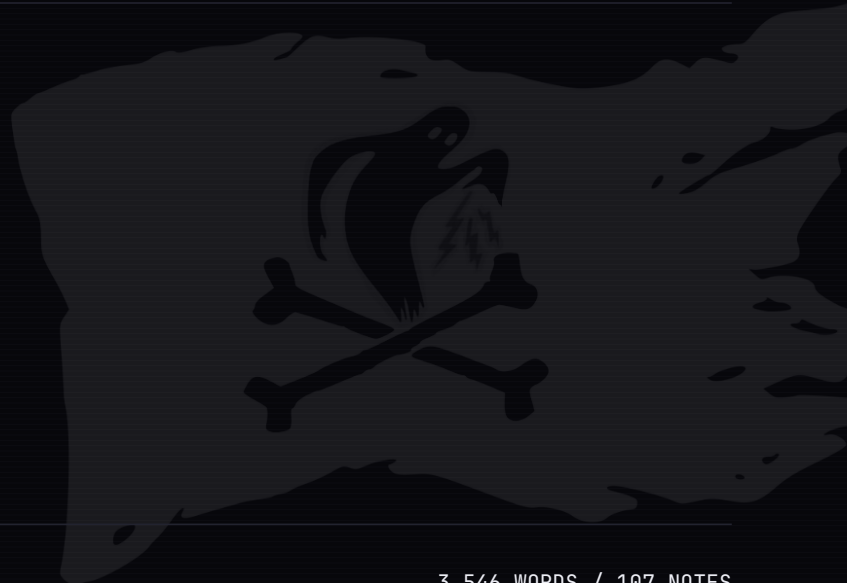




END OF AN ERA, PART II:

THE WATERMELON AFFAIR

BY NATHAN WALKER



THE REPORT

THE WATERMELON AFFAIR

END OF AN ERA, PART II

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Numbered source notes accompany the article. Full source details and links appear in the source register.

SECTION 1

INTRODUCING THE LANDSCAPE

In 1966 three American research bodies organized a channel to China. The National Academy of Sciences, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council established the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China.¹

Memo excerpt | printed p. 905

firm offer to buy several Boeing 707 aircraft, is negotiating other purchases from Lockheed, and has asked Hughes Aircraft Corporation to submit a proposal for a domestic communications satellite system.⁴ RCA

Memo continuation | printed p. 906

has also been asked to upgrade its temporary earth satellite station at Shanghai to permanent status and to construct an additional satellite station in Peking.⁵

Editorial note 4 | printed p. 905

memorandum to Secretary of Commerce Peter Peterson, signed by Haig for Kissinger, noted that Flanigan and Kissinger approved the negotiations, subject to the two requirements mentioned in Scott's memorandum. (All in National Archives, Nixon Presidential

Editorial note 5 | printed p. 906

⁵ This equipment had been installed for Nixon's visit. In a March 8 memorandum to Kissinger, Laird recommended approval of the earth station in Shanghai but denial of a license to sell 18 additional "videovoice" terminals. In a March 14 memorandum to Laird, Rogers, and Peterson, Kissinger approved the sale of the equipment already in the PRC and deferred a decision on the other equipment, stating that "these should be considered within the USG anew on their own merits." He concluded: "we should reject any effort to interpret the U.S. sale of the RCA satellite earth station and related equipment to the PRC as a basic change in the U.S. policy on the embargo of strategic communications generally." (Both *ibid.*, Box 1349, NSC Files, 2 of 2, 1971)

The official FRUS record places Boeing, Hughes and RCA inside the 1972 opening to China and records the conditions attached to the sales decisions. Document 229 and archival notes, printed pp. 905-906. ²

NOTES

¹ Sino-American Social Science Exchanges in the 1970s

² Solomon memorandum to Kissinger, June 1972

Six years later Richard Solomon, the China specialist on Henry Kissinger's National Security Council staff, put the next steps on paper. Route scientific exchanges through that committee, he advised. Route cultural exchanges through the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations, "with the Department of State providing authoritative communication and security where necessary."²

Public record places American companies inside the opening. In May 1972 Haig conveyed Kissinger's approval for Boeing to negotiate aircraft sales to China under civilian-use and export-control conditions. A separate March decision approved RCA satellite

equipment already in China while deferring additional equipment. Beijing was also seeking a Hughes communications-satellite proposal.²

Private institutions carried the exchanges, while government officials decided how to support them and which commercial negotiations could proceed.

Beijing welcomed natural scientists more readily than China specialists. After a 1973 visit by SSRC president Eleanor Sheldon, the committee developed an escort arrangement: China specialists accompanied scientific delegations as translators and guides. The SSRC's later account describes them traveling "under the cover of escorts." Its examples include visits in 1974 and 1975.¹

SECTION 2

PROGENESIS OF COOPERATION

In March 1986 four Chinese scientists urged their government to accelerate high-technology development. Deng Xiaoping ordered a quick decision. The program took its name from the month it began: 863.³

The 863 Program covered biotechnology, information technology, automation, energy, materials and marine technology. Its stated aim included Chinese intellectual property, under a published principle: "Combine military use with civil use, with stress on the latter."³

Two years later Henry Kissinger helped conceive the Committee of 100 and encouraged I.M. Pei and Henry Tang to establish it, according to the group's own history. Pei and cellist Yo-Yo Ma were among its founders in 1989.^{4 5}

A state technology program in China and a private club with access to power in the United States.

In 1991 Microsoft established its Israeli research-and-development center, the company's first outside the United States.¹⁰⁷

NOTES

¹ Sino-American Social Science Exchanges in the 1970s

² Solomon memorandum to Kissinger, June 1972

³ PRC embassy account of the 863 Programme

⁴ Committee of 100 on Kissinger's role in its founding

⁵ Committee of 100 institutional timeline

¹⁰⁷ Microsoft on its Israeli R&D history

SECTION 3

CANADA OPENS ITS DOORS



Since 1992 a CIDA-funded, IDRC-managed Expert and Advisory Services Fund had supported Canada's role as gavel holder of the Refugee Working Group in the Middle East peace process. Government financing and research expertise were being organized around a diplomatic assignment.⁶

While Canada was building it, an FBI operation was running in Philadelphia. In October 1993, one month after the Oslo Accords were signed on the White House lawn, FBI agents taped a meeting. In the Fifth Circuit's later account, the Muslim Brotherhood had told its chapters worldwide to set up "Palestine Committees" to support Hamas from abroad.

The American chapter created the Holy Land Foundation, the Islamic Association for Palestine and the United Association for Studies and Research. On tape, participants discussed opposing the peace process. One told the others to call the gathering a "joint workshop" if asked, and called Hamas "Sister Samah," the name spelled backwards. Five men were later convicted in the Holy Land Foundation case.⁸

The next year the Council on American-Islamic Relations, also commonly referred to as "CAIR", opened a small office on K Street in Washington. In a 2009 letter to Senator Jon Kyl, the FBI recalled CAIR's designation

as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation case and the trial evidence demonstrating a relationship between the Palestine Committee and Hamas.^{9 10}

In the October–November 1995 Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, Canadian Muslim Civil Liberties Association (CMCLA) cofounder Faisal Kutty named CAIR communications director Ibrahim Hooper to the Canadian association's advisory board.¹¹

Other doors to the international stage began to swing open. Israel and China signed a science and technology agreement in Jerusalem on February 14, 1993, covering exchanges, joint laboratories and the terms governing research results.¹² That year, the Chinese Institute of Engineers–USA opened a Sino-American Technology and Engineering Conference in Beijing. Its partners were China's State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs and its State Economic and Trade Commission, and the fields tracked the 863 list.¹³

American firms were establishing their Gulf operations in the same period. Microsoft opened its Dubai branch in 1993. The following May, AT&T signed a major Saudi contract covering digital switching, fixed lines and wireless service.^{14 15 16}

NOTES

⁶ IDRC, Palestinian Refugees: Challenges of Repatriation and Development

⁸ Fifth Circuit Holy Land Foundation opinion

⁹ CAIR tenth-anniversary report, 1994–2004

¹⁰ 2006 Abu Dhabi and Riyadh cables reproduced in the Congressional Record

¹¹ Faisal Kutty on the CMCLA's formation, October 1995

¹² Israel–China agreement on scientific and technological cooperation, February 14, 1993

¹³ CIE–USA SATEC institutional history

¹⁴ Microsoft corporate history, 1993

¹⁵ AT&T–Saudi Arabia contract report, May 10, 1994

¹⁶ USITC Industry, Trade, and Technology Review, April 1996

SECTION 4

THE "CHINAGATE" OPENS

IV

The 1996 election brought a federal investigation into foreign campaign money and scrutiny of Asian American donors. Former congressman Norman Mineta objected to the Democratic National Committee's donor audit: "They did it only with Asian-surnamed donors in excess of \$5,000." Asian American organizations protested, and C100 records its own defense of Chinese Americans over the contribution investigations. Mineta had left Congress in October 1995 and moved to Lockheed Martin.^{22 23 5 90 91}

