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**Crafting U.S. Foreign Policy Towards China Through Congress: An Examination of Arlen
Specter & Congressional Delegations to China**

Gabriel C. Kelly

Thomas Jefferson University

Arlen Specter Center Research Fellowship

White Paper

Preface

In accordance with fellowship guidelines, this analysis is, “made possible in part through the Arlen Specter Center Research Fellowship at Thomas Jefferson University.”¹

1. Karen Albert, “Specter Center Research Fellowship Award Letter” (March 10, 2021).

Introduction

Scholars and policy analysts are currently engaged in an ongoing debate about what the United States' relationship with the People's Republic of China will be.² According to international relations scholar Bruce W. Jentleson, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has, "...the world's second largest economy... the third largest amount [of military spending] in the world, [and is] the world's most populous country."³ Perspectives on the U.S. relationship with the PRC range from "confrontation" to "cooperation,"⁴ and congressional representatives can potentially shape this debate on China through congressional delegation trips. Congressional delegation trips are an underexamined phenomenon in the study of U.S. foreign policy. While often confined to specific lines of text, footnotes, and the moniker, "fact-finding mission,"⁵ these trips can potentially provide a vast array of opportunities for U.S. policy makers. What could the impact of congressional delegations on U.S. foreign policy potentially be? An examination of a Senator's archival collection, as well as U.S. newspapers from years of congressional travel to the People's Republic of China (Hereafter PRC), the Republic of China (Hereafter Taiwan), and Hong Kong, demonstrates the impact that congressional visits can potentially have on U.S. foreign policy.

While congressional visits have come under increasing public scrutiny since 2006, they can potentially provide U.S. policymakers with substantive benefits relative to their cost. Congressional delegations can potentially promote U.S. business and constituent interests,⁶

2. Bruce W. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 5th Ed (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 422-425.

3. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 421-422.

4. *Ibid.*, 424.

5. John J. Mearsheimer, and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy* 13, 3 (Fall 2006), 53, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/israel-lobby-u-s-foreign-policy/docview/203665332/se-2?accountid=11243>.

6. Lars Schoultz, "Benevolent Domination: The Ideology of U.S. Policy Toward Cuba," *Cuban Studies* 41 (2010), 3-4, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/benevolent-domination->

highlight human rights,⁷ encourage the development of relationships with colleagues in other states,⁸ deepen congressional knowledge of U.S. civil service functions,⁹ show support for allies abroad,¹⁰ and allow for congressmen to obtain third party perspectives on broader issues.¹¹ The following sections will outline the scope of congressional involvement in U.S. foreign policy, U.S. relations with the PRC since the Sino-Soviet split, the method of analysis, findings of the analysis, as well as a series of conclusions.

Background

Congressional Involvement in U.S. Foreign Policy

U.S. foreign policy decision-making is, at best, multi-causal.¹² Divided government, increasing partisanship in Washington, DC,¹³ Rosenau's, "...five sources that influence a state's

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- ideology-u-s-policy-toward/docview/863206177/se-2?accountid=11243 (accessed August 14, 2021); Arthur G. Rubinoff, "The Diaspora as a Factor in U.S.-India Relations," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 32, 3 (Fall 2005), 179 & 186, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/diaspora-as-factor-u-s-india-relations/docview/197408552/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); Sharyl Cross, "Congress, the Executive and U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26, 2 (Spring 1996), 432, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/congress-executive-u-s-mexico-free-trade/docview/215683389/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
7. Paul Sharp, "Mullah Zaeef and Taliban Diplomacy: An English School Approach," *Review of International Studies* 29, 4 (October 2003), 491, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/mullah-zaeef-taliban-diplomacy-english-school/docview/204905928/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 8. Letter to President Jiang (November 7, 2001). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 569, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, November 2001. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, Groups 1-10, University of Pittsburgh Archives & Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States.
 9. Roger P. Rose, "The APSA Congressional Fellowship: Value for Faculty from Teaching Colleges and Universities," *PS, Political Science & Politics* 41, 3 (July 2008), 671, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/apsa-congressional-fellowship-value-faculty/docview/224982449/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 10. Vranken Hichey Dennis Van, "The Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1996: Implications for US Security Policy," *Journal of Contemporary China* 7, 19 (November 1998), 415, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/taiwan-strait-crisis-1996-implications-us/docview/213930638/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 11. Jonathan Spyer, "Israel and the Wikileaks Cables," *Middle East Review of International Affairs (Online)* 15, 1 (March 2011), 17-18, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/israel-wikileaks-cables/docview/920194313/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 12. Brian Schmidt, "Theories of U.S. Foreign Policy," Chapter 1 in *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford, 2012), 6.
 13. Schmidt, "Theories of U.S. Foreign Policy," 7; Anatol Lieven, "The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy," Chapter 22 in *U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford, UK, Oxford University Press, 2012), 405.

foreign policy... ,”¹⁴ and scholar Brian Schmidt’s citation of the common phrase that foreign policy is an, “Invitation to Struggle,” illustrate how there are a wide variety of actors, including Congress, that can influence the advancement of U.S. interests abroad.¹⁵ The 1980s marked a period of considerable expansion in the role of Congress in foreign policy through monitoring, constituent advocacy, interest advocacy, committees, appropriations,¹⁶ and congressional rules.¹⁷ Thus, the 1980s serves as an important jumping off point for examining the role of congressional delegations in U.S. foreign policy.

U.S. Relations with the PRC

While the United States has arguably been Asia’s regional hegemon since the end of World War II,¹⁸ options for the United States’ relationship with the PRC beyond confrontation expanded with the Sino-Soviet split. The Sino-Soviet split terminated the alliance of the world’s two largest communist states in the 1970s with military engagements and fears of both nuclear warfare and containment.¹⁹ While there was a temporary hiccup in the United States’ warming relations with the PRC after Taiwan purchased weapons from the U.S. in 1981,²⁰ this opening for cooperation continued to widen under the reforming leadership of Deng Xiaoping, who deepened the economic and social connections between the two countries. According to historian William R. Keylor, “By 1985, China had become Japan’s second largest trading partner behind the United States... [and]

14. Schmidt, “Theories of U.S. Foreign Policy,” 6.

15. *Ibid.*, 7.

16. Michael Foley, “The Foreign Policy Process: Executive, Congress, Intelligence,” Chapter 7 in *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford, 2012), 117-120.

17. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 41-42. While some view this period as a period of relatively exclusive congressional control over foreign policy, according to Foley, “The general position lies in the intermediate area between the two extremes of an ‘imperial presidency’ and an ‘imperial Congress’.” *Ibid.*, 118.

18. Michael Cox, “The USA, China, and Rising Asia,” Chapter 15 in *U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford, 2012), 273.

19. William R. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond: An International History Since 1900*, 6th Ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011), 382-383.

20. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century*, 446.

[by] 1988, US [sic.] firms had investment commitments totaling over \$3 billion in nearly [400] joint ventures situated in the special economic zones on the southern coast [of China].”²¹ Relations improved so dramatically that by 2000, the PRC identified that it was committed to a “Peaceful Rise,” within existing international institutional frameworks.²²

This gradual warming of economic relations between the U.S. and the PRC was not without controversy. Jentleson cites political jousting between pro-PRC businesses and lobbyists,²³ and the “China Lobby,” which he defines as a pro-Taiwan collection of “...missionaries... business leaders, journalists, various anti-communist groups... and members of Congress,” that actively support the Republic of China (hereafter Taiwan) over the mainland.²⁴ In addition, economic relations with China have moved faster than American presidential perspectives on the PRC, which have largely fallen somewhere between the two previously described poles of “cooperation” and “confrontation” under the Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama administrations,²⁵ although the United States’ relationship with the PRC has taken a more decided turn towards “confrontation” under the Trump and now the Biden administration.²⁶ While scholars and policymakers can argue for either a “cooperative” or “confrontational” framework for dealing with the PRC,²⁷ this analysis attempts to draw broader conclusions about the role that congressional delegations can potentially play in the execution of U.S. foreign policy.

21. Ibid., 441-442.

22. Cox, “Rising Asia,” 265.

23. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 450.

24. Ibid., 446.

25. Ibid., 424-425.

26. Zachary Karabell, “Trump Got China All Wrong. Now Biden Is Too,” *Foreign Policy* (March 24, 2021) <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/03/24/china-trump-biden-confrontation-wrong-approach-less-prosperous-secure/>; Jonathan Tepperman, “Biden’s Dangerous Doctrine,” *Foreign Policy Magazine* (July 21, 2021), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/07/21/bidens-china-doctrine-decoupling-cold-war/>.

27. Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 424.

