan's economic progress and industrial strength. He finds many Mainland Chinese shocked to learn that Taiwan has done so well compared to China under communist leadership. Yang is a firm believer that open communication, trade and other exchanges between Taiwan and the China Mainland will help them to understand each other and bring them together. Only Deng is capable of the adroit maneuvering needed to bring this about. Deng wants open

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channels to Taiwan and is flexible and capable of concessions in order to bring about a reunion. However, there are political risks involved, and Deng's leadership could be threatened if he makes concessions to Taiwan. Peking must recognize Taiwan's strengths and value to China if they reunite. Yang admits that this is a most complicated and difficult matter. Nevertheless he believes that the common heritage of Chinese culture and history will somehow influence both sides to compromise. He does not believe that the U.S. can play any role other than that of a sympathetic bystander in this process. Yang does feel that prominent Chinese Americans, who are equally respected by both Peking and Taiwan, can play a key supporting role. But this should be done without any U.S. Government involvement.

Yang plans to bring most of his family from China and Taiwan to the U.S. He is confident that he can find jobs for them through his contacts in local industry. While admitting that immigration to the U.S. will present considerable adjustment problems, he believes he can overcome most of them by bringing his mother, brothers and their families as a group. He does not expect any problems with Chinese authorities in doing this. He is also confident that U.S. immigration laws will allow him to carry out this plan.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER FIVE: THOMAS TUNG

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Professor Thomas Tung is sixty-six years old. He is retired and living with one of his sons after a distinguished career as a professor in several American universities. He came to the U.S. as a graduate student from his home in South Central China in 1940. His wife was also a Chinese student in the U.S. when they met and married in 1946. She is now dead. Tung has three grown children, all of whom have successful careers after graduating from American universities. Tung's academic work in the U.S. has centered on Chinese political and cultural developments. Therefore he has made an extensive effort to follow events in China throughout his career. Tung first returned to China on a visit in the mid 1970's and has had several trips since. Prior to that he followed events in China through trips to Hong Kong and Taiwan, interviews with Chinese refugees, exchanges with other Chinese specialists, diplomats and scholars, and reading the Chinese press and whatever documents were available. Tung has served as a consultant to the U.S. Government and participated in both government and privately sponsored seminars and forums concerning China.

Tung remembers well the humiliation of China by foreign powers when China was weak and helpless. Tung says that the Chinese people of his era will never forget their anger and resentment at the exploitation of China by European colonial powers. He also remembers the massive corruption and exploitation of the Chinese people by their own leaders prior to World War II. Tung believes that all Chinese are proud of China's present stature and position in the world. Tung says even Chinese who are strongly anti-communist or have been assimilated into foreign cultures are proud of China's achievements and recognition as a world power.

Tung believes that there have been serious misunderstandings and misconceptions about each other on the part of both the American and Chinese people. This has resulted from the lack of open communication and contact because of past political differences. Tung says that some Americans, including scholars and Chinese Americans, have had a romantic view of China. Others believe only the worst stories about China. Tung says the accomplishments of China under communism have been many. He cites those in the fields of public health and education. Also China now has a strong central government which has eliminated the widespread corruption of past governments. Yet this has been at a heavy price, with many Chinese suffering at the hands of their own leaders. Corruption, nepotism and

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enrichment of officials are spreading again in China although not on the grand scale of precommunist China. Tung says that the Chinese people are not all diligent, dedicated, hardworking and willing to sacrifice in the interest of their socialist society. They have lost their faith in communism and with it the sense of dedication and sacrifice. Most Chinese today only want to find a better life for themselves and their children. Tung believes that the defaming of Mao Tse-tung and his theories by the present Chinese leadership presents problems for them in maintaining the control and discipline essential to China's progress.

Tung is an admirer of Mao from a historic viewpoint, while admitting that Mao's policies caused suffering and injustice for many Chinese. From Tung's viewpoint the suffering and injustice were an unfortunate but necessary consequence of Mao's effort to develop strong central government and a sense of national pride and discipline in the Chinese people. Mao was a great leader because he understood China, its history and its people. He shrewdly used this knowledge to lead China's revolution and development into a modern state. Mao was a theoretician capable of bringing inovative and original ideas to his political programs.

Tung contrasts Mao with Deng Xiao-ping. He believes that American views of Deng are inflated because Deng's leadership has been favorable to U.S. interests. Tung believes that Deng is a shrewd bureaucrat whose pragmatic policies are best for China today. But Deng lacks Mao's political genius and imagination. Deng is more human than Mao and is very able at political manipulation and maneuvering. Deng is good at tuning up the government bureaucracies and making them more efficient, but he could not lead a mass political movement as Mao did. But Deng will never achieve the stature of Mao, and his defaming of Mao will be largely rejected by future historians.