In 1996, CAIR's anniversary report records, Canadian Muslims formed an informal network "to work in Canada with CAIR." That May, the McGill-hosted Palestinian Refugee ResearchNet also began publishing its website; its log later recorded renewed IDRC and CIDA funding.^{9 7}

In 1997 C100 published a Hong Kong handover paper with the Asia Society. IDRC and the McGill network convened an Ottawa conference on Palestinian refugee research. CAIR joined the newly formed American

Muslim Political Coordination Council, organized to give its member groups a shared political voice.^{5 7 27}

Meanwhile, Hughes contracted in 1997 to build Thuraya, the Emirati satellite-phone system whose shareholders included Qatar's and Bahrain's telecommunications authorities. The contract covered satellites, a gateway, network operations and handsets.^{17 19}

The technology channels continued expanding. In March 1998 Qualcomm announced a joint CDMA research program and scholarship fund with Beijing University of Posts and Telecommunications.²⁴ Khaled Letaief consulted for Nortel in Hong Kong that year, a decade before founding Huawei's first Hong Kong laboratory.²⁵ And Sunwah began investing in Chinese science and technology in 1998, an effort it says it launched "in response to former President Jiang Zemin's strategy."²⁶ By then, Sun Wah Group president Jonathan Choi already had a funded, trustee-level relationship with Fudan University. Fudan and BUPT were both on CERNET; in 1998, the network completed a national

NOTES

⁵ Committee of 100 institutional timeline

⁷ Palestinian Refugee ResearchNet, McGill University

⁹ CAIR tenth-anniversary report, 1994-2004

¹⁷ UN Highlights in Space 1997

¹⁹ Thuraya begins commercial service

²² Norman Mineta interview, PBS Frontline, April 1997

²³ Daniel Sneider, "To Asian Americans, Campaign-Finance Flap Smacks of Bias," Christian Science Monitor, October 25, 1996

²⁴ Qualcomm-BUPT announcement, March 1998

²⁵ Khaled B. Letaief curriculum vitae

²⁶ Sunwah Group on its technology investment

²⁷ "How Did Muslims Vote in 2000?", Middle East Quarterly

⁹⁰ House biography of Norman Mineta

⁹¹ Commerce Department biography of Norman Mineta

program covering TCP/IP, routing and information security and received approval for a satellite-and-ground backbone upgrade. ^{108 109 110}

JA3R2IGS

SOURCE DOCUMENT INSET

FIRST RMB 2 MILLION RECEIVED

MAY 29, 1997 / FUDAN EDUCATION FUND / SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

ORIGINAL CHINESE / SOURCE [108]

PDF PAGE 31 / ZERO-BASED INDEX 30 / PRINTED PAGE 28

1997 年

5 月 29 日 蔡冠深复旦大学教育基金签约仪式举行。首批基金 200 万元人民币到位并用于资助新闻学院发展。全国政协副主席钱伟长、校长杨福家等领导出席仪式并亲切会见我校校董、香港新华集团总裁蔡冠深先生。

5 月 丁淦林教授被聘请为国务院学位委员会第四届学科评议组成员。

8 月 黄瑚撰写的论文《调查新闻职业道德现状，四家新闻院系提出报告》

ENGLISH TRANSLATION - CONDENSED

RETROSPECTIVE INSTITUTIONAL CHRONICLE - COMPILED OCTOBER 2019

MAY 29, 1997

The signing ceremony for the Jonathan Choi Fudan University Education Fund was held.

RMB 2 MILLION RECEIVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

Fudan identifies Choi as a university trustee and president of Hong Kong's Sun Wah Group.

SOURCE: FUDAN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, 90TH-ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE BOOK (2019)

GUSQUIXOTE.COM

Fudan's institutional chronicle records the May 1997 signing of Choi's education fund, its first contribution to the School of Journalism, and his university and business roles. Condensed English translation beside the original Chinese; printed p. 28 (PDF p. 31). ¹⁰⁸

In 1998 the White House invited the Committee of 100 to bring a paper called "Seeking Common Ground While Respecting Differences" to National Security Adviser Sandy Berger. Clinton was about to leave for China. ⁵

The organization C100 itself credits Kissinger with conceiving—and with encouraging Pei and Tang to establish—was now presenting recommendations to the National Security Council. Civil-rights advocacy had become one route into a foreign-policy discussion.

NOTES

- 5 Committee of 100 institutional timeline
- 108 Fudan University School of Journalism 90th-anniversary chronicle
- 109 Ye Ying and Jin Wei, "CERNET and CALIS mismatch and remediation," University Library Journal, 1998, 16(6)
- 110 CERNET construction history

SECTION 5

WEN HO LEE AND THE BACKGROUND "MERGERS"



On December 10, 1999, federal agents arrested Wen Ho Lee, the Taiwanese-American Los Alamos scientist fired that March. His indictment contained 59 counts. He spent 278 days in pretrial solitary confinement, under conditions his lawyer described as constant restraint when moving through the prison.^{28 29 30}

Four days later a border officer at Port Angeles, Washington, stopped Ahmed Ressam as he drove off a ferry from Victoria. He had been living in Montreal as part of a terrorist cell in Canada and had attended al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. Inspectors found explosives in his car; he later admitted planning to bomb Los Angeles International Airport around the millennium.³¹

The following year brought a judge's rebuke in Lee's case and a presidential debate over secret evidence.

On September 13, 2000, Wen Ho Lee pleaded guilty to one felony and walked out. Judge James Parker said from the bench that Lee had been "punished harshly" and blamed top decision makers in the executive branch—especially at Justice and Energy—for having

"caused embarrassment." Reno said she was "not embarrassed."³⁰

On October 11, 2000, George W. Bush told the second presidential debate: "Arab Americans are racially profiled in what is called secret evidence. People are stopped, and we have to do something about that." Twelve days later the American Muslim Political Coordination Council endorsed him.^{92 27}

In Canada, the previously informal network incorporated as CAIR-CAN in 2000. The organization now called the National Council of Canadian Muslims describes those beginnings as cooperation under a similar brand.^{32 9}

The official reviews of the Lee investigation exposed a problem deeper than its public presentation. The May 2000 Bellows report found that DOE's intelligence office had supplied summaries that misrepresented the scientific panel's conclusions while the FBI never received the panel's written assessment. In June 2001 GAO found that Neil Gallagher's congressional testimony had omitted concerns available in his own briefing book and was inaccurate and misleading.^{78 77}

NOTES

⁹ CAIR tenth-anniversary report, 1994-2004

²⁷ "How Did Muslims Vote in 2000?", Middle East Quarterly

²⁸ Voice of America report on Wen Ho Lee's arrest, December 10, 1999

²⁹ ABC Nightline, "The Strange Case of the U.S. v. Wen Ho Lee," September 19, 2000