Literature Review

While congressional delegations can potentially play an important role in U.S. foreign policy, they receive little direct attention in the literature. Citations and one-line statements refer to the role of congressional delegations in bringing international issues to the attention of U.S. cabinet secretaries,²⁸ highlighting ongoing international issues,²⁹ making policy statements,³⁰ and investigating international crises and matters involving a congressional committee's specialization.³¹ In addition, congressional delegations are cited to help congressional staff understand the implementation of government policy,³² and obtain information about the state of relations with another country.³³ Furthermore, congressional delegations can indirectly communicate prescriptions and proscriptions to foreign states,³⁴ carry messages between political

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28. Christian Parenti, "Flower of War: An Environmental History of Opium Poppy in Afghanistan," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 35, 1 (Winter/Spring 2015), 199, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/scholarly-journals/flower-war-environmental-history-opium-poppy/docview/1690465116/se-2?accountid=11243>.
 29. Donald E. Schulz, "Haiti: Will Things Fall Apart?" *Parameters* 27, 4 (1997/1998), 91, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/haiti-will-things-fall-apart/docview/198007341/se-2?accountid=11243>.
 30. Mearsheimer and Walt, "The Israel Lobby," 53.
 31. Andrew R. Marvin, 2020. "Operation Earnest Will," *Naval War College Review* 73, 2 (Spring), 92, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/operation-earnest-will/docview/2386936545/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); Monica C. Labriola, "Marshall Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 31, 1 (2019), 175, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/marshall-islands/docview/2184127141/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 32. Rose, "The APSA Congressional Fellowship," 671.
 33. Dennis V. Hickey, "Parallel Progress: U.S.-Taiwan Relations During an Era of Cross-Strait Rapprochement," *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 20, 4 (December 2015), 383, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/parallel-progress-us-taiwan-relations-during-era/docview/1755243876/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).
 34. Robert C. Johansen, "The Impact of U.S. Policy Toward the International Criminal Court on the Prevention of Genocide, War Crimes, and Crimes Against Humanity," *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, 2 (May 2006), 315, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/impact-us-policy-toward-international-criminal/docview/204638842/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); P. R. Kumaraswamy, "Israel-China Relations and the Phalcon Controversy," *Middle East Policy* 12, 2 (Summer 2005), 97, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/israel-china-relations-phalcon-controversy/docview/203690931/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); Joseph F. Harrington, Edward Karns, and Scott Karns, "American-Romanian Relations, 1989-1994," *East European Quarterly* 29, 2 (Summer 1995), 207, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www-proquest-com/scholarly-journals/american-romanian-relations-1989-1994/docview/195166679/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

leaders who do not have formal diplomatic relations,³⁵ gather information about allied military intentions,³⁶ involve themselves on issues involving biological and weapons of mass destruction,³⁷ obtain third party perspectives on broader issues,³⁸ and promote business, constituent, as well as nonprofit interests.³⁹ Moreover, congressional delegations allow congressmen to check their understanding of regional affairs over both short and long periods of time.⁴⁰ Indeed, congressional trips abroad allow congressmen to show their support for U.S. allies,⁴¹ U.S. military personnel located in U.S. territories overseas,⁴² as well as opposition figures in specific countries.⁴³ Highlighting human rights,⁴⁴ discussing policy alternatives,⁴⁵ identifying U.S. positions,⁴⁶ and

35. Michele K. Esposito, "Update on Conflict and Diplomacy, 16 February-15 May 2011," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40, 4 (Summer 2011), 150, DOI:10.1525/jps.2011.XL.4.127.

36. Spyer, "Wilikeaks Cables," 13.

37. Anonymous, "Chronology: Libya," *The Middle East Journal* 58, 3 (Summer 2004), , <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/chronology-libya/docview/218498723/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); Justin Bernier, "The Death of Disarmament in Russia?," *Parameters* 34, 2 (Summer 2004), 87, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/death-disarmament-russia/docview/198069849/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

38. Spyer, "Wilikeaks Cables," 17-18.

39. Schoultz, "Benevolent Domination," 3-4; Rubinoff, "The Diaspora," 179 & 186; Cross, "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement," 432.

40. Christopher Hemmer, "U.S. Policy Towards North Africa: Three Overarching Themes," *Middle East Policy* 14, 4 (Winter 2007), 61 & 65, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/u-s-policy-towards-north-africa-three-overarching/docview/203698531/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021); David A. Lange, "The Role of The Political Adviser in Peacekeeping Operations," *Parameters* 29, 1 (Spring 1999), 99, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/role-political-adviser-peacekeeping-operations/docview/198057899/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

41. Van, "The Taiwan Strait," 415.

42. Kelly G. Marsh, "Guam," *Contemporary Pacific* 21, 1 (2009), 122, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/guam/docview/201670543/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

43. Charles Rhéaume, "Human Beings Over Systems: The Cue from Helsinki," *International Journal* 63, 4 (December 2008), 987, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/human-beings-over-systems/docview/1910547679/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

44. Sharp, "Mullah Zaeef," 491.

45. Helen Wallace, "Europeanisation and Globalisation: Complementary or Contradictory Trends?" *New Political Economy* 5, 3 (November 2000), 371, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/europeanisation-globalisation-complementary/docview/216971002/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

46. Ming Wan, "Human Rights and U.S.-Japan Relations in Asia: Divergent Allies," *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 16, 3 (Autumn 1998), 142, <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/human-rights-u-s-japan-relations-asia-divergent/docview/215887262/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

advancing particular policies on the ground in conflict zones can also be highlights of a congressional trip.⁴⁷ It is important to note at this stage that while there are numerous potential benefits for U.S. congressmen in travelling abroad, congressional visits are also a chance for foreign countries to inform and influence American policy by advocating for particular policy positions,⁴⁸ or indirectly reinforcing positions being made by their ambassadors in the United States.⁴⁹ Understanding the importance of congressional delegations for U.S. foreign policy is the focus of the subsequent methodology section, findings and conclusions.

Methodology

Archival Evidence

The U.S. Department of State has a very parsimonious definition of a congressional delegation, defining a, "...Congressional Delegation (CODEL): [as 'foreign travel'] led by a Member of Congress (Senator/Representative)."⁵⁰ Analysis of Arlen Specter's congressional delegation trips to the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Republic of China (Taiwan), and Hong Kong that he undertook since 1980, will reveal how congressional delegations can potentially contribute to U.S. foreign policy. This analysis includes trips that occurred during and after the Cold War in 1982, 1984, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2001, 2006, and 2010.⁵¹

47. Lange, "Peacekeeping Operations," 101-102.

48. Raymond Bonner, "U.S. General Visiting El Salvador," *New York Times Magazine* (February 1982), <http://proxygw.wrlc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/u-s-general-visiting-el-salvador/docview/61271486/se-2?accountid=11243> (accessed August 14, 2021).

49. Michele K. Esposito, "Quarterly Update on Conflict & Diplomacy: 16 November 2008-15 February 2009," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 38, 3 (Spring 2009), 306, DOI:10.1525/jps.2009.XXXVIII.3.286.

50. Scott Shane & Andrew W. Lehren, "State Secrets: Leaked Cables Offer a Raw Look Inside U.S. Diplomacy – Correction Appended," *The New York Times* (November 29, 2010). In *Nexis Uni*, "China AND ("United States" OR US OR U.S. OR American) AND ("Congressional Delegation" OR CODEL OR "Co-Del")," *Nexis Uni* (1982, 1984, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2001, 2006, 2010), [https://advance-lexis-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=a5fd5de3-346d-40b8-a68a-880c04e357ec&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true](https://advance.lexis-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=a5fd5de3-346d-40b8-a68a-880c04e357ec&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true) (Accessed August 12, 2021); *U.S. Department of State (Archived)*, "Executive Office," About State. *US Department of State (Archived)* (January 20, 2009), <https://2001-2009.state.gov/s/h/org/css/index.htm>.

51. Patrick J. McDonald, "Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace," *International Organization* 69, 3 (2015), 558, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818315000120>.

The collected documents of Senator Specter related to China are housed at the University of Pittsburgh's archives.⁵² Boxes were recalled that contained folders labelled with the word China, and all documents containing the words China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong in those folders were photographed. In addition, all "VIP Mail" containing the word China from each year of congressional delegation travel until the end of the archive in October 2010 was examined.⁵³ These letters included correspondence between "...past and sitting presidents, members of Congress, celebrity figures, business leaders, foreign dignitaries, and state and local officials, among others."⁵⁴ All correspondence should be assumed to be the abstract opinion of the Senator's office. It is also important to note that some correspondence may be template in nature.⁵⁵ Handwritten notes should be treated with caution due to both the inherent difficulty in reading handwriting, as well as the difficulty in controlling item locations in a file folder at any archive. Specter arguably serves as an ideal typical case of what a U.S. Senator, who faces challenging, statewide, six year

52. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, Groups 1-10. University of Pittsburgh Archives & Special Collections. University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States.

53. University of Pittsburgh, "Group 3, Series VI. VIP Mail, 1981-2010," University of Pittsburgh Archives & Special Collections United States (August 19, 2010), <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/collection/arlen-specter-senatorial-papers>. While the archive ended in October 2010, the 2010 visit was conducted in August and the archive included the traditional post-trip summary report. "August Codel Specter (Dulles – Beijing – Hanoi – Da Nang – Hanoi – Taipei – Newark), Draft – Version 5.0" (August 3, 2010), 1-4. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 20. Ibid.; Supplemental Statement on Foreign Travel, 1-6. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 20. Ibid.