Tung considers China's present leaders to be basically conservative. He fears that China's next generation of leaders will be less flexible and moderate than today's leaders.

Tung believes that China's economic problems will present serious challenges to China's leaders. He is a strong advocate of cultural, scientific and educational exchanges between China and Taiwan in order to bring about a gradual reconciliation. He believes that Taiwan, with its strong economy and advanced industrial base, has much to contribute to China's economic development. He believes that Peking must make concessions and be more flexible in approaching Taiwan in the overall interests of the Chinese people and nation. Tung believes the doors must be opened between China



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and Taiwan, and that any and all means to accomplish this should be encouraged.

Tung regrets that the Chinese Communist Government has tried to destroy the traditional Chinese (Confucianist) system of virtue and values. He has seen evidence that some family values have survived thirty years of communist control. He is pessimistic, however, that the values of the past will be restored as faith in communist ideals declines. Tung has tried to pass on his own values and sense of traditional Chinese values to his children. He is disappointed that they have become Americanized and show little interest in China. When Tung discusses China with his children they accept China as an important part of their father's past, but they do not relate to China as part of their own history and culture.

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INTERVIEW NUMBER SIX: MICHAEL LEE

Michael Lee is a fifty-eight year old businessman. He was born in Fukien Province in China and lived in Singapore and Malaysia from the age of six to thirty-five, when he emigrated to the U.S. His wife is a Singapore-born Overseas Chinese. They have two grown sons. Lee's business has affiliates and customers in Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. He often travels to the Far East and twice visited the China Mainland on business. During one trip he visited Fukien and was able to meet his uncles and cousins.

Lee believes that the Chinese people have the same basic attitudes and values wherever they live. In Southeast Asia they struggle to survive and prosper in business or manufacturing, and to educate their children, in spite of discrimination and local government efforts to control their activities. In China people accept or tolerate their government but do not have high expectations of a fair and just system. They just struggle to survive and seek a better life for their children, just as Overseas Chinese do in Asia. Lee admits that there was a burst of idealistic enthusiasm and dedication after the communists took over in China. But he believes that this is all gone now and China is rife with corruption, nepotism, feudalism and crime.

Lee claims to be non-political and says he never had any faith in either the communist or Kuomintang leaders of China. He believes that economic development is far more important for China than political movements. Lee is involved with Overseas Chinese businessmen from Hong Kong and Singapore who are attempting to carry out joint-venture manufacturing endeavors in China. Lee says that the West has much to offer China in technology. But Chinese businessmen in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong and Taiwan have far more to offer in entrepreneurial, manufacturing, industrial and managerial expertise. He believes that most Chinese are very interested in bettering their life and have lost whatever faith or hopes they had in communist theory and practice. He advocates that China take advantage of the talent and experience of Overseas Chinese businessmen. He believes some Chinese leaders are aware of the great potential to be derived from Overseas Chinese contributions to China's economic and industrial growth. However, he is pessimistic that this will happen soon. Chinese leaders are tied to communism and must give lip service to it even if they no longer believe in the communist system.

Lee has been discouraged by his efforts to date to introduce modern managerial and manufacturing techniques into China. He finds China extremely backward, inefficient and resistant to change. Chinese bureaucrats and managers do not

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understand Western methods and put many bureaucratic obstacles in the way of those new methods. The claim about a diligent and hard working labor force is a myth. While China made progress in many areas under the communist leadership, the labor force has been ruined under communism. Workers want a guaranteed job and wages for life without working hard. While Chinese leaders have introduced incentives into some areas of the Chinese economy, they will not allow foreign investors to use incentives and awards as a means of developing an efficient work force. Instead the Chinese bureaucrats and managers are concerned with providing as many jobs as possible, some of these jobs go to relatives and friends instead of the better workers. It is virtually impossible to discharge an inefficient worker. In spite of his bad experience to date Lee is hopeful that China's leaders will see the logic of drawing upon the expertise of Overseas Chinese in advancing China's economy.

Lee believes that economic, industrial and technological factors offer more hope than political factors in attempting to bring China and Taiwan together. He believes that China's leaders must negotiate from weakness and admit that communism does not have all of the answers to China's problems. If China and Taiwan had free and open exchanges of scientists, businessmen and industrialists there would be a natural impetus towards further exchanges which would be beneficial to both sides.