³⁰ CNN, "Reno offers no apology for Wen Ho Lee case," September 14, 2000

³¹ FBI account of the Millennium Plot

³² NCCM institutional history

⁷⁷ GAO review of FBI congressional testimony, June 28, 2001

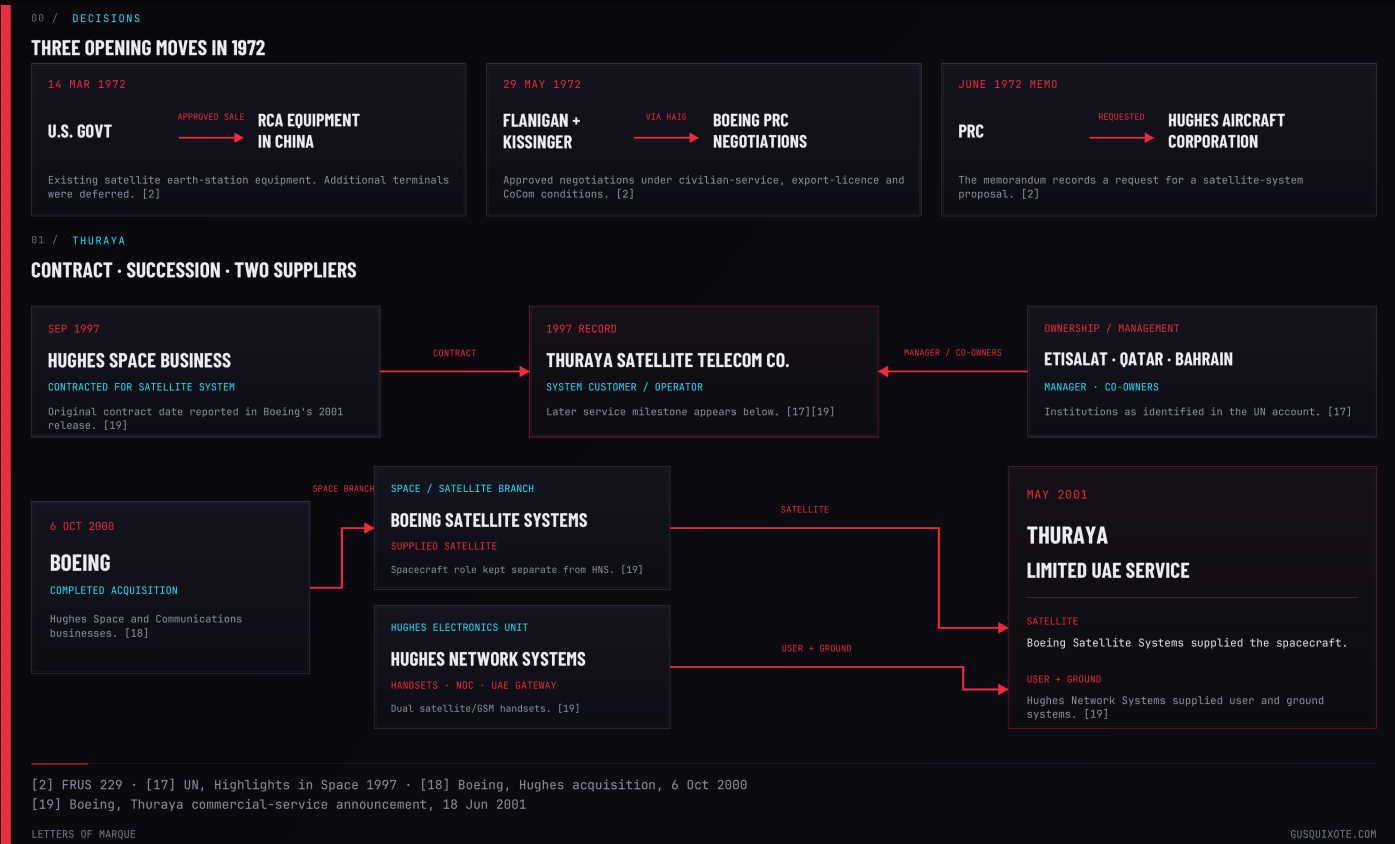
⁷⁸ Bellows report, May 2000, chapter 6

⁹² Commission on Presidential Debates, October 11, 2000 transcript

The university exchanges continued. Avishai Ceder, formerly chief scientist at Israel's transport ministry, held visiting professorships at HKUST and Hong Kong Polytechnic in 1999–2000. Abdulkadhim Ameen Hassan's published biography records a Shanghai communications doctorate in 2000 and a visiting professorship at United Arab Emirates University from 2000 to 2002.^{33 34}

GRAPHIC 01

BOEING, HUGHES AND THURAYA



Commercial decisions, the Thuraya contract, and the dated Boeing/Hughes supplier roles. 2 17 18 19

NOTES

- 2 Solomon memorandum to Kissinger, June 1972
- 17 UN Highlights in Space 1997
- 18 Boeing completes the Hughes space acquisition
- 19 Thuraya begins commercial service
- 33 Avishai Ceder curriculum vitae
- 34 Abdulkadhim Ameen Hassan author biography, IJECE 12(4), August 2022

The Gulf networks were taking shape too. In 2000 Dubai Internet City selected Sun, Cisco and Siemens for its infrastructure. Boeing acquired Hughes' space-and-communications businesses that October. Its 2001 Thuraya announcement distinguished Boeing's satellite and launch work from Hughes Network Systems' handsets, network operations center and UAE gateway.^{20 21 18 19}

The U.S. intelligence community was investing in technology companies directly. The CIA launched the fund later called In-Q-Tel in 1999 under Gilman Louie. In 2002 it joined financing for Decru, a California storage-security company founded by Dan Avida and Stanford professor Serge Plotkin. In-Q-Tel's announcement described both founders' Israeli military backgrounds.^{54 55}

SECTION 6

THE BLOCS EMERGE, THEN CONVERGE

Two earlier coalition documents show constituencies organizing separately. A 1997 letter to Gore's aviation commission carried Arab and Muslim organizations' objections to passenger profiling. A 2000 Wen Ho Lee coalition brought together C100, OCA, the Japanese American Citizens League and Chinese for Affirmative Action.^{35 36}

The cooperation extended to state legislation. A June 2004 California Senate analysis of Judy Chu's AB 2428 listed CAIR, the Muslim Public Affairs Council, OCA's Greater Los Angeles chapter and the Chinese American Citizens Alliance among its supporters. The bill, sponsored by the Asian Pacific American Legal Center and Chinese for Affirmative Action, was known as

On January 13, 2003, the groups converged. CAIR, the Organization of Chinese Americans and the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium joined a letter asking President Bush to end special registration for visitors from mostly Muslim countries.³⁷

Kenny's Law after Taiwanese American teenager Kenneth Chiu, killed by a white supremacist neighbor.³⁸

Money was moving too. On November 18, 2002, Arab News reported that Prince Alwaleed bin Talal had given CAIR \$500,000 for two of its projects, announced in his Riyadh office while receiving CAIR's Nihad Awad.³⁹

NOTES

¹⁸ Boeing completes the Hughes space acquisition

¹⁹ Thuraya begins commercial service

²⁰ Dubai free-zone authority ICANN registry proposal, 2000

²¹ Cisco on Dubai Internet City

³⁵ Coalition letter to Vice President Gore on airline security and passenger profiling, February 11, 1997

³⁶ ACLU release on the Wen Ho Lee legal defense, August 11, 2000

³⁷ Coalition letter on special registration, January 13, 2003

³⁸ California AB 2428 Senate committee analysis, June 14, 2004

³⁹ Arab News on the Alwaleed donation, November 18, 2002

⁵⁴ CIA announcement of In-Q-It, September 30, 1999

⁵⁵ In-Q-Tel on Decru's second-round financing, July 31, 2002

GRAPHIC 02

COALITIONS
2003-2006

2003

SRC [37]

JANUARY 13, 2003

PUBLIC RECORD / DOCUMENTED ACTION

Organizations signed a letter to President George W. Bush seeking elimination of INS special registration, procedural changes, and a meeting.

SIGNATORIES

SELECTED NATIONAL

COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR)

ORGANIZATION OF CHINESE AMERICANS (OCA)

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE (JACL)

NATIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CONSORTIUM (NAPALC)

AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

SELECTED REGIONAL / STATE / LOCAL

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CENTER OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

ASIAN LAW ALLIANCE (SAN JOSE)

ACCESS (DEARBORN)

SOUTH ASIAN NETWORK (ARTESIA)

2004

SRC [38]

JUNE 15, 2004

PUBLIC RECORD / DOCUMENTED ACTION

A California Senate committee analysis records sources and supporters for Assemblymember Chu's hate-crime protective-order bill, AB 2428.

BILL SOURCES

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CENTER

CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

SELECTED SUPPORTERS

CAIR

CHINESE AMERICAN CITIZENS ALLIANCE

CHINESE AMERICAN CITIZENS ALLIANCE, ORANGE COUNTY

CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

OCA, GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

ASIAN LAW ALLIANCE

SOUTH ASIAN NETWORK

MALDEF

CALIFORNIA STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CALIFORNIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

CALIFORNIA TREASURER

2006

SRC [89]

OCTOBER 28, 2006

PUBLIC RECORD / DOCUMENTED ACTION

ANSWER announced a Hollywood-and-Vine gathering and march to CNN for an antiwar tribunal in Los Angeles.

ANSWER INITIATING GROUPS

ALLIANCE FOR JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE PHILIPPINES

FREE PALESTINE ALLIANCE

GABRIELA NETWORK

HAITI SUPPORT NETWORK

LATINO MOVEMENT USA

PALESTINIAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

PARTY FOR SOCIALISM AND LIBERATION (PSL)

ORGANIZER-LISTED ENDORSERS / PARTICIPANTS

CAIR-LA

COMMUNIST PARTY USA

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION

CODEPINK-LA

AL-AWDA LOS ANGELES

AL-AWDA RIVERSIDE

MUSLIM STUDENT ASSOCIATION-WEST

LA PALESTINE LABOR SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

PROJECT ISLAMIC HOPE

[37] AILA, special-registration letter, Jan. 13, 2003. [38] California Senate Public Safety, AB 2428 analysis, June 14-15, 2004. [89] ANSWER, "Protest the war this Saturday, October 28!", event Oct. 28, 2006.