54. University of Pittsburgh, "Group 3, Series VI. VIP Mail, 1981-2010."

55. For example, the following text was identified through reading as being part of a template reply: "The issue of China's MFN trade status with the United States is one of significant concern and one that I have been looking at very closely. A variety of U.S. priorities must be considered, including the promotion of U.S. trade interests, the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the discouragement of human rights abuses in China – along with the variety of means by which these priorities can be realized. I remain especially concerned about the prospect of China's proliferation of nuclear and ballistic weapons, particularly in the Middle East." Paul Wolfe (Ghostwriter), "Most Reverend Daniel P. Reilly Letter," August 10, 1994. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 564, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, August 1994 (1). Ibid. ; "Mr. Christopher Candland Letter," November 4, 1994. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 564, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, November 1994. Ibid. ; "Ms. Erika Quiones Letter," February 9, 1995. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 564, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, February 1995. Ibid.; University of Pittsburgh, "Group 3, Series VI. VIP Mail, 1981-2010," University of Pittsburgh Archives & Special Collections United States (August 19, 2010), <https://digital.library.pitt.edu/collection/arlen-specter-senatorial-papers>.

elections, should do in a congressional delegation under normal circumstances.⁵⁶ While polarization is a current and historical reality in American politics,⁵⁷ the ability of Senator Specter to switch political parties and receive support from President Obama during his final election,⁵⁸ illustrates how party membership does not have a particularly strong place in the archival evidence consulted. In addition, there is arguably limited evidence of unacknowledged attempts by a foreign power to shape the perspectives of representatives in the trips examined. Refer to Appendix B for a discussion of how foreign sponsorship of Senator Specter's trip to Taiwan in 1984 is critically acknowledged by Specter.⁵⁹

Newspaper Evidence

An accompanying newspaper analysis also contributes to a greater understanding of the role of congressional delegations in shaping U.S. foreign policy. Examining newspaper accounts of congressional delegation trips to China that were published in the United States and its territories via Nexis Uni in the year of travel,⁶⁰ ensures a variety of perspectives on congressional delegations

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56. Nelson W. Polsby, and Eric Schickler, "Landmarks in the Study of Congress Since 1945," *American Review of Political Science* 5 (2002), 351, DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.011002.115655; Robert Singh, "Congress," Chapter 7 in *American Government and Politics: Concise Introduction* (London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2002), 4-6 & 8, <http://dx.doi.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.4135/9781446215098.n7>; Sartori 1976 in Hans Daadler, "Parties: Denied, Dismissed or Redundant? A Critique," Chapter 2 in *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, eds. Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, & Juan J. Linz (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 44, DOI:10.1093/0199246742.003.0002; Duverger 1954:217 in Gary W. Cox, "Duverger's Propositions," Chap. 2 in *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 14, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139174954>;
57. John H. Aldrich, Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, Jason Reifler, and Kristin Thomas Sharp, "Foreign Policy and the Electoral Connection," *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), 489, doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.111605.105008.
58. Sheryl Gay Solberg, "Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania Senator, Is Dead at 82," *The New York Times* (October 14, 2012), <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/15/us/politics/arlen-specter-senator-dies-at-82.html>.
59. Letter to Senator Ted Stevens, Chairman & Senator Howell Heflin, Vice Chairman (Draft). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid. ; Letter from Arlen Specter to H. E. Premier Sun Yun-Suan (May 8, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid. ; Letter to the Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger (January 31, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.
60. *Nexis Uni*, "China AND ("United States" OR US OR U.S. OR American) AND ("Congressional Delegation" OR CODEL OR "Co-Del")," *Nexis Uni* (1982, 1984, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2001, 2006, 2010), <https://advance-lexis-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/bisacademicresearchhome?crd=a5fd5de3-346d-40b8-a68a->

in the analysis. Specific interactions between congressional representatives and their reflections on meetings with their Chinese counterparts in these newspaper articles were highlighted using the qualitative analysis software NVivo. Specific themes were highlighted as they appeared in the newspaper accounts. If a newspaper article identified that more than one discussion topic was talked about in the meeting, such as the link between human rights and trade, the excerpt was identified twice. While the table produced from this highlighting can potentially identify trend lines in what was talked about over the period of analysis, one cannot infer major themes for each individual year.

Analysis

Major Issues in Congressional Travel

Two specific issues stand out in the highlights about congressional delegation trips to China during this period: human rights and opposition to congressional travel (See Appendix A). Human rights were at the forefront of newspaper accounts of congressional delegation trips to China in the year 1994 (13 highlights). This can potentially be attributed to the fact that 1994 was when U.S. representatives were debating the renewal of the People's Republic of China's Most-Favored Nation Status (MFN) status in light of the events of Tiananmen Square.⁶¹ The year 1994 also had the greatest number of highlights, which illustrates how 1994 may have been a pivotal year for

880c04e357ec&pdmfid=1516831&pdisurlapi=true (Accessed August 12, 2021); "China Assumes Friendly Stance Toward the U.S.," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (January 3, 1993). *Nexis Uni*.

61. Letter to Joyce Specter (2/8/1994), 2. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 563, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, Feb 1994. *Ibid.*; Wolfe (Ghostwriter), "Most Reverend"; Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 20-21; Dan Biers, "Gephardt Warns China He Links Preferential Trade Status to Rights Conduct; 1th-Hour Talks Tackle Textile Shipment Dispute," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (January 16, 1994), *Nexis Uni*; Patrick E. Tyler, "Beijing Responds to Rights Chinese Leader Promises to Make Effort to Meet Clinton's Concern, but Opposes Links to Trade Status," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (January 16, 1994), *Nexis Uni*. Joyce Specter is Arlen Specter's sister-in-law. *Londeen-Overlease Funeral Chapel*, "Obituary for Joyce Specter (Hacker)," *Londeen-Overlease Funeral Chapel* (October 3, 2015), <https://memorials.martinbeckercarlson.com/joyce-specter/2261796/obituary.php>.

defining the United States' relationship with China, particularly with respect to the issue of human rights, as well as trade, which had seven highlights during this year.

Complaints about human rights violations and opposition to congressional travel were the two most frequently highlighted issues. Opposition to congressional travel broadly citing cases involving travel to China, surged in 2006. There were eight highlights in newspapers about who sponsored the trip, three about issues of lobbying, three about the amount of money involved in travelling, one about potential conflicts of interests, one involving questions about expenditures, a particularly vivid congressional travel scandal, as well as an indication that a House Representative who visited China for the purpose of discussing economic policy brought a family member with him.⁶² The specificity with which newspapers dissected these trips—identifying organizations as well as specific dollar amounts—arguably had a negative impact on congressional delegation travel that will be described later.⁶³

There were five highlights involving reassurances of Taiwan as an ally, as well as three highlights discussing weapons sales to Taiwan. The remaining issues and topics received middling levels of support. These highlights also support the idea that congressional delegation trips are sometimes in concordance and are sometimes in conflict with the objectives of other representative trips to China. In sum, the highlights reveal that, at least during the years examined, the issue of human rights and the question of whether congressional travel was worthwhile shaped congressional delegation trips to China.

62. Les Blumenthal, "So, Who Paid for YOUR Last Trip?," *The News Tribune* (June 7, 2006), *Nexis Uni*; Kyung M. Song, "Rep. Norm Dicks, 'Mr. Boeing,' retiring after 36 years," *The Seattle Times* (March 6, 2012), <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/politics/rep-norm-dicks-mr-boeing-retiring-after-36-years/>.

63. David E. Sanger and Jane Perlez, "Will U.S. 'Regret' Satisfy China? Powell Offers Beijing Ideas on Resolving Spy Standoff," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (April 5, 2001), *Nexis Uni*.

The Potential Benefits of Congressional Travel

The archival and newspaper analysis also reveals how there are many potential benefits to congressional travel, particularly when it comes to building connections with potential supporters, increasing geopolitical understanding, fostering economic connections, building connections to the U.S. civil service, and promoting human rights abroad.

Supporter Connections

Firstly, the congressional delegation trips and newspaper coverage examined illustrate how congressional delegations can build connections with potential supporters. In 1982, a letter from the Hong Kong Republican Committee,⁶⁴ and a letter to the Pennsylvania based mother of someone Senator Specter met during the trip,⁶⁵ shows how Congressional trips can potentially be ways to connect with possible voters and supporters. Similarly, a photo op with potential supporters in 1984⁶⁶ and the penning of newspaper articles about a trip in 1994,⁶⁷ show how congressional delegations can try to shape perspectives of the world outside the United States through their travels. Indeed, according to the latest draft itinerary for Specter's 2010 trip,⁶⁸ Specter was scheduled to "visit [the] Temple University program at Tsinghua University School of Law... and [take a] photo-op with Pennsylvanians on [the U.S.] Embassy staff,"⁶⁹ which demonstrates how congressional delegation trips can potentially build connections with constituents.

64. A.D. Kleindienst, "Hong Kong Republican Committee Letter to Specter (1982)." Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 5. Ibid.