Lee is concerned about problems presented by China's youth. He believes they are restless, and there is much dissatisfaction among them. They feel cheated and deceived by promises of what communism would do for China. They are no longer willing to make sacrifices and wait for results. The youth of China want economic progress and a better life-- and they want this in their lifetime. Most seem to support the present leaders and the pragmatic course Deng Xiao-ping has set for China. But they are disenchanted with old leaders who did not deliver on past promises. Lee finds that young Chinese are not concerned with whether China is pro American or pro Russian. They do not care about Marxism, Maoism or American style democracy. They only want what is best for China and their own futures. Lee is pessimistic that China's aging leaders are sufficiently flexible and capable of rapidly adjusting China's policies to meet the needs of the future.

Lee has attempted to instill a sense of traditional Chinese values and culture in his children. His children read and speak Chinese and think of China as the homeland of their ancestors and their culture. Lee believes that Overseas

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Chinese in Asia retain more of their Chinese cultural identity than Chinese Americans. He hopes his children will pass on their cultural heritage to their children but admits that this may be difficult in an American environment. Lee believes that many of China's traditional values have survived the communist experiment in China and that Chinese leaders should encourage a return to traditional values.

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SUMMARY: COMMENTS: AND CONCLUSION

In addition to the six composite cases presented in this study there were other comments from the interviews considered suitable for inclusion. These have therefore been woven into this final section. There was a consensus among the interviewees that the communist revolution was a necessary phase in China's history and development. However, that phase is now over and reliance and faith in communism is definitely on the decline in China. While China's leaders must give lip service to communism in order to preserve stability and orderly political development, few Chinese today, and especially China's youth, believe that the communist system can provide for China's future needs. The most extreme view presented was that China had made use of communism when it was needed for its national development but is now casting it aside.

There was acknowledgement that much had been accomplished by the Chinese communist revolution and progress had been made in many areas. However, no miracles had been achieved. There is still feudalism, corruption and crime in China. And judged by modern standards China is a very backward country with an inefficient economic and industrial base. Most of those interviewed seemed more pleased with the new human but honest face of China with its faults and problems than the greatly overstated utopian face of China claimed in Chinese propaganda. A majority of those interviewed felt that some of China's traditional values had survived communism and that this was good for China.

All were proud of China's prestige and influence in the world today. Half of the interviewees criticized Chinese communist political controls and methods but acknowledged that China had profited from its communist experiment.

Seven of the interviewees had lived in Taiwan for various periods of time before coming to the U.S. Most of these still have close relatives, property and investments in Taiwan. When asked where they came from, none said Taiwan, rather, each named his family home on the China Mainland (Shanghai, Kwandung, etc.). Most of those who reported suffering (prison, death, deprivation of property) by relatives in China did so in a resigned and fatalistic manner as if this was their and China's fate. A sense of Chinese history was prevalent in most of the interviews. Therefore the cruelties of China's communist rulers was judged in a perspective of cruelty by China's past rulers. Even those who made strong anti-communist statements expressed loyalty and admiration for Chinese culture, civilization and history. In most cases this loyalty extended to China as a

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historical and geographical entity no matter what type of government was in power. The China Mainland is the motherland, the home of their ancestors, and the seat of Chinese culture and civilization and will always be so.

When expressing admiration that China is a world power today about half of the interviewees spoke emotionally about China's past weakness and humiliation at the hands of Western colonial powers. All but two were pleased with U.S. diplomatic recognition of China. Almost all of the interviewees expressed the hope that Peking and Taiwan could resolve their differences so that there would be one united China. About one third felt that the U.S. should stand behind Taiwan and that major concessions should be made by Peking. This was put in terms that because Taiwan has a strong economy and industrial base it has much to offer to Peking.

All of the interviewees were proud of their own accomplishments in their careers in the U.S. Almost all of them were proud of their Chinese heritage and intended to preserve their Chinese identity and culture as Americans. Most of them had made an effort to pass on their Chinese cultural heritage to their children. Those who succeeded were pleased. But most of them were resigned to the fact that many young Chinese are attracted to the American way and want to build their futures as Americans. Some of the interviewees were extremely distressed by this even though they were proud their children were doing very well as Americans. Only one interviewee intended to bring his relatives to the U.S. to live. A few hoped to bring a parent for a visit. But most felt their relatives would be happier in China. Also the attraction for them of visiting the China Mainland is so strong they prefer to visit China rather than have relatives visit the U.S. Some have promised to assist young relatives to come to the U.S. for higher education. They have found a strong interest among China's youth for the U.S. Some young Chinese have indicated to their visiting American relatives that they are desperate to come to the U.S. for education.