LETTERS OF MARQUE

GUSQUIXNOTE.COM

The organizations named in successive letters, legislation and protest records. 37 38 89

SECTION 7

WHAT THE CHANNELS CARRIED

The April 2005 Wireless and Optical Communications Conference brought these technology channels into one program. Sponsored by CIE-USA, Lucent and others, it scheduled PRC consul Wuqiang Li to present “Overview of Optical and

Wireless Communication R&D in the 863 Program.” His abstract identified the goal of developing communications systems with China's own intellectual property.⁴⁰

NOTES

37 Coalition letter on special registration, January 13, 2003

38 California AB 2428 Senate committee analysis, June 14, 2004

40 Wireless and Optical Communications Conference proceedings, 2005

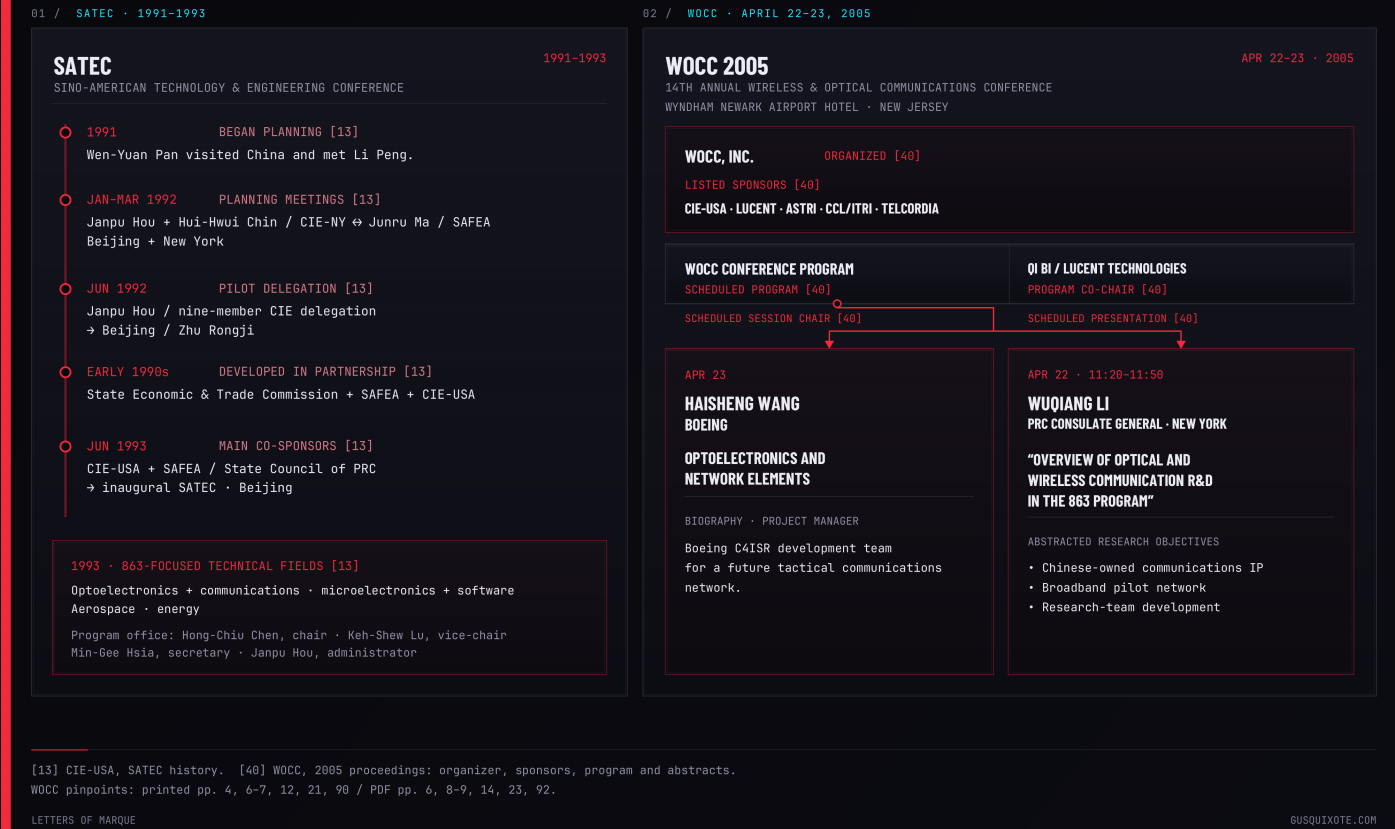
89 ANSWER announcement for October 28, 2006 Los Angeles protest

NATHAN WALKER

11

GRAPHIC 03

CIE-USA: PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT PARTNERS



C100 in 2008. Cisco's Mike Ma and Eddie Ruan were honored in 2007; Microsoft China CTO Hong-Jiang Zhang followed in 2008.^{45 46 47 94}

Another 2007 honoree, Clement Chen, was then Lockheed Martin's vice president for strategic development in Integrated Systems & Solutions.

Thuraya's suppliers also appear in State Department enforcement records. State's 2005 draft charging letter alleged that HNS had served Chinese military, launch-control and public-security customers during 1993-2003, including work integrating encryption equipment. It also described a Turkish defense-network contract from 1996. The January 2005 consent agreement brought HNS Beijing's administrative debarment and additional compliance requirements. Boeing Satellite Systems had been part of a separate Hughes settlement in 2003.^{79 80 81}

In May 2006, a U.S. embassy cable from Abu Dhabi recorded Nihad Awad naming Bin Hamoodah Group as CAIR's main UAE benefactor. The trading group

Stanford's later biography also records his service on Sun Microsystems' Federal Executive Advisory Council and the Information Assurance Task Force of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee.^{95 48}

represented IBM, Halliburton and other American companies. At the meeting, Hill & Knowlton's Don Myers presented a campaign supporting CAIR's objectives. The firm had also handled Citizens for a Free Kuwait in 1990.^{10 49}

The following month, the Riyadh embassy identified Myers as a former Defense Department official and called the presentation a CAIR-funded media campaign. "Let the Conversation Begin" would address American audiences and encourage Muslim political engagement. The delegation sought Gulf governmental and private contributions. An embassy public-affairs counselor told it that U.S. public-diplomacy funds could not support efforts targeting Americans.¹⁰

NOTES

¹⁰ 2006 Abu Dhabi and Riyadh cables reproduced in the Congressional Record

⁴⁵ Boeing on the 2004 Asian American Engineer of the Year awards

⁴⁶ AAEOY historical roster

⁴⁷ Committee of 100 biography of Ya-Qin Zhang

⁴⁸ Stanford biography of Clement Chen

⁴⁹ Al Miskin, "The News Industry," MERIP, July 1992

⁷⁹ DDTTC draft charging letter: DIRECTV / Hughes Network Systems, 2005

⁸⁰ HNS Beijing administrative debarment, 70 FR 35333

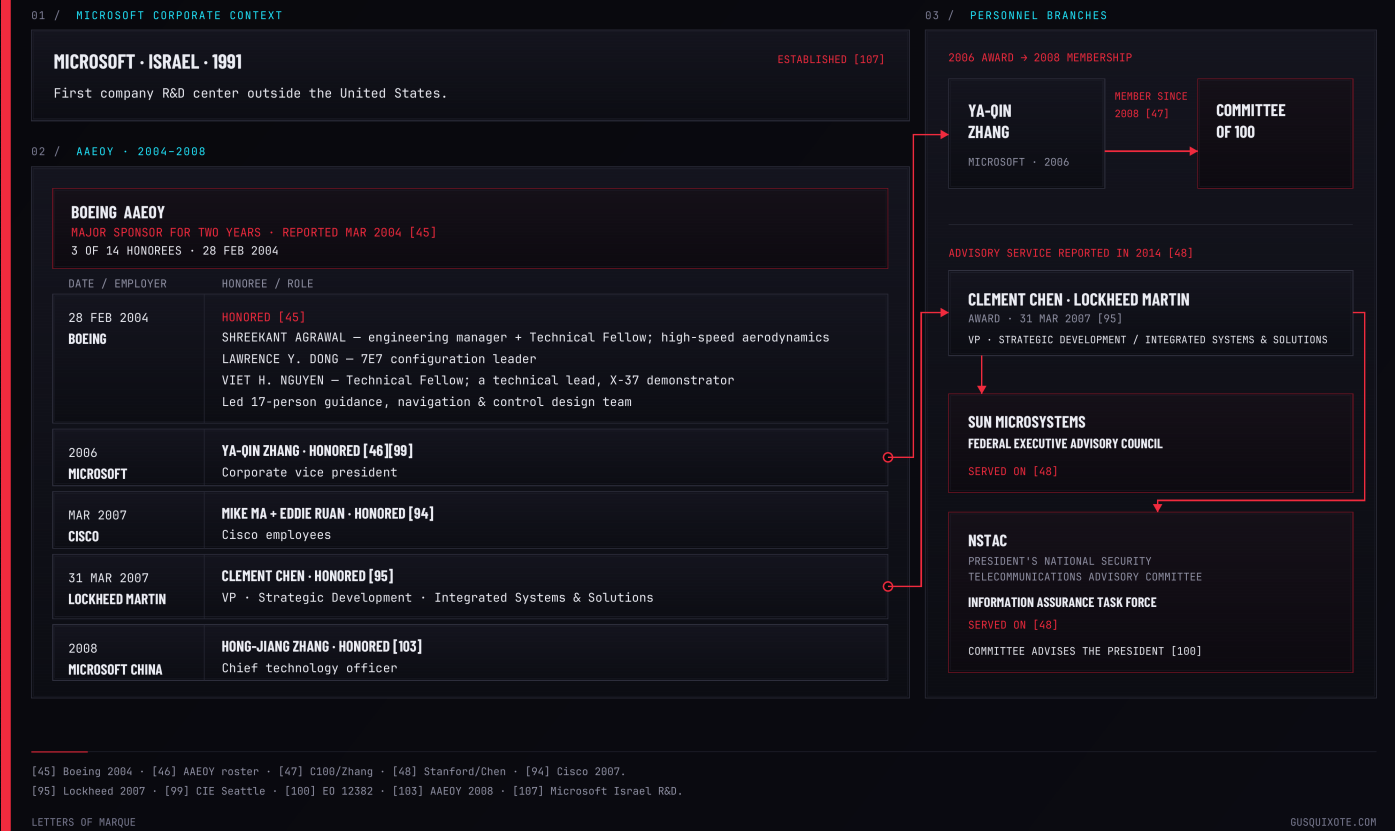
⁸¹ Hughes Network Systems 2006 Form 10-K