65. Letter to Mrs. Irene M. Lind (February 2, 1982). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 5.

66. Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Robert T. Guelcher (February 23, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

67. Letter to Joyce Specter (2/8/1994), 1-2 & 6.

68. The only amendments that were included in the file were from August 5th and were related to the leg of the trip devoted to Taiwan, so it can be relatively safe to assume that this was a final draft. Memorandum from Daniel Eisenberg "RE: Meeting with Taiwanese Ambassador Jason C. Yuan" (August 5, 2010). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 20. Ibid.

69. August CODEL Specter (August 3, 2010), 1-2.

Geopolitical Understanding

Congressional delegation trips can also potentially enhance a congressional delegation member's understanding of major geopolitical issues. Exchanges with students in both the PRC and Taiwan during Specter's 1984 trip could have helped give Senator Specter's delegation a perspective on what nuclear concerns were in both countries, although there was no real progress on this issue.⁷⁰ In his reflections on the 1984 trip, Senator Specter identified, "...[The People's Republic of] China's potential as a world power,"⁷¹ and made the observation that the alliance between the United States and the PRC during this period was based primarily on the threat both faced from the Soviet Union,⁷² which demonstrates how congressional trips abroad can potentially inform congressmen about major alliance dynamics. Moreover, Specter was able to identify PRC perceptions of American "hegemony" over China in a draft of the 1984 trip summary.⁷³ This not only reflected the geopolitical reality of U.S. domination in the region since the end of WWII,⁷⁴ and the marriage of convenience between the U.S. and China that was produced by the Cold War,⁷⁵ it shows how congressional delegation trips can help congressmen to understand great power relations.

70. HK – Tokyo (1/16/84). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

71. Trip Summary (1/13/84). Ibid. Ibid.

72. HK -> Tokyo (1/16/84) Draft, 2. Ibid. Ibid.

73. The drafting language reads: "When I asked about the deployment of 250 Chinese divisions [Note: all exed out after here] along the Sino-Soviet Border, I was told that America had traditionally sought to assert 'hegemony' over China, so [Such border deployment] their soldiers were necessary for self-defense. The Soviet border threat seemed to weigh more heavily on the 120 Soviet SS20s nuclear missiles picketed by the USSR at the People's Republic round out the modern threat." Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

74. Cox, "Rising Asia," 273.

75. Keylor, *The Twentieth-Century World*, 439. According to Keylor, "...the Sino-American rapprochement during the first half of the 1970s what been prompted primarily by their common concern about the expansion of Soviet military power, and secondarily by the prospect of mutually beneficial economic relations between the two countries." Ibid.

Indeed, meetings with PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense officials in 1993⁷⁶ could have built inter-governmental connections that could have increased mutual understanding.⁷⁷ Evidence that congressional delegation visits can potentially coincide with a thawing of relations and potentially produce a loop of positive talk can also be seen through a statement by Jiang Zemin to another congressional delegation that visited China in the Fall of 1992 that:

“‘We hope that China and the U.S. increase trust and reduce trouble, develop cooperation and avoid confrontation.’ [and that these statements] were carried on the front page of the People's Daily. Since then, they have been echoed by other officials in discussing policy toward the United States.”⁷⁸

Even though disagreements about major issues like nuclear nonproliferation impacted a congressional delegation prior to Senator Specter’s trip in 1993,⁷⁹ the fact that Specter’s delegation continued with its trip⁸⁰ illustrates the potential ability of congressional delegations to maintain dialogue during difficult periods in inter-state relations.

Notes on a meeting with the PRC Premier on January 5, 1994 also identify that, “At [the] time of Nixon, [the] USSR posed [a] threat to China. Russia after [the] last election is still a threat to world peace and security. [The] US [sic.] and China have common interest – peace and security,”⁸¹ which illustrates how congressional visits can potentially help congressmen to find common ground with other international leaders in spite of difficulties like whether or not to renew

76. Battaglia, Griffins, “Hong Kong, Hawaii, China, South Korea Trip Itinerary” (November 8-20, 1993). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 1. Ibid.

77. “China Assumes Friendly Stance.” *Nexis Uni*.

78. Ibid.

79. “Inspectors Fail to Find Weapons on Chinese Ship,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (September 5, 1993). *Nexis Uni*.

80. In 2001, one senator, “...was supposed to be in China this week, but cancelled her trip because of [an] incident.” Joshua L. Weinstein, “Amid the Relief, Some Second-Guessing,” *Portland Press Herald* (April 12, 2001), *Nexis Uni*.

81. Notes, Panel 7, Premier (1/5/94, 5PM). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 10. Ibid.

Most-Favored Nation Status (MFN) status in light of Tiananmen Square.⁸² Congressional delegations can also potentially learn more about foreign policy through their international travels, which can be seen in Specter's connection between China's and Vietnam's statements on economic reforms during his 1994 trip.⁸³ While the messages being sent by some governmental delegations may conflict with others, as was seen in the case of former President George H.W. Bush's visit to the PRC conflicting with the purpose driven visits of President Clinton's representatives in 1994,⁸⁴ travels abroad can potentially have an aggregate positive impact for the United States and its interests.

In 1995, a meeting with President Lee of Taiwan in the wake of PRC missile tests above Taiwan,⁸⁵ also demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially allow representatives to make connections with high-ranking officials and to potentially show a continued commitment to U.S. allies in the face of attempted intimidation.⁸⁶ Personal notes from Specter's meeting with the President of Taiwan illustrate how a congressional visit can potentially clarify complex concepts such as the One China Policy, which, in its most neutral definition, is the idea that there is one, all-encompassing territorial entity called China, but that either the Taiwanese government or the PRC's government is the official government of that all-encompassing territorial entity called China.⁸⁷ At the time Specter visited in 1995, Taiwan had one official interpretation of this

82. Letter to Joyce Specter (2/8/1994), 2; Wolfe (Ghostwriter), "Most Reverend"; Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 20-21; Biers, "Gephardt Warns China"; Tyler, "Beijing Responds."

83. "Exploding Capitalism in the Pacific Rim," 1. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 9. Ibid.

84. "Chinese Warned on Rights; Gephardt Gives Message to Leaders in Beijing," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (January 16, 1994), *Nexis Uni*;

85. Floor Statements by U.S. Senator Arlen Specter. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 704, Folder 6. Ibid.

86. Arlen Specter's Notes on Meeting with Lee Teng-Hui (8/23/25), Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 704, Folder 6. Ibid.

87. *BBC News*, "What is the 'One China' Policy?," *BBC News* (February 10, 2017), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-38285354>.

policy,⁸⁸ and President Lee Teng-Hui effectively explained that interpretation to Specter when he asked, “When, if at all, [would the PRC have] recognition [for Taiwan]?” identifying that Taiwan had the, “Ultimate goal of national unification w[ith] freedom and democracy... [and was waiting for the] Mainland [PRC] to change so we can later start talks,” outlining the stages of negotiation Taiwan saw as being necessary for national reunification.⁸⁹ In addition, the congressional delegation obtained Taiwan’s perspective on the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (i.e. North Korea) in 1995, which demonstrates how congressmen can potentially obtain new perspectives on major foreign policy challenges through their travels.⁹⁰ While congressional delegations can sometimes be politicized, as was seen in another congressional delegation’s visit to the International Conference on Women in Beijing during this same year,⁹¹ visits can also potentially enhance inter-country collaboration, demonstrate commitment to allies, and deepen understanding of allied perspectives on geopolitics that can potentially inform policy.

2001 meetings with the President of Taiwan also reconfirmed alliance commitments and provided an allied perspective on the role of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) in producing stable relations with the PRC,⁹² which demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially reaffirm ties and provide additional perspectives on foreign policy questions. Moreover, meetings with two Chinese professors in Beijing in 2001, revealed new information to

88. Kat Devlin and Christine Huang, “In Taiwan, Views of Mainland China Mostly Negative,” Pew Research Center (May 12, 2020), <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/05/12/in-taiwan-views-of-mainland-china-mostly-negative/>.

89. Meeting with President of Taiwan (8/22/95, 5PM), 1-2. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 704, Folder 6. Ibid.

90. Notes from Meeting with President of Taiwan (8/22/95, 5PM), 3. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 704, Folder 6. Ibid.

91. “Women’s Conference Opens Amid Controversy,” *St. Petersburg Times* (September 5, 1995), *Nexis Uni* ; Marilyn Geewax, “Hillary Clinton Treads Lightly,” *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (September 6, 1995), *Nexis Uni*.