Complementing the strong sense of Chinese culture and history expressed by the interviewees was an almost overwhelming desire to explore their roots in China. While clearly fully committed to their future in the U.S., they also are committed to retaining their Chinese heritage. Almost all of those interviewed who have not yet visited China expressed a keen desire to do so; some to the extent that it appeared to be the dominant factor in their lives.

It should be born in mind that most of the interviewees were in their mid-fifties or older; younger Chinese Americans and the children of the generation interviewed may not retain the strong sense of roots and cultural identity. But for this older generation there can be no question that their Chinese heritage and roots on the China Mainland play a major role in their lives.

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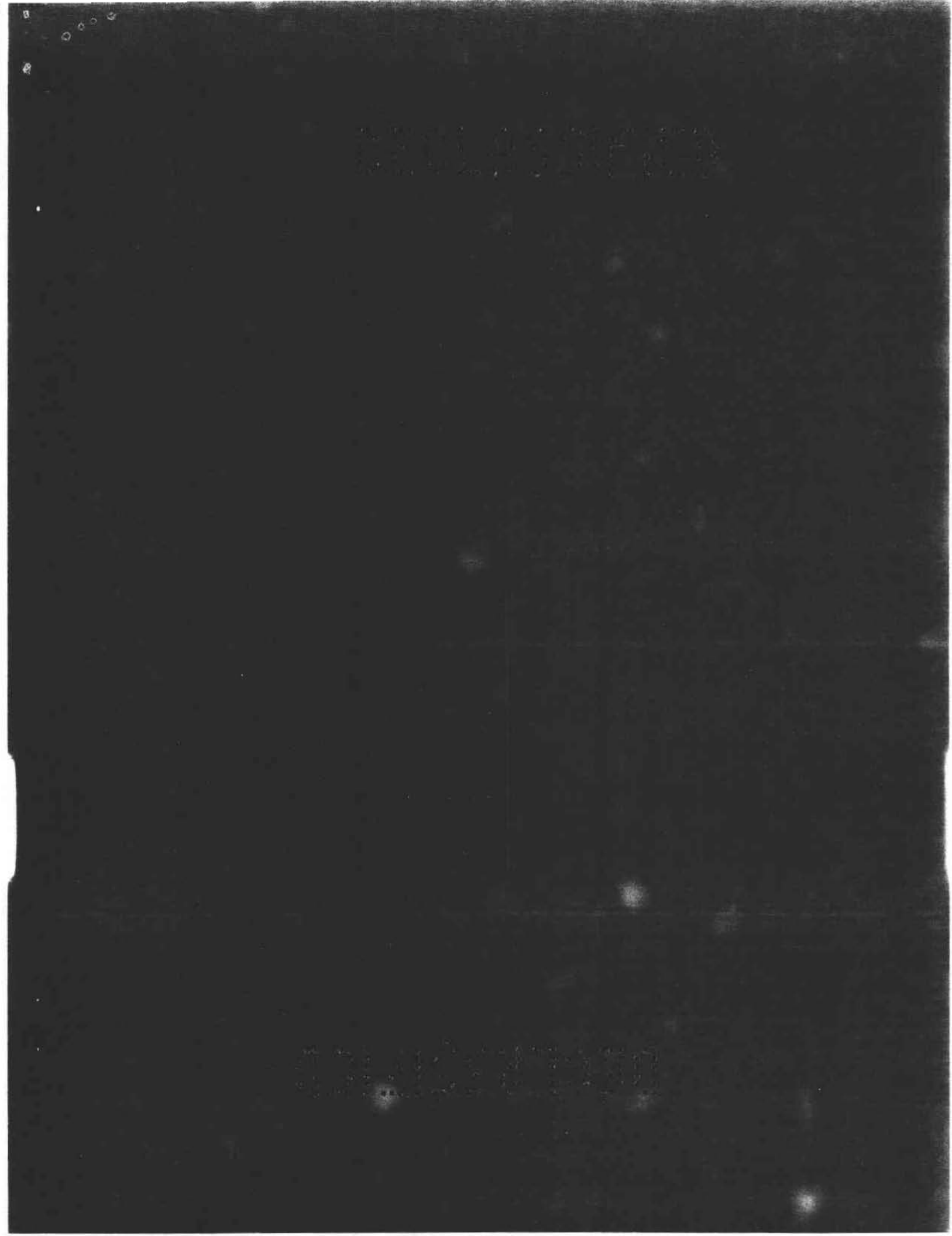
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