⁹⁴ Cisco Corporate Citizenship Report 2007

⁹⁵ Lockheed Martin announces Asian American Engineer of the Year honorees, February 19, 2007

GRAPHIC 04

CIE-USA: CORPORATIONS AND PEOPLE



Corporate honorees and their separately dated civic and advisory roles. 45 46 47 48 94 95 99 100 103 107

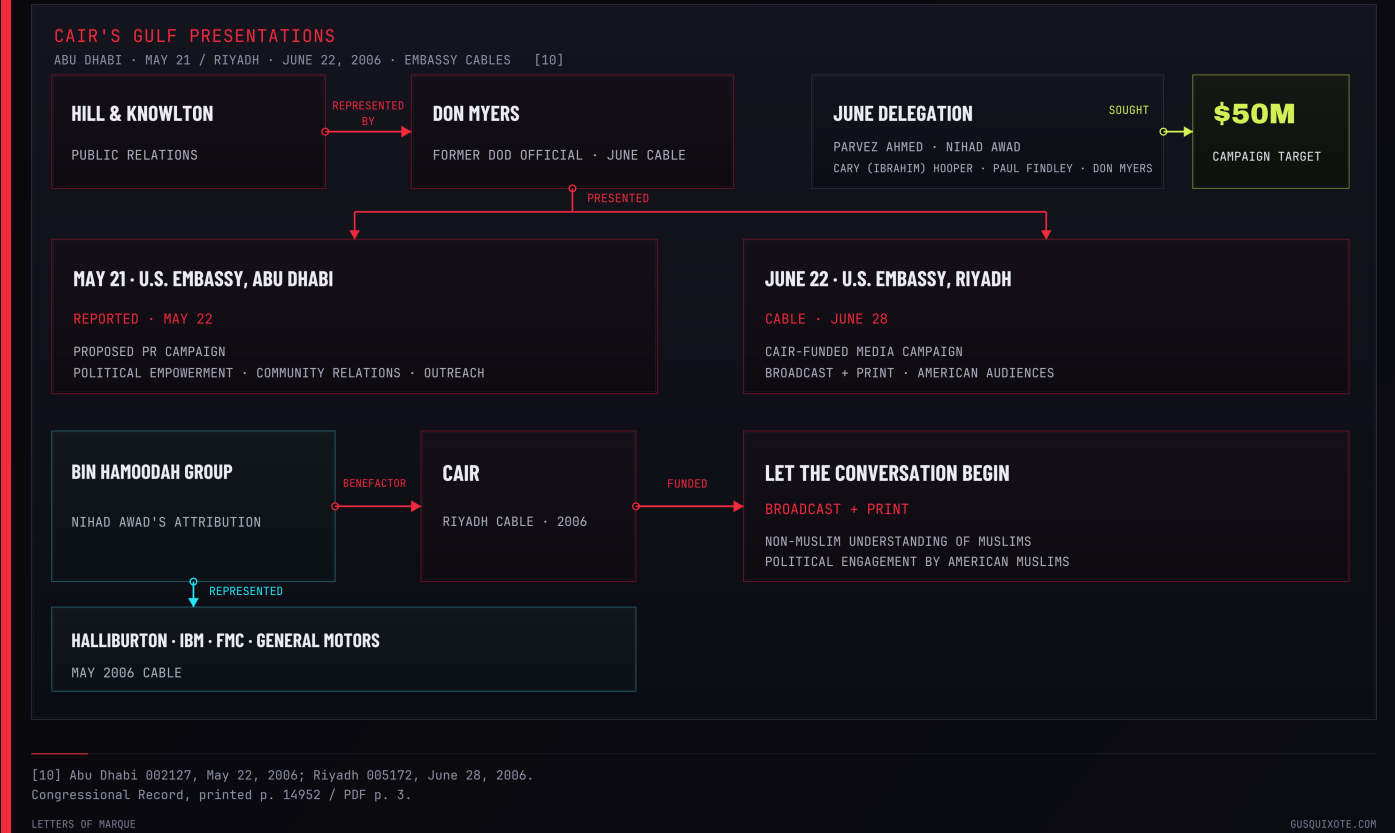
In July, Norman Mineta joined Hill & Knowlton as vice chairman. The former congressman, Lockheed executive and transportation secretary was now in the same firm whose Gulf presentations the embassies had recorded. WPP's annual report listed Dubai's Executive

NOTES

- 45 Boeing on the 2004 Asian American Engineer of the Year awards
- 46 AAEØY historical roster
- 47 Committee of 100 biography of Ya-Qin Zhang
- 48 Stanford biography of Clement Chen
- 94 Cisco Corporate Citizenship Report 2007
- 95 Lockheed Martin announces Asian American Engineer of the Year honorees, February 19, 2007
- 99 CIE Seattle overview
- 100 Executive Order 12382: National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee
- 103 AAEØY 2008 roster
- 107 Microsoft on its Israeli R&D history

GRAPHIC 05

CAIR'S GULF PRESENTATIONS



The two embassy presentations, campaign funding description and attributed UAE benefactor. 10

Office, the Beijing Olympic Games and technology companies among H&K's new clients that year. 87 88

NOTES

- 10 2006 Abu Dhabi and Riyadh cables reproduced in the Congressional Record
- 87 Hill & Knowlton announces Norman Mineta appointment, July 10, 2006
- 88 WPP Annual Report 2006

Abu Dhabi 002127 | paragraph 3

3.(U) Mr. Don Myers, representing Washington, D.C. public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, provided a short demonstration of a PR campaign designed to support CAIR's overall organizational objectives defined as: 1) political empowerment of Muslims, 2) grassroots effort by CAIR to improve community relations with non-Muslims, 3) launching of an effective, long-term (5 year) advertising/outreach campaign to counter negative stereotypes about Muslims.

Abu Dhabi 002127 | paragraph 7

7.(SBU) Comment: CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad told us that while they were pleased with the results of the meeting with Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid, they had no concrete information on the size of the endowment or when it might be forthcoming. Awad also mentioned that the Bin Hamoodah Group, a \$500 million/year trading company, founded by three Emirati brothers and representing Halliburton, IBM, FMC Corporation and General Motors, is CAIR's main benefactor in the UAE. One newly-rich stock trader, Talal Khoori (UAE national of Iranian origin), is believed to have donated one million dollars to CAIR.

Sison.

Riyadh 005172 | paragraph 5

5.(SBU) Mr. Don Myers, representing Hill and Knowlton, gave a short demonstration of a CAIR-funded media campaign to support CAIR's overall information outreach effort.

Riyadh 005172 | paragraph 6

6.(SBU) One admitted reason for the group's current visit to the KSA was to solicit \$50 million in governmental and non-governmental contributions. PA Counselor noted that private outreach activities can provide valuable support to USG efforts to build mutual understanding overseas but cautioned that USG Public Diplomacy (PD) funds cannot be used or associated with efforts to target American audiences. The delegation was interested to hear of the Embassy's PD exchange and activities within the KSA and offered to help support them in any appropriate way. The group did not share, however, any details of their success or lack thereof in fundraising within the KSA.

Oberwetter.