92. Senator Arlen Specter, Report on Foreign Travel, Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 1. Ibid.

the PRC's asserted role in proliferating nuclear weapons beyond the official line,⁹³ which demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially obtain new geopolitical information through international travel. The 2001 trip also introduced an effort by both U.S. and PRC delegates to reconcile under increasingly trying geopolitical circumstances, namely the threat of North Korea obtaining a nuclear weapon, and the recently smoothed over crash of an American spy plane near the mainland.⁹⁴ In this congressional trip, both sides acknowledged that they did not want escalation. In discussions, the PRC Premier identified, "China cannot and will not be a threat to the United States or any other countries in the world'...," and PRC President Jiang stated that he, "...did not want to see North Korea obtain a ... long-range missile capability."⁹⁵ Similarly, while then Senator Biden reflected that the PRC's role in proliferation was an area where "...we agreed to disagree'...,"⁹⁶ he identified the role of congressional delegations in maintaining diplomatic relations under trying circumstances by stating that, "not totally open, but worthwhile," and that while: "We do not expect or require, for friendship, for them to have a democracy exactly like ours... it is becoming, for me, less and less tenable to move in that direction when these kinds of things are going on [and that discussions are] more a tool to make a larger point to hopefully engage in a broader discussion about future conduct."⁹⁷ While Specter also identified numerous ongoing challenges to the U.S.-PRC relationship in his written reflection and report on the trip,⁹⁸ the fact that the Senators still chose to participate in discussions,⁹⁹ shows how congressional

93. Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001), 5.

94. *Associated Press*, "U.S. Senators Meet With China's Leaders," *Deseret News* (August 9, 2001), *Nexis Uni*.

95. *Associated Press*, "U.S. Senators Meet With China's Leaders."

96. *Ibid*.

97. *Ibid*.

98. "U.S. Challenges in China, Taiwan, and North Korea," 1-2. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 1. *Ibid*. ; Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001).

99. Weinstein, "Amid the Relief."

delegations can potentially play an important role in maintaining dialogue during difficult times in line with Joe Biden's previous statements.

In 2006, Senator Stevens called for the PRC to exercise restraint against Taiwan during the Beijing Olympics,¹⁰⁰ which demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially communicate proscriptions for behavior through their international travel.¹⁰¹ In addition, reflective notes drawing a link between the threat that Chinese weapons sales to Iran posed to Israel through their Lebanese proxy Hezbollah,¹⁰² shows how congressional delegation travel can potentially confirm understandings of foreign policy in other global regions.

Moreover, a congressional delegation trip in 2010 provided an opportunity for officials to obtain an allied perspective on the intentions of a major rival. Indeed, Senator Specter's discussion of "...China's regional and global ambitions and its hegemonic statements and actions in Southeast Asia," in his Vietnam conversation,¹⁰³ as well as his discussion in Taiwan of both North Korea and the fact that "...[F-16] sales [to Taiwan] are not as much substantive as they are symbolic in showing backing for Taiwan and aiding in any future cross-strait negotiations and talks,"¹⁰⁴ demonstrate how international travel can potentially help congressmen to understand allied perspectives on major geopolitical issues related to China.

100. Arlen Specter Report to the President (August 5-24, 2006). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 12. Ibid.

101. Johansen, "Prevention of Genocide," 315; Kumaraswamy, "Israel-China Relations," 97; Harrington, Karns, and Karns, "American-Romanian Relations," 207.

102. Notes from Shannon -> Phila (8/24/06). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 12. Ibid.; Wali Robinson, "What is Hezbollah?" *Council on Foreign Relations* (September 1, 2020), <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-hezbollah>.

103. Supplemental Statement on Foreign Travel, 2.

104. Ibid., 6.

Economic Connections

Furthermore, congressional delegation trips can potentially boost business connections. Business cards were exchanged in Hong Kong in 1982,¹⁰⁵ and Senator Specter learned about trade issues from the Hong Kong Commissioner of Industry, stating in a letter to the Commissioner that:

“I appreciated having the opportunity to tap your expertise on trade relations in general between Hong Kong and the United States. Your knowledge of trade in textiles, mushrooms, and leather goods was particularly helpful. I do hope that next time you are in Washington we will have an opportunity to meet again.”¹⁰⁶

Not only does this thank you letter illustrate how congressional delegations can potentially promote business connections, it also shows how congressional delegations can potentially develop relationships with foreign government officials through international travel.

Specter’s 1984 visit made the business intent of the trip clear. Senator Specter’s statement that, “Potential trade with firms from Pennsylvania is a subject of considerable interest,”¹⁰⁷ echoed a news article about a previous trip led by Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh that was sent to Senator Specter by Dr. Nathan K. Mao, a Pennsylvania constituent who organized Senator Specter’s trip.¹⁰⁸ This newspaper article was written by Dr. Mao, and identified that, for this previous trip:

105. Business Cards from Hong Kong. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 5. Ibid.

106. Letter to Mr. Tsao (January 19, 1982). Ibid. Ibid.

107. Letter to Mr. W. Tapley Bennett (December 22, 1983). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

108. Nathan Mao Thank You Letter (February 2, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

“Had governor not made the trip business could still be conducted with the Chinese, but perhaps not with the same degree of cooperation and assistance that the Chinese would now extend to Pennsylvania businesses, because the Chinese felt they had been honored by the Governor, who had cared enough about them to have come to China himself.”¹⁰⁹

Senator Specter’s follow up letter to Secretary of State George Schultz to quickly resolve nuclear negotiations with the PRC so that they could purchase Westinghouse and GE nuclear products;¹¹⁰ a long run plan to channel arms sales to Taiwan through the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard,¹¹¹ and his advocacy to the Department of Defense to assist in the marketing of a specific kind of helicopter made by Pennsylvania based Boeing-Vertol,¹¹² also show how congressional trips can potentially help to push along trade deals, even if they do not always reach the intended outcome of a sale.¹¹³ Moreover, congressional delegations can potentially help to bolster domestic industries abroad through their travels, which can be seen in Senator Specter’s post-trip, template letter advocacy to Taiwanese officials, one of whom he had a state dinner with while visiting Taiwan,¹¹⁴ to remove tariff barriers on U.S. made chocolate for a chocolate industry group with members in Pennsylvania.¹¹⁵ Similarly, note sheets dating from the trip indicate that while the President of the Wheeling Pittsburgh Steel Corporation introduced an idea of how to fix the steel industry, visits

109. Nathan K. Mao, “‘A Thousand Miles’ Journey Begins with One Single Step’,” *Public Opinion* (April 3, 1980). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

110. Letter to The Honorable George Shultz (January 31, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 557, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, Jan 1984. Ibid.

111. Memorandum (January 26, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.; Caspar W. Weinberger (January 31, 1984)

112. Memorandum (January 26, 1984); Letter to the Honorable Caspar W. Weinberger (February 24, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

113. Letter to Honorable Arlen Specter (March 22, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 557, Folder VIP Mail to Specter, March 1984. Ibid.

114. Republic of China Dinner Program (January 5, 1984), Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 23. Ibid.; Letter to the Honorable Vincent C. Siew. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 470, Folder 14. Ibid.

115. Letter to Ms. Marietta E. Bernot. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 470, Folder 14. Ibid.; Memorandum RE: Chocolate and Confectionary Products’ request for easing of tariff burdens in Taiwan (June 4, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 470, Folder 14. Ibid.

to steel plants in Asia in 1982 and 1984 informed the note writer's thinking on the topic,¹¹⁶ which demonstrates how congressional delegation visits abroad can potentially promote a greater understanding of domestic economic interests.

The 1993 congressional delegation trip also continued previous patterns of advocating for U.S. business interests. In addition to meeting with representatives of corporations,¹¹⁷ the intent of the trip was to, "...increase our awareness of the needs and opportunities in Asia and the Pacific rim for the US [sic.] energy industry,"¹¹⁸ which demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially advocate for U.S. business interests abroad. Handwriting on the cover page of Westinghouse's testimony to congress about the opportunity for energy sales in the PRC identifying that Senator J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana recently returned from China, shows how congressional delegation trips abroad can potentially shape congressional perspectives on business interests.¹¹⁹

Notes from 1994 identifying that the, "MFN benefit[s] both sides," and notes on a January 5, 1994 meeting with the PRC Vice Premier identifying that, "We will quietly do everything West

116. LA & LA -> DC Notes (1/12/84 & 1/18/84), 1-5. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid. ; Paul Michel, "Tentative Itinerary, China Trip (December 30, 1983)," Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 24. Ibid. ; "Delegation of the United States of America, Congressional Delegation Cochran" (December 31, 1981), 1-4. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 5. Ibid.

117. "China, South Korea Trip Itinerary" (November 8-20, 1993).

118. J. Bennett Johnston Letter to Committee (October 13, 1993). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 9. Ibid.