The Abu Dhabi and Riyadh embassy cables record CAIR's Gulf presentations, its named UAE benefactor and Hill & Knowlton's role. Congressional Record, June 12, 2009, p. 14952. ¹⁰

American public money also financed academic infrastructure in China. At its May 2005 anniversary ceremonies, Fudan credited USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad program with funding its Center for American Studies building. The U.S. Fudan

Foundation's Tom Scanlon helped unveil the Xie Xide auditorium. Xie had founded the center in 1985; the MIT-trained physicist was Fudan's president and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee. ^{84 50 51 52}

NOTES

¹⁰ 2006 Abu Dhabi and Riyadh cables reproduced in the Congressional Record

⁵⁰ CRS report RS22663, January 28, 2008

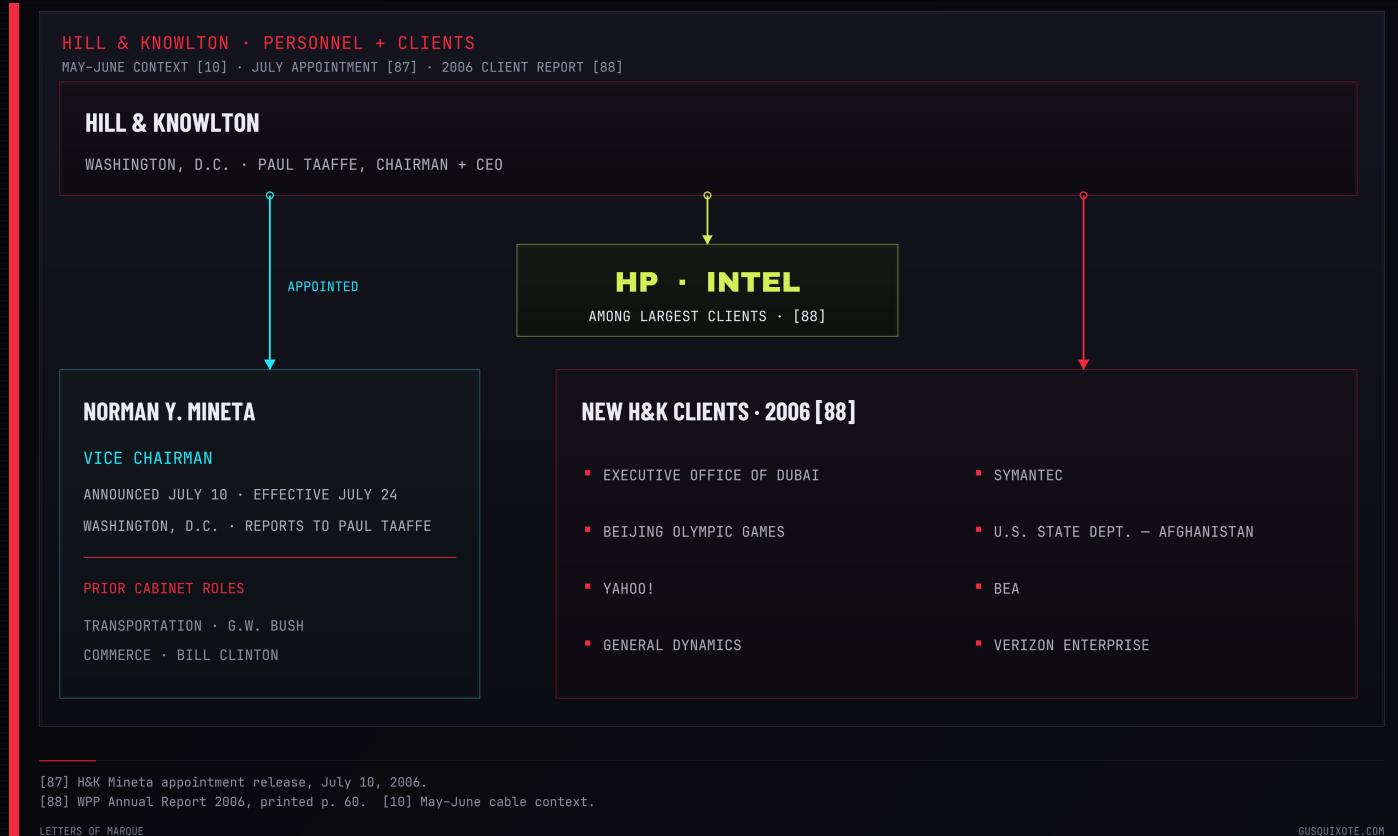
⁵¹ Fudan University Center for American Studies

⁵² "Xie Xide – the gentle president of China's Fudan University," Christian Science Monitor, March 26, 1984

⁸⁴ Fudan Center for American Studies anniversary ceremonies, May 27-28, 2005

GRAPHIC 06

HILL & KNOWLTON PERSONNEL AND CLIENTS



The July 2006 appointment and WPP's separately reported client categories. 10 87 88

In October 2006, ANSWER's announcement for a Los Angeles antiwar protest listed the Party for Socialism and Liberation among its initiators. The combined endorsers-and-participants list included CAIR-LA, the Communist Party USA and the International Socialist Organization.⁸⁹

In Canada, CAIR-CAN and CMCLA intervened together in the Iacobucci inquiry into Canadian officials' handling of three men's detention abroad. An April 2007 ruling recommended funding for a lawyer shared with the Canadian Arab Federation. The 2008 report confirmed funding according to the recommendations

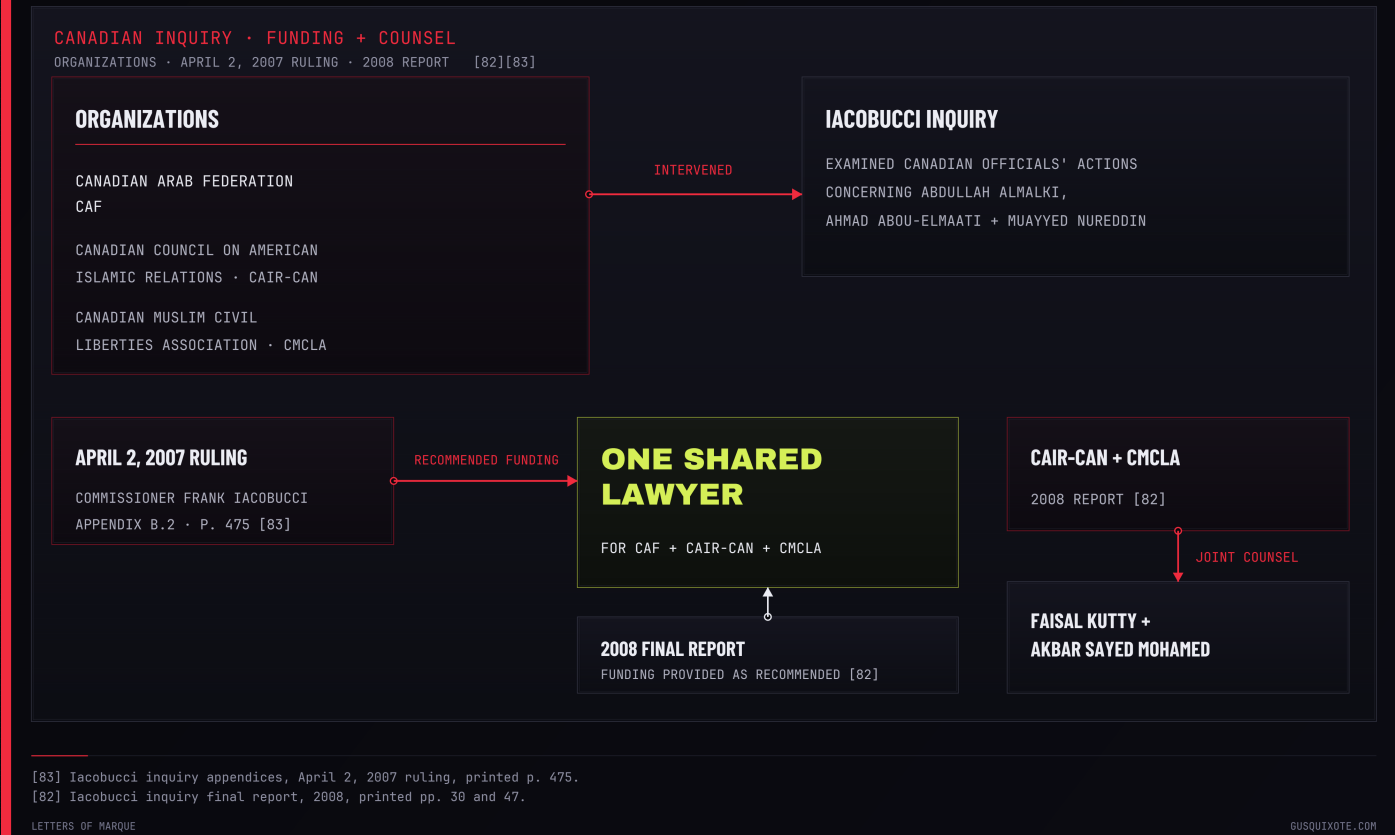
GRAPHIC 07

USAID AND FUDAN FACILITIES



GRAPHIC 08

CANADIAN INQUIRY FUNDING AND COUNSEL



Engineering Laboratory also listed a Linux-driver project for a Panda GSM/GPRS card.^{60 61 96 62}

In 2008 the FBI adopted a policy sharply restricting non-investigative contacts with CAIR, citing trial evidence linking its leaders to Hamas. Criminal

investigations and civil-rights work remained within the policy's exceptions. That October, the Los Angeles field office resisted headquarters' direction and told staff its own front office would decide the relationship.⁶⁸

SECTION 8

THE CANADIAN SPIRIT AND CHINA

In January 2011 In-Q-Tel invested in Teradici of Burnaby, British Columbia. Its PC-over-IP technology moved desktop computing into a data center and delivered the screen remotely. The investment announcement explicitly identified the U.S. intelligence community as the intended beneficiary of the collaboration.⁵³

In 2011 Microsoft Research and the Technion announced plans for a joint research center in Haifa, backed by a \$1.5 million Microsoft commitment over five years and intended to bring faculty, students and company researchers into collaboration. In 2012 USAID recorded a further Fudan award for electronic-library updating and building renovation, with the Fudan Foundation as sponsor.^{63 64 85}

In a 2012 paper on wireless beamforming, Minghua Xia listed KAUST as his institution, Yik-Chung Wu the University of Hong Kong, and Sonia Aïssa both INRS in Quebec and KAUST. The authors acknowledged HKU and KAUST funding. Xia had earned his doctorate at Sun Yat-sen University, one of the schools in Sunwah's alliance list.^{56 97 26}

In 2012 Wanxiang connected American energy technology with Chinese industrial expansion and educational exchange. In May it announced financing for a Xinjiang coal-to-gas project using GreatPoint Energy's technology. In June, California teachers traveled to China through a C100-Wanxiang America program under the State Department's 100,000 Strong Initiative. The following January, Wanxiang America completed a

NOTES

²⁶ Sunwah Group on its technology investment

⁵³ In-Q-Tel investment in Teradici, January 12, 2011

⁵⁶ Non-Orthogonal Opportunistic Beamforming: Performance Analysis and Implementation

⁶⁰ ECI Telecom interim financial statements, September 2005

⁶¹ Chinese General Chamber of Commerce bulletin, March 2019

⁶² Nanjing University Electronic Engineering Laboratory account

⁶³ Microsoft on the Haifa research center, October 2011

⁶⁴ Technion on the Microsoft connected-device laboratory, January 2015

⁶⁸ DOJ Office of the Inspector General review, September 2013

⁸⁵ USAID-ASHA Annual Report 2012

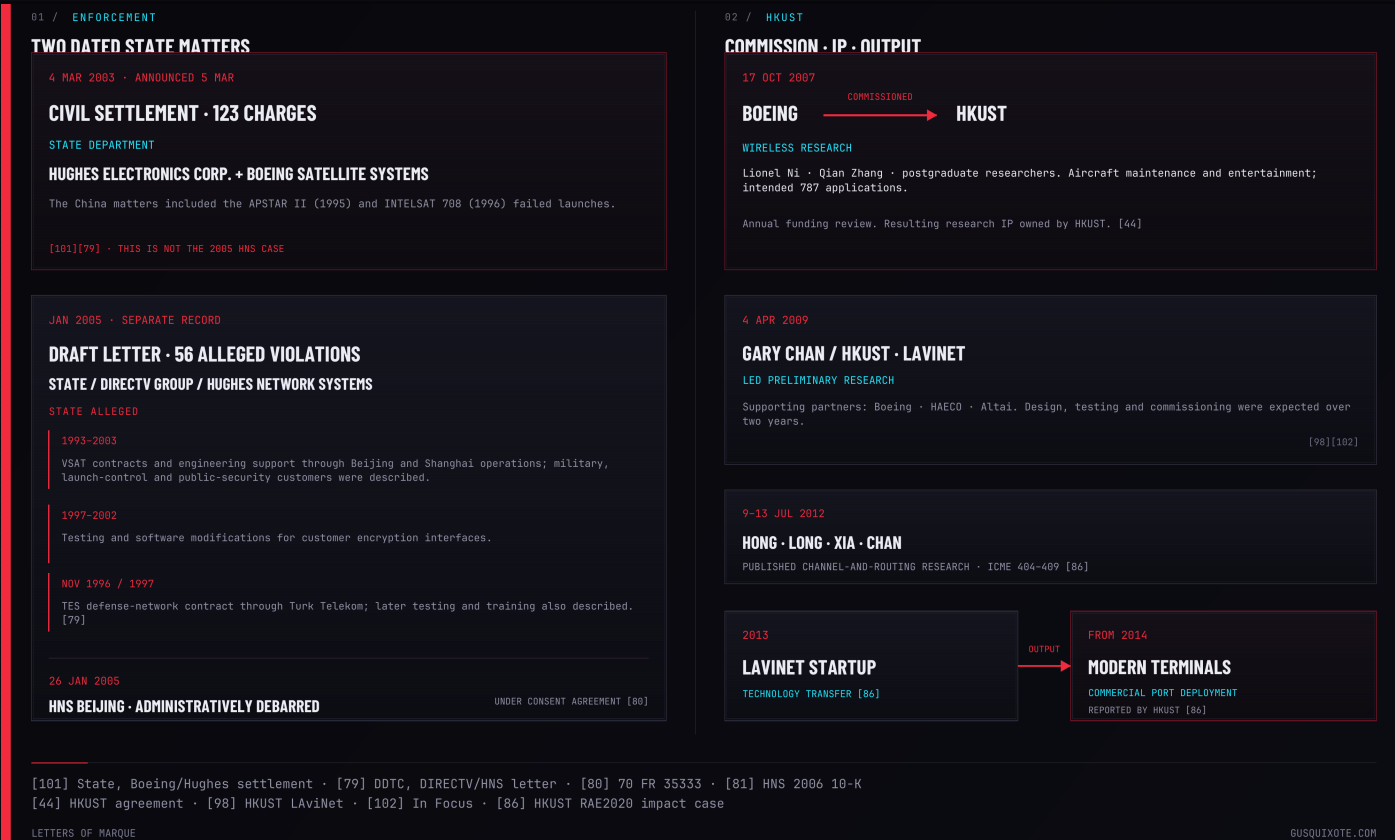
⁹⁶ Hui Xian REIT offering document, April 11, 2011

⁹⁷ Sun Yat-sen University biography of Minghua Xia

bankruptcy purchase of A123 Systems' assets, with the government business sold separately.^{65 66 67}

GRAPHIC 09

ENFORCEMENT AND HKUST COMMERCIALIZATION



Wireless research also reached commercial use. HKUST's later impact account traces Lavinet from research with Boeing to a staff-and-student startup in 2013 and deployment at Hong Kong's Modern Terminals from 2014.^{86 98}

In September 2013 the Justice Department's inspector general reported that the FBI had failed to follow its CAIR policy in three of five reviewed incidents. In New

Haven in 2010, one headquarters office had opposed a diversity workshop with CAIR trainers; Public Affairs approved it offsite, and the field office followed that advice. OIG found that Public Affairs had issued guidance without consulting the responsible division and that oversight was ineffective.⁶⁸

SECTION 9

THE SPOILS OF WAR

On February 13, 2018, Senator Marco Rubio asked FBI Director Christopher Wray at a Senate Intelligence hearing what counterintelligence risk Chinese students posed, "particularly those in advanced programs in the sciences and mathematics." The problem, Wray said, required "a whole-of-society response by us."⁶⁹

Two weeks later, fourteen organizations signed a letter asking to meet him, objecting to the profiling of students, scholars and scientists and drawing a line to Japanese American internment. The Committee of 100 signed it. So did the Council on American-Islamic Relations.⁷⁰

Twenty-two years after the donor audit and eighteen after the debate line, the two organizations were making one argument in one document.

That same year Beijing rearranged its own furniture. Section XV of the 2018 reform plan folded the State Council's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office into the Communist Party's Central United Front Work Department, and the department kept hanging the old nameplate outside. Section XIV did the same with the State Administration of Religious Affairs.⁷¹ In May 2019 the China Overseas Exchange Association merged into the China Overseas Friendship Association under one name and one charter.^{72 73}

East West Bank's February 2023 statement about chief executive Dominic Ng, C100's chairman from 2011 to 2014, described the practical role of the overseas Chinese office. "Overseas Chinese organizations such as the Committee of 100 were required to coordinate all activities in China through the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office," it said. The statement added that the office connected Committee of 100 members with other