119. "Testimony by Dr. John B. Yasinsky Group President Westinghouse Electric Corporation before the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources (March 11, 1993)." Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 241, Folder 9. Ibid. The cover sheet of the testimony contains multiple notes. The first note identifies, "politics a lot people still want trade restric [sic.] w/China but that affects everyone not just China." The second note is a bulleted list, with the first line reading, "GovtAffrs 202/835 2300," and the second line reading, "Bill Spodak – Not controversial, [next line] Johnston just back from China, [next line] Sen Johnston + Yaniskey." It can be inferred that Senator Johnston is Senator J. Bennett Johnston due to the presence of other documents with this Senator's name in the file folders, and the presence of a Senator J. Bennett Johnston in the Congress during this period. "Testimony by Dr. John B. Yasinsky"; J. Bennett Johnston Letter to Committee (October 13, 1993); *Congress.gov*, "J. Bennett Johnston," *Congress.gov* (2021), <https://www.congress.gov/member/john-johnston/J000189>.

c/w do_,” in the context of the MFN Treaty currently under debate,¹²⁰ illustrate how congressional delegation trips can potentially boost economic connections. In addition, a, “Breakfast & briefing by American Business Association of Guangzhou... ,”¹²¹ and a letter from Proctor & Gamble (Guangzhou) Ltd. asking the congressional delegation to advocate on their behalf in discussions with the PRC,¹²² demonstrates how American businesses can potentially look to travelling congressional delegations to potentially assist them in their business endeavors. Furthermore, a statement that, “China’s Deputy Power Bureau Director Yu Fomin was outspoken in his preference for U.S. products over France and other competitors,” shows how congressional advocacy can potentially meet a wish for access to American goods and services.¹²³ Moreover, the ability of the congressional delegation to obtain concessions for the U.S. textile industry,¹²⁴ illustrates how U.S. congressional delegations can potentially improve U.S. business opportunities abroad.

Arlen Specter’s 2001 trip marked a continuation of congressional delegation advocacy for reasonable business links with the PRC, with, “Specter, sa[ying that] U.S. lawmakers support closer economic ties to China, ‘but we wouldn’t do it if our national interests were threatened by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.’”¹²⁵ A meeting with the American Chamber of Commerce of the PRC,¹²⁶ and a letter supporting CIGNA Corporation’s right to do business in the PRC after it’s ascension to the WTO,¹²⁷ showed how congressional delegations can potentially

120. Notes, Panel 7a, Vice Premier (1/5/94, 5PM). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 10. Ibid.; Letter to Joyce Specter (2/8/1994), 2; Jentleson, *American Foreign Policy*, 20-21; Wolfe (Ghostwriter), “Most Reverend”; Biers, “Gephardt Warns China”; Tyler, “Beijing Responds.”

121. Itinerary for U.S. Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Trip to China, Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia (January 2-17, 1994), 5. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 9. Ibid.

122. Letter from Proctor & Gamble (Guangzhou) Ltd. (January 7, 1994). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 10. Ibid.

123. “Exploding Capitalism in the Pacific Rim,” 3.

124. Ibid.

125. *Associated Press*, “U.S. Senators Meet.”

126. Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001).

127. Letter to President Jiang (November 7, 2001).

help to bolster economic relations with foreign governments. A personalized note at the bottom of the letter that reads, “I very much enjoyed meeting you in China last August with Senator Biden’s delegation. Thank you for your many contributions and your consideration of this request,”¹²⁸ illustrating how a personal connection with a colleague abroad can potentially bolster U.S. business interests.¹²⁹ In addition, Specter’s support for a congressional letter against the transshipment of PRC fuji apples through South Korea prior to the trip,¹³⁰ as well as his support for an anti-dumping investigation levied by Pittsburgh area coke and steel corporations against the PRC earlier that year,¹³¹ demonstrates how congressmen can potentially still play economic hardball while advancing U.S. economic interests abroad.

A congressional delegation in 2006 also advocated for U.S. economic interests in China by pairing compliments with critiques, which can be seen in Senator Lindsay Graham’s statement to a business school cohort that, “‘in competition, you’ll beat the socks off us’... ‘But let’s make sure we play by the same rules’.”¹³² Senator Tom Coburn also echoed this sentiment by stating that with, “‘China’s cultural wealth, history, intellect, family values and work ethic – Nothing can stop China’... [but] ‘We are here to avert a problem, not create one.’”¹³³ At the same time congressional delegations were critiquing PRC business practices, they continued to try and advance U.S. business interests by attending a, “Reception w/ American Business Leaders [including] AmCham

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Letter to Secretary Veneman (March 1, 2001). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 568, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, March 2001. Ibid.

131. Letter to the Honorable Arlen Specter by Erie Coke Corporation (August 3, 2001). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 351, Folder 2, March 2001. Ibid. ; U.S. Department of Commerce, “Steel Fact Sheets,” 2 (July 23, 2001). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 351, Folder 2, March 2001. Ibid.

132. Calum MacLeod, “Senators In China for Talks on Currency Exchange Rate; South Carolina’s Graham: ‘This is a Defining Moment for Sino-U.S. Relations’,” *USA Today* (March 23, 2006), *Nexis Uni*.

133. Calum MacLeod, “Senators in China for Talks on Currency Exchange Rate.”

& US-China [sic.] Business Council.”¹³⁴ In addition, a House representative’s efforts to get Taiwan to purchase submarines that could benefit his district,¹³⁵ demonstrates how congressmen can potentially use congressional trips to advocate for their constituents’ economic interests. Specter even sent a letter to the PRC ambassador asking for a Pennsylvania colleague’s client to speak with a Chinese state-run oil company,¹³⁶ which demonstrates how congressional representatives can potentially advocate for businesses internationally, separate from their international travel plans.

U.S. Civil Service Connections

Congressional delegation trips can also potentially bolster congressional connections with the U.S. civil service. The receipt of a, “... [Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet] (CINCPAC) orientation briefing (classified)...,” en-route to Asia,¹³⁷ demonstrates how congressional trips can potentially build connections with U.S. civil servants in the field. Furthermore, the fact that the U.S. embassy decided to send a summary of Specter’s visit back to his congressional office upon request in 1984,¹³⁸ shows how congressional trips can potentially foster intra-governmental cooperation. In addition, a meeting with representatives of the U.S. Foreign Commercial Service in the PRC and Taiwan in 1984 prompted Senator Specter to propose a, “...\$30 million increase in Foreign Commercial Service budgetary allocation and [to] suggest [the] creation of a high-level position, equivalent to an assistant secretary, to improve its direction, visibility and influence,” to

134. U.S. Department of the Navy, CODEL Stevens: China (Program) (August 5-13, 2006), 8. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 12. Ibid.

135. Joseph Straw, “House Subcommittee Approves Plan to Build Submarines in Groton, Conn.,” *New Haven Register* (May 3, 2006), *Nexis Uni*; Anthony Cronin, “Navy Can’t Fulfill All Request It Gets for Submarine Missions,” *The Day* (March 2, 2006), *Nexis Uni*.

136. Letter to Ambassador Li Zhaoxing (October 17, 2006). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 572, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, October 2006. Ibid.

137. “Delegation of the United States of America” (December 31, 1981), 1.

138. Letter from William B. Abnett (January 25, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

the Secretary of Commerce in a letter,¹³⁹ which illustrates how congressional delegation trips can potentially improve congressional relations with the U.S. civil service. Moreover, meetings with U.S. country teams abroad in 1993,¹⁴⁰ as well as country briefings in 1994,¹⁴¹ arguably offer chances for congressional delegations to connect with members of the U.S. civil service more broadly.

Human Rights

In addition, congressional delegations can potentially help to promote human rights globally. Specter's visit to a less authoritarian Taiwan in 1994¹⁴² demonstrates how congressional delegations can show support for an historic ally, as well as human rights, which was echoed in a congressional letter to the Taiwanese President signed by Specter after the trip:

“...congratulat[ing] you on the occasion of the Fourth Anniversary of [Lee Teng-Hui's] Presidency. [Whose] leadership has enabled the Republic of China on Taiwan to become a leader in the industrialized world as well as a model for emerging market democracies.”¹⁴³

Congressional delegations can also potentially help to encourage progress on human rights, with the PRC president telling another congressional delegation in China at the same time as Specter in 1994 that, “...China ‘is going to make an effort’ in the coming months to meet President Clinton’s concerns about the country’s human rights record... .”¹⁴⁴ While the newspaper article

139. Letter to Malcolm Baldrige (January 31, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid. Sales competition from the industrialized states also played a role in the move. Letter to Malcolm Baldrige.

140. “China, South Korea Trip Itinerary” (November 8-20, 1993).

141. Itinerary for U.S. Senate Energy (January 2-17, 1994).

142. *BBC News*, “Taiwan Profile – Timeline,” *BBC News* (February 1, 2019), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16178545>.

143. Letter to President Lee Teng-Hui (May 11, 1994). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 563, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, May 1994. Ibid.

144. Patrick E. Tyler, “China Promises U.S. to Try to Improve Its Human Rights,” *The New York Times* (January 16, 1994). *Nexis Uni*.

attributes this action to a wide variety of other sources, the fact that it was communicated to the congressional delegation indicates that congressional delegations could potentially have an impact on advancing human rights.¹⁴⁵

Senators Biden, Specter, and Thompson were also unified in their opposition to illegal detentions in China in 2001, which demonstrates how congressional delegations can potentially try to move the needle on human rights through their travels. While Senator Biden focused on the plight of a Chinese entrepreneur who had been working in the U.S., and Senator Thompson targeted the use of Americans as diplomatic bargaining chips,¹⁴⁶ Senator Specter advocated that the PRC continue to develop a legal procedure to avoid American detention, citing the treatment of a Dickinson College librarian in the PRC.¹⁴⁷ According to his summary report of the trip, “After [the librarian’s] release in January 2000, I introduced legislation resulting in a \$2 billion appropriation for Temple Law School’s Beijing branch to train Chinese judges and lawyers to understand and comply with Western Standards on the rule of law in criminal cases.”¹⁴⁸ According to Specter, the PRC Premier was receptive to this idea,¹⁴⁹ and a letter prior to the visit asked an appropriations committee, “...to support the President’s request of \$5 million for Rule of Law programs in the People’s Republic of China...,” and for, “...an additional \$5 million to the Temple University [‘Business Law Center’],”¹⁵⁰ which shows how congressional delegation trips can potentially bolster the case for constituent interests, human rights, as well as other legislative priorities. Moreover, Specter discussed human rights and law in the PRC with Interparliamentary

145. Tyler, “China Promises.” *Nexis Uni*.

146. Sanger and Perlez, “Will U.S. ‘Regret’ Satisfy China.”

147. “Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001),” 4.

148. “U.S. Challenges in China, Taiwan, and North Korea,” 1.

149. *Ibid.*, 1.

150. Letter to The Honorable Mitch McConnell (April 27, 2001), 4. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 23, Folder 11. *Ibid.*

Group Chairman Sheng Huaren in 2006,¹⁵¹ which show how congressional delegations can potentially support human rights. Indeed, scattered notes on a Temple-Tsinghua University notepad that were taken two days later contained decipherable words with legal undertones, like, “give lawyer... diminished capacity... Temple only school 104,”¹⁵² which demonstrates how Specter could have potentially used the trip to gather information in support of a constituent project and presidential focus he advocated for in 2001.¹⁵³ While domestic influences, such as the perspectives of other representatives and staffers,¹⁵⁴ Congressional Research Service briefings,¹⁵⁵ and a variety of other factors may affect final foreign policy decisions towards China, congressional delegation trips can provide an opportunity for congressmen to meet, and even sit down for a meal, with foreign dignitaries and representatives, which can potentially build relationships and mutual understanding.¹⁵⁶

The Growing Challenge to Congressional Travel

Despite the benefits of congressional delegation travel, domestic opposition to congressional delegations began to mount in 2001, with the publication of what, in the context of future years of this analysis, could arguably be called a template newspaper article about congressional travel spending. Its use of specific dollar amounts, and its identification of how, “...critics worry that some of the trips are simply opportunities for well-financed special interests

151. Arlen Specter, Report to the President (August 5-24, 2006), 1-4.

152. Tsinghua University School of Law, Temple University Beasley School of Law Program Office Notes (August 10, 2006 10:30). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder 12. Ibid.; U.S. Department of the Navy, CODEL Stevens, 8.

153. Honorable Mitch McConnell (April 27, 2001), 4.

154. Memorandum for Senator Specter, Subj: China and MFN (March 23, 1994). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 9. Ibid.

155. Vladimir N. Pregelj, “Most-Favored-Nation Policy of the United States,” CRS Issue Brief (Updated March 25, 1994). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 235, Folder 14. Ibid.

156. 1994 Thank You Note List with Associated Activity. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 703, Folder 9. Ibid.

to buy access to legislators,”¹⁵⁷ arguably pushed representatives to make sure that, “...foreign travel as part of a congressional delegation is played down, lest hometown newspapers dub it a ‘junket’.”¹⁵⁸ While there was a limited defense of the practice of international travel in that same newspaper article, identifying, “For Democratic presidential prospects, it’s a month to brush up on foreign policy credentials,”¹⁵⁹ the analysis reveals a steady decay in the prestige of international travel over time.

Indeed, pressure continued to build against representatives for taking international trips in 2006.¹⁶⁰ While disdain for international travel was amplified by “Three members of Congress [going] on a golfing junket to Scotland with Lobbyist Jack Abramoff [in 2003],”¹⁶¹ there was a more forceful pushback in favor of the merits of international travel in the news during this year. In a Tacoma, Washington, *News Tribune* article, one congressman identified:

“You have to be up to speed on some very important issues. Congressmen and their staffs need to get out and understand how the United States is viewed around the world, [and] understand such issues as international trade, which is a huge part of [the] state's economy. There can be value in these trips, whether building bridges with long-standing allies or furthering trade with some of Washington state's most important trading partners.”¹⁶²

In addition, "Paul A. Miller, chief lobbyist for the American League of Lobbyists, discounted revelations of congressional trips. [Identifying that] ‘Nobody's advocating for all these fancy trips

157. *The Associated Press & Conrad*, “Illinois Members .”

158. Sanger and Perlez, “Will U.S. ‘Regret’ Satisfy China.”

159. Gail Russell, “Congress Away, But Please Don’t Call it ‘Vacation’,” *Christian Science Monitor* (August 17, 2001), *Nexis Uni*.

160. Anita Kumar, “Feeney Faces More Scrutiny,” *St. Petersburg Times* (February 20, 2006), *Nexis Uni*; Julia Malone, “Study: Chambliss, Staff Frequent Fliers,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (June 9, 2006), *Nexis Uni*.

161. Kumar, “Feeney Faces More Scrutiny.”

162. Blumenthal, “So, Who Paid for YOUR Last Trip?”

to Scotland... and I think everyone agrees we can do away with those,”¹⁶³ which demonstrates how congressmen and their sponsors advocated for these trips as being necessary for the conduct of business on behalf of constituents within limits.

This pushback against congressional delegation travel that began in 2001 was paired with a relative decline in congressional delegations trying to advance economic cooperation in 2010. In a debriefing report about his 2010 trip, Senator Specter identifies that he communicated Western Pennsylvania’s primary manufacturing woe to the Vice Minister of Commerce, who countered with a discussion about U.S. export policies.¹⁶⁴ In addition, Specter received information about PRC dumping in Taiwan,¹⁶⁵ and reflected in a later article in one of Pittsburgh’s two leading newspapers that, “There is a trade war, but they’re the only ones fighting,”¹⁶⁶ reflecting the increasingly tough economic opinion of the PRC held by other representatives from Pennsylvania, both Democrat and Republican.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, Specter sent a letter prior to the 2010 trip about U.S. sourcing of nuclear components to the Secretary of Energy with a personal note stating, “Mr. Secretary – I’m going to give you a call on this. I’d like to include a Buy America provision on this in AE jobs bill,”¹⁶⁸ which demonstrates how there was potentially a turn towards a more defensive economic posture towards the PRC during this year, even though the nuclear industry was struck from being considered, “critical,” in a previous draft of the letter.¹⁶⁹

163. Julia Malone, “Lawmakers Travel Globe as Special Interests Pick Up the Tab,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (June 6, 2004), *Nexis Uni*.

164. Supplemental Statement on Foreign Travel, 1-2.

165. Supplemental Statement on Foreign Travel, 5.

166. Daniel Malloy, “House to Fire Economic Salvo at China; Bill Seeks Retaliation for Perceived Chinese Currency Manipulation,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (September 29, 2010), *Nexis Uni*.

167. Malloy, “House to Fire.”

168. Letter to The Honorable Steven Chu (February 23, 2010), 1. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 707, Folder VIP Mail, By Specter, February 2010. *Ibid*.

169. The Honorable Steven Chu (February 23, 2010), 2.

Without a bevy of articles from before the trip in this particular year of analysis to rely upon, one cannot know for sure why there was this decline in reported economic cooperation. However, one can hypothesize from articles published after the trip that there may have been a broader environment of social and economic polarization impacting either the objectives of the trip or the documentary reflections on the results of the 2010 trip. Indeed, articles from after the trip depict a context of increasing polarization. The juxtaposition between the defensive perspective of Pennsylvania representatives towards economic relations with the PRC, and an Atlantic Council representative's perspective in a *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* article, citing that,

“Trying to save a few factory jobs, he said, is shortsighted, as low-skill labor always will be cheaper overseas... [and that] policymakers should be focused instead on making workers ‘higher educated with more technical skills, all the kinds of things that can keep us competitive in the world’,”¹⁷⁰

shows how a broader environment of polarization could have potentially impacted the trip. Indeed, an argument for a decline in economic cooperation based on polarization is supported by the Pew Research Center's identification of a complete ideological split in congressional representative opinions beginning in 2011,¹⁷¹ the *The New York Times*' explanation of why Specter's loss of his seat in the 2010 election, as well as Specter's publication of, "...‘Life Among the Cannibals’... denounc[ing] the partisanship that has enveloped Washington.”¹⁷² A Cornell professor's citation that, “In the US there is a combustible mix of midterm elections, a rising trade deficit, and the

170. Malloy, “House to Fire.”

171. Drew Desilver, “The Polarized Congress of Today Has Its Roots In The 1970s,” *The Pew Research Center* (June 12, 2014), <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/12/polarized-politics-in-congress-began-in-the-1970s-and-has-been-getting-worse-ever-since/>.