NOTES

⁶⁸ DOJ Office of the Inspector General review, September 2013

⁶⁹ CAPAC statement on the Rubio-Wray exchange, February 15, 2018

⁷⁰ Community letter to FBI Director Wray, March 1, 2018

⁷¹ PRC institutional reform plan, 2018

⁷² The Paper on the association merger, May 28, 2019

⁷³ Overseas Chinese Affairs journal, 2019 issue 3

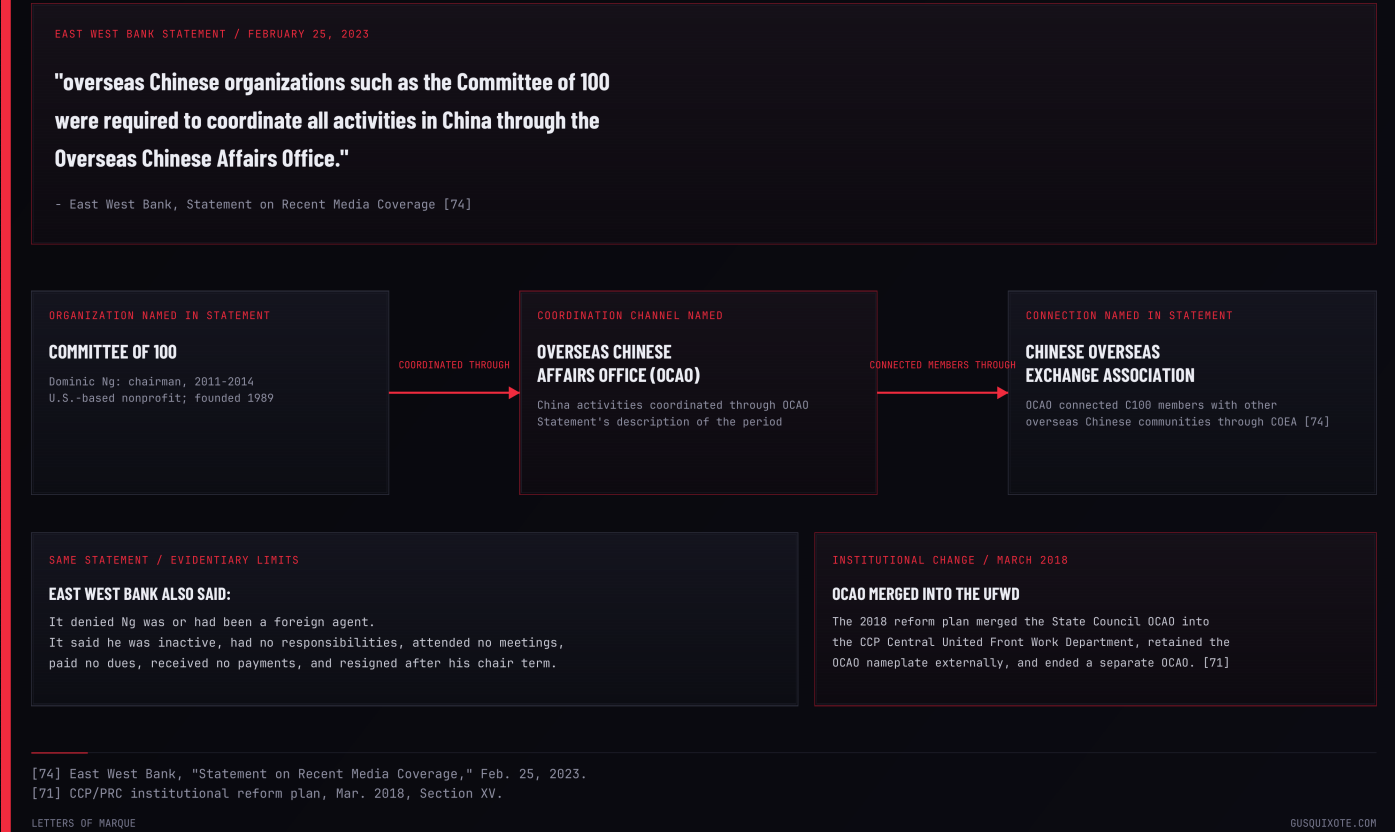
⁸⁶ HKUST Research Assessment Exercise impact submission, 2020

⁹⁸ HKUST and Boeing LAviNet research announcement, April 4, 2009

overseas Chinese communities through the China Overseas Exchange Association.⁷⁴

GRAPHIC 10

COMMITTEE OF 100 THE OCAO / COEA CONNECTION



East West Bank's account of the coordination channel and the separately dated 2018 reform.^{74 71}

Choi's political role appears in his own institutional biography as well: the Sunwah chairman serves on the Standing Committee of the 14th National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.⁵⁷

Overseas Chinese affairs and religious affairs, absorbed into the same party department in the same reform, both keeping their old signs on the door.

NOTES

- 57 Chinese General Chamber of Commerce member record, Jonathan Choi Koon-shum
- 71 PRC institutional reform plan, 2018
- 74 East West Bank statement on Dominic Ng, February 25, 2023

SECTION 10

THE ANSWER

X

The coalition was plainly visible again on March 2, 2024.

GRAPHIC 11

COALITIONS
2018-2024

2018

SRC [70]

MARCH 1, 2018

PUBLIC RECORD / DOCUMENTED ACTION

Fourteen organizations requested a meeting about FBI Director Christopher Wray's February 13 remarks and their implications for people of Chinese origin.

LISTED SIGNATORIES

ASIAN AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND

ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-LOS ANGELES

ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-WASHINGTON

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE, AFL-CIO

ASIAN PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION

ASIAN SERVICES IN ACTION

CHINESE AMERICAN CITIZENS ALLIANCE

COMMITTEE OF 100

COUNCIL OF KOREAN AMERICANS

CAIR

JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE (JACL)

OCA-ASIAN AMERICAN ADVOCATES

SOUTHEAST ASIA RESOURCE ACTION CENTER

UNITED CHINESE AMERICANS

14 LISTED ORGANIZATIONS

The record documents a request for a meeting; whether it occurred is not established.

2024

SRC [75]

MARCH 2, 2024

PUBLIC RECORD / DOCUMENTED ACTION

ANSWER's Hands Off Rafah page separately lists San Francisco sponsors and global endorsers for the day of action.

SAN FRANCISCO

HARRY BRIDGES PLAZA / NOON / SELECTED LISTED SPONSORS

CAIR

PALESTINIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

ANSWER

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE

US PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY NETWORK

MUSLIM AMERICAN SOCIETY

PSL

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA ISLAMIC COUNCIL

ISLAMIC CIRCLE OF NORTH AMERICA

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH ANTI-ZIONIST NETWORK

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

LABOR FOR PALESTINE

STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE

DSA-SAN FRANCISCO

DSA EAST BAY

GLOBAL

SELECTED LISTED ENDORSERS

CAIR-ARIZONA

PSL

PARTY OF COMMUNISTS USA

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIANA, CPUSA

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

CODEPINK

MUSLIM PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL

WORKERS WORLD PARTY

SPONSORSHIP AND ENDORSEMENT

The source does not establish attendance or funding.

[70] Committee of 100, community letter to FBI Director Wray, Mar. 1, 2018.

[75] ANSWER, "March 2 Global Day of Action: Hands Off Rafah!", event Mar. 2, 2024.

LETTERS OF MARQUE

GUSQUIXOTE.COM

The shared FBI letter and later Palestinian-advocacy mobilizations. 70 75 76

NOTES

- 70 Community letter to FBI Director Wray, March 1, 2018
- 75 ANSWER Coalition Rafah mobilization
- 76 CAIR coalition letter on IRS action, October 3, 2024

NATHAN WALKER

24

For the Rafah mobilization at Harry Bridges Plaza in San Francisco, ANSWER listed CAIR alongside the Palestinian Youth Movement, American Muslims for Palestine and the US Palestinian Community Network. The same sponsor list included the Party for Socialism and Liberation, the Workers World Party, and the San Francisco and East Bay chapters of the Democratic Socialists of America.⁷⁵

That October, CAIR was among 100 organizations signing a letter opposing House Republican efforts to revoke the tax-exempt status of fifteen groups that

advocate for Palestinian rights. ANSWER signed it. So did CODEPINK and The People's Forum.⁷⁶

Thirty years after the K Street office opened, the red-green alignment was visible in the organizations' own paperwork. Palestinian and Muslim advocacy groups mobilized with socialist and communist parties. C100 and CAIR had already joined their constituencies in a shared response to the FBI.

SECTION 11

THE ESCORTS, AGAIN

The early exchange system put private institutions between governments. Over the following decades, the channels grew more specific: corporate contracts, university laboratories, federal grants, intelligence-community investments and advocacy coalitions. Boeing, Hughes, Sun, Cisco and Microsoft appear through their own transactions and personnel. C100 and CAIR eventually appear together on the same letter.

The political alignment developed alongside the industrial relationships. Gulf benefactors and a Washington public-relations firm appear in embassy cables; American funding appears in Fudan's facilities; Canadian legal funding appears in an inquiry into officials' conduct. By 2024, CAIR, Palestinian

organizations and socialist parties shared a public mobilization. The institutions carrying these relationships had names, officers, sponsors and contracts.

The government's own reviews show why the handling of information belongs at the center of this story. In the Lee investigation, the scientific assessment and the account supplied to investigators diverged. In the CAIR review, headquarters policy and field-office decisions diverged. The inspector general sent Congress and Justice a report classified Secret and released a redacted public summary.^{78 77 68}

Part III follows that decision process: what officials knew, what they withheld or changed, what reached decision-makers, and what they acted on.

NOTES

⁶⁸ DOJ Office of the Inspector General review, September 2013

⁷⁵ ANSWER Coalition Rafah mobilization

⁷⁶ CAIR coalition letter on IRS action, October 3, 2024

⁷⁷ GAO review of FBI congressional testimony, June 28, 2001

⁷⁸ Bellows report, May 2000, chapter 6

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