172. Stolberg, “Arlen Specter.”

weak jobs picture,”¹⁷³ as well as Senator Specter’s recognition of, “deadlock,”¹⁷⁴ further supports a polarization explanation for the decline in economic cooperation in 2010. The economy was similarly divided over trade with China in 2010 based on corporate positions in supply chains.¹⁷⁵ In the end, Senator Specter’s recognition of, “deadlock,”¹⁷⁶ echoed another article identifying the threat of polarization to America’s political and economic development, stating that:

“Every observer sees that American politics is getting more vicious, more petty, more nakedly partisan, more Machiavellian. The result is deadlock and national paralysis, at a time when the rest of the world is striding into the 21st century - particularly China and India. It is possible that our politics will get even worse. They will only get better if we start to ratchet down the rancor and the name calling. It is in the interest of every politician to move to a more mature and conciliatory conversation about who we are, where we are heading, and what we value.”¹⁷⁷

Despite the dark turn, the overall impact of congressional visits over the period analyzed can be argued to have been positive, which leads to the conclusions that can be drawn about congressional travel more broadly.

173. Malloy, “House to Fire.” An incendiary letter to the editor in one newspaper shows the increasing disillusionment with the party system regarding the national debt by stating that, “The solution is obvious: Stop exporting jobs to China... Our politicians are doing nothing to stop this. It's the Republican way to sell out fellow Americans, but I can't say the Democrats are doing anything to help either.” “What Action, If Any, Should be Taking to Deal With America’s Soaring Debt?,” *Wisconsin State Journal* (February 14, 2010), *Nexis Uni*.

174. Malloy, “House to Fire.”

175. Ron Scherer, “U.S. Jobs: In China Trade Fight, Does Protectionism Help, or Hurt?,” *The Christian Science Monitor* (October 4, 2010), *Nexis Uni*.

176. Malloy, “House to Fire.”

177. Clay Jenkinson, “Enough of the Politics of Degradation,” *The Bismarck Tribune* (September 26, 2010), *Nexis Uni*.

Conclusions

Congressional delegations are a potentially integral part of U.S. foreign policy, providing a vast array of potential benefits to both congressmen and U.S. interests. This research on Specter's career shows how congressional travel internationally can potentially promote U.S. business and constituent interests,¹⁷⁸ highlight human rights,¹⁷⁹ encourage the development of relationships with colleagues in other states,¹⁸⁰ deepen understanding of U.S. civil service functions,¹⁸¹ show support for allies,¹⁸² and allow congressmen to obtain third party perspectives on broader issues.¹⁸³ In addition, an examination of the archives of Senator Specter identify how Congressmen can potentially enhance business opportunities by exchanging business cards,¹⁸⁴ advocating for corporations with foreign contacts made during trips,¹⁸⁵ and writing letters for U.S. cabinet secretaries to try and advance business opportunities.¹⁸⁶ Records from the Specter Senatorial Papers also demonstrate how congressmen can meet with constituents from their home state,¹⁸⁷ party affiliates,¹⁸⁸ and potential supporters.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, an examination of the Specter Senatorial Papers illustrate how congressional delegations can potentially use trips to highlight human rights issues,¹⁹⁰ as well as to propose solutions to issues of American detainment abroad.¹⁹¹

178. Schoultz, "Benevolent Domination," 3-4; Rubinoff, "The Diaspora," 179 & 186; Cross, "U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement," 432.

179. Sharp, "Mullah Zaeef," 491.

180. Letter to President Jiang (November 7, 2001).

181. Rose, "The APSA Congressional Fellowship," 671.

182. Van, "The Taiwan Strait," 415.

183. Spyer, "Wilileaks Cables," 17-18.

184. Business Cards from Hong Kong.

185. Letter to President Jiang (November 7, 2001).

186. Letter to The Honorable George Shultz (January 31, 1984).

187. August CODEL Specter (August 3, 2010), 1-2.

188. Kleindienst, "Hong Kong Republican."

189. Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Robert T. Guelcher (February 23, 1984).

190. Arlen Specter, Report to the President (August 5-24, 2006), 1-4.

191. Sanger and Perlez, "Will U.S. 'Regret' Satisfy China"; "Taiwan, China, and South Korea (August 4-11, 2001)," 4.

In addition, the analysis reveals that interactions with individuals in the U.S. civil service,¹⁹² can potentially strengthen the will for the U.S. civil service and congress to cooperate. Indeed, the willingness of the U.S. embassy in the PRC to send a summary of Specter's visit back to his congressional office in 1984 upon request,¹⁹³ demonstrates how connections to the U.S. civil service can potentially be improved through congressional trips. Moreover, Senator Specter's visits to Taiwan demonstrate how congressional delegations can potentially support allies in the face of attempted intimidation.¹⁹⁴ Archival research with the Specter Senatorial Papers shows how congressional delegation trips can potentially allow congressmen to hear allied perspectives on foreign policy questions,¹⁹⁵ and clarify concepts that are imperfectly understood, such as Taiwan's official position in the One China Policy in 1995.¹⁹⁶ Despite the possibility of there being mixed signals from the visit of multiple delegations of different officials,¹⁹⁷ the costs associated with sending congressional delegates abroad,¹⁹⁸ and the turn towards a confrontational streak in congressional delegation rhetoric,¹⁹⁹ the benefits of congressional travel potentially outweigh the costs. Congressional travel should continue to be promoted as a key dimension of U.S. foreign policy.

192. "Delegation of the United States of America" (December 31, 1981), 1; Itinerary for U.S. Senate Energy (January 2-17, 1994).

193. Letter from William B. Abnett (January 25, 1984).

194. "Floor Statements"; Meeting with Lee Teng-Hui (8/23/95).

195. President of Taiwan (8/22/95, 5PM).

196. President of Taiwan (8/22/95, 5PM), 1-2; *BBC News*, "What is the 'One China' Policy?"; Devlin and Huang, "Mostly Negative."

197. "Chinese Warned on Rights."

198. Emma Perez Trevino, "Ortiz Defends Travel History," *The Brownsville Herald* (October 3, 2010), *Nexis Uni*.

199. Supplemental Statement on Foreign Travel, 1-2.

Appendix A

Table 1. Newspaper Analysis – Highlighting of Themes (1982-2010)

	Complement Other Representative	The Messages & Intentions of U.S. Representatives Who Did or Were Scheduled to Conduct Trips to China Were Not the Same	Taiwanese Relations (Reassurance, Weapons)	Human Rights (General, Individual Release, & American Hostage)	Learning	Opposition to Congressional Travel (Conflict of Interest, Lobbying, Money, Organization, Questioning, Scandal, Who)	PRC Expressing Cooperation	Trade Barriers (Incl. Sanctions)	Weapons Prolif.	Total Highlights	Total Articles
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1984	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	10
1994	3	3	0	13	0	0	0	7	0	26	21
1995	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	16
2001	2	1	1	3	1	0	2	0	1	11	35
2006	0	0	3	0	2	13	0	1	0	19	27
2010	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	6	54
Total Highlights	5	6	8	18	3	18	3	10	2	73	174

Appendix B

External sponsorship of the 1984 trip,²⁰⁰ brings up an important question about whether external sponsorship unduly influences the perspectives that congressional delegations gather from their international trips.²⁰¹ It does not if the recipient recognizes the sponsor's intent. Senator Specter identified in a draft of a letter to the Senate Ethics Committee that, "...I am treating the travel expenses associated with our visit to Taiwan as if they were paid by a foreign government,"²⁰² and the sponsor overtly identified their intentions in a thank you letter, stating:

"We often suffer from what is called a 'bad press'. Most visited are surprised at what they find here because they are affected by this adverse publicity. I think one of the great strengths of the American legislative system is that the legislators, as individuals and as members of committees, go out and get a look for themselves. I respect you for following this pattern."²⁰³

These facts appear to indicate that influence was not undue in this circumstance, because Specter was able to recognize the source.²⁰⁴ In addition, a Specter staffer's memorandum indicates that the Senate Ethics Committee staffer that he spoke to saw external sponsorship of trips to Taiwan by this university as normal,²⁰⁵ making it seem that external sponsorship did not result in undue influence. Moreover, a letter to Secretary Weinberger on behalf of the Kuomintang Premier Sun Yun-Suan asking the U.S. government to sell it specific types of weapons acknowledges that while

200. "Letter to Senator Stevens & Heflin (Draft)." Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

201. *Associated Press* & Conrad, "Illinois Members."

202. Letter to Senator Ted Stevens, Chairman & Senator Howell Heflin.

203. Letter to The Honorable Arlen Specter from Soochow University President C. H. Yang (February 23, 1984). Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

204. Letter to Senator Ted Stevens, Chairman & Senator Howell Heflin.

205. Paul Michel, "Memorandum RE: China Trip, January 3-16, 1984: Ethics Committee Check," December 23, 1983. Arlen Specter Senatorial Papers, 1953-2011, Box 697, Folder 22. Ibid.

two of the four weapons requested were off the table, substitutes could be found,²⁰⁶ reflecting a critical acceptance of certain realities regarding the information provided by Taiwanese officials.

206. Letter from Arlen Specter to H. E. Premier Sun Yun-Suan (May 8, 1984); Caspar W. Weinberger (January 31, 1984).